





Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार  
Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Haridwar Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पुस्तकालय



विषय संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

आगत पंजिका संख्या

R

954-06

P 79 P5

1961

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का  
निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया  
१५ दिन में अधिक समय तक पुस्तक  
अपने पास न रखें।

6407

112043



यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय  
NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ  
REFERENCE BOOK



AL



PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
**ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE**

TWENTYFIRST SESSION  
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

October 1961

Vol. I

Proceedings and Presidential Addresses

*Edited by*

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D.  
*President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.*

संस्कृत मासिक १९६४-१९६५

*Published by*

**ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE**  
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
POONA - 4.

**1964**







**PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS**  
**OF THE**  
**All-India Oriental Conference**

**TWENTYFIRST SESSION**  
**SRINAGAR, KASHMIR**

*October 1961*

**Vol. I**



112097

**Proceedings and Presidential Addresses**

*Edited by*

**Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D.**  
*President, Twentyfirst Session, A.I.O.C.*

*Published by*

**ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE**  
**BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,**  
**POONA - 4.**

**1964**



PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
All-India Oriental Conference

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION  
SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

October 1961

Vol. I

Proceedings and Presidential Address

● अतः सामान्य मुद्राः ●	
पुस्तक सं.	P
क्रमांक सं.	954-06
विवरण	P-79 P
मुद्रांकन प्रन्धालय काँपनी.	

1961  
I-V

Published by  
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE  
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
POONA-4  
1961

Lakshmi Vijayam Press, Triplicane, Madras-5.



## P R E F A C E

It gives me great pleasure in making available to the Members of the All-India Oriental Conference the First Volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar held on 14th, 15th and 16th October 1961. This Volume comprises the Report of the Proceedings of the Session, the Address of the General President, the Addresses of the different Sectional Presidents and also the other special Addresses delivered at the Session. The Address of the Section on Greater Indian Studies could not be included as Dr. Raghuvira, Chairman of that Section, spoke extempore and is unfortunately no longer in our midst. I am glad that the printing of this Volume has been completed in time for the members to have their copies before they meet at the forthcoming 22nd Session at Gauhati.

This Volume, it may be said, has a special National significance, for the Addresses published here bring home to us most effectively the fact that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

Volume Two of the Proceedings of the Conference comprising a selection of the Papers read in the different Sections has also been taken up for printing. Part II of that Volume, consisting of the Papers of the Iranian, Islamic Culture and Arabic and Persian Sections, which had to be printed separately, has also been made ready and copies of it could be had along with Volume One.

Arrangements are being made for publishing the Sanskrit papers of the Pandita Parishad as a separate Volume.

In the production of this volume, I have been assisted by my younger colleagues and research scholars in my Department, Sri C. S. Sundaram, Sri M. Ramakrishna Sastry and Sri Mudumbai Narasimhachari. Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja has also assisted in the reading of the proofs of the Addresses. Thanks are due to these and also to the Lakshmi Vijayam Press, Madras-5, for the expeditious printing of the Volume.

Madras University,  
24-11-1964.

V. RAGHAVAN,  
President, 21st Session,  
A. I. O. C.



CC-0



# CONTENTS

---

	<i>Page</i>
<b>Preface</b>	3
<b>Report of Proceedings</b>	7-9
List of Office bearers	10
Bulletins 1, 2 and 3 issued by the Local Organisation	11-18
Members of the Executive Committee	19
Delegating Universities and Institutions	20-22
Members of the Reception Committee and the Sub-committees	23-26
Life Members of the Conference	26-29
Ordinary Members of the Conference	... i-xxx
Programme	... xxxi-xxxii
General and Sectional Presidents	... xxxiii
Local (Sectional) Secretaries	... xxxiv
List of Papers Submitted	... xxxv-lv
Minutes of the Old Executive Committee	... lvi-lx
Minutes of the Meeting of the Council	... lxi-lxiii
Minutes of the Meeting of the New Executive Committee	... lxiv-lxvi
Inaugural Session	... lxvii-lxviii
Message of H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Pitha	... lxix-lxxii
Welcome Address by Sardar K. M. Panikkar	... lxxiii-lxxviii
Inaugural Address by <i>Sadr - I - Riyasat</i> Shri Karan Singh	... lxxix-lxxxiii
Vote of Thanks	... lxxxiv
Concluding Session	... lxxxv-vi



General President's Address : Dr. V. Raghavan 1- 57

Sectional Presidents' Addresses :

I. Vedic : Dr. Durgamohan Bhattacharya	58- 75
II. Iranian : Prof. M. F. Kanga	76-105
III. Classical Sanskrit : Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh	106-170
IV. Islamic Culture : Afzalul Ulama Muhammad Yousuf Kokan	171-173
V. Arabic and Persian : Dr. Ghulam Dastagir Rasheed	175-182
VI. Pali and Buddhism : Bhikku J. Kashyap	183-193
VII. Prakrits and Jainism : Muni Sri Punya- vijayaji	194-262
VIII. History : D. R. Mankad	263-279
IX. Archaeology : Dr. G. R. Sharma	280-295
X. Indian Linguistics : N. G. Kalelkar	296-303
XI. Dravidic Studies : Prof. M. M. Bhat	304-312
XII. Religion and Philosophy : Pt. Sukhlalji	313-340
XIII. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts : Shri Krishna Deva	341-352
XV. Local Languages and Cultures : Prof. Gauri Shankar	353-365

Special Address :

Indology and National Integration :	
Sardar K. M. Panikkar	366-371



## REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

### ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

#### 21st Session, 1961, Srinagar (Kashmir)

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the University of Jammu and Kashmir invited the All-India Oriental Conference which met at Bhuvaneshvar for its 20th Session, to hold its next Session at Srinagar. The Conference accepted the invitation to meet for the next Session under the joint auspices of the Government and University of Jammu and Kashmir. Arrangements were taken on hand for the holding of the 21st Session in October, 1961. The necessary Committees for the Reception, Local organisation, Accommodation, Cultural Programmes, General Programme, Publicity, etc. were set up. The Sadar-i-Riyasat, Shri Karan Singh was kind enough to agree to be the Chief Patron of the Reception Committee and the Honourable the Premier, Mr. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Chairman. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar K. M. Panikkar extended his help as Chairman of the Local Organising Committee. Prof. P. N. Pushp, Director of the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar was appointed Local Secretary. It was decided to hold the Conference at Srinagar from the 14th to the 16th of October, 1961. Scholars and Institutions interested in Indology who had participated in the previous Sessions of the Conference were sent invitations. Invitations were also sent to individual Scholars, Universities and Institutions outside India. The foreign scholars working in India at the time of the Conference were also invited. Detailed information about the Conference and work of the Session was communicated to the prospective participants through three Bulletins issued on 5-4-61, 25-7-61 and 10-9-61. Membership Forms were also sent along with the Bulletins.

Continuing the welcome practice begun at the Bhuvaneshvar Session, arrangements were made to prepare the Book of Summaries of Papers to be read at the Conference, sufficiently in advance of the Session, so that scholars might be facilitated in effective participation in the Session. The Members were requested to send the Papers as also the Summaries of the



Papers sufficiently early to Dr. V. Raghavan, University of Madras, the President - Elect of the Conference. It may be said that on the whole, the response of the scholars was good and the volume of the Summaries of Papers could be made available to the participants well in advance of the Session.

As Kashmir is a place of tourist attraction, in addition to being a seat of learning from the ancient times, there was a record enrolment of the Members of the Conference. Inclusive of the Life Members and the local scholars who participated, the total enrolment touched the figure of 900. With all the limitations and difficulties of accommodation in Srinagar, the local authorities of the Conference did their best for the lodging and boarding of the delegates.

With the aid of the Central Samskrit Board, the Pandita Parishad, as an adjunct of the Conference was revived and a Session of it was held. Also with the help of the local authorities, the *Majlis-e-Ulema* was arranged for.

The Committees of the Joint Session, as well as of the Sections, were held in the newly built Medical College premises. The Business Meetings of the Conference were held in the Badshah Hotel, as well as in the Medical College. An account of the Business meetings, as well as the Opening and Concluding Sessions of the Conference is given elsewhere in this Volume. The detailed programme of the Session, the list of members and the Papers presented are also given. There was an exhibition of rare Manuscripts and Paintings at the Research Department. Excursions were arranged to the local archaeological sites and centres of tourist attraction, the Mughal Gardens, the lakes and the Sankaracarya Hill. Facilities were afforded to scholars to visit also places of interest in the neighbourhood and to see archaeological works like the Burzahama excavations. As the Kashmir Valley has been most intimately connected with the growth of Sanskrit literature, with Buddhism and Indian history in general through all the periods, the holding of the Session of the Conference in Srinagar created great enthusiasm in the scholars who took the opportunity to visit several important places both in the neighbourhood of Srinagar and at some distance.

The Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and the Vice - Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, held receptions in honour of the



delegates. The All-India Radio of Srinagar arranged for Cultural Programmes and presented local music and dance. The Sadar-i-Riyasat gave an At Home to select invitees from among the Executive and the participating Scholars. The Vice - Chancellor, Sardar Panikkar, gave a special talk on "Indology and National Integration" and Dr. Raghuvira also gave a public lecture on "Indian Culture Abroad".

On behalf of the Conference, I have great pleasure in recording my thanks to the Authorities of the Government and University of Jammu and Kashmir for the invitation extended to us and for the arrangements made for the holding of the 21st Session in the great historic centre, Srinagar. The Conference is also thankful to the Governments of the different States of India and Universities and individuals both in India and abroad, who helped in the successful conduct of the Session, by deputing their Scholars as Delegates to the Conference. On behalf of the Executive of the Conference, I take this opportunity to thank also the Members of the various Committees and Sub - Committees and the Volunteers and Guides who helped the Delegates during their stay in Srinagar. To the Sadar-i-Riyasat whom I met before the Invitation, who was kind enough to agree to invite us, I must specially convey my gratitude. It is sad that Sardar K. M. Panikkar, a distinguished Scholar, who, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir, took a lot of initiative in setting the Local Organisation on its feet, is no more with us. Sri P. N. Pushp deserves our thanks for the work done by him as Local Secretary of the Conference.

V. R.



AIOC. XXIST SESSION

APPENDIX

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(Regd. under Act XXI of 1860)

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
POONA-4, INDIA.

21ST SESSION, 1961

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

*President :*

DR. V. RAGHAVAN,

*Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University.*

*Vice-President :*

PROF. DR. A. N. UPADHYE,

*Rajaram College, Kolhapur.*

*Treasurer :*

PROF. K. A. SUBRAMANYA AYYAR,

*Retd. Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, Lucknow.*

*General Secretaries :*

DR. R. N. DANDEKAR,

*Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4*

DR. M. RAMARAO,

*Professor of History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.*

*Local Secretary :*

PROF. P. N. PUSHP,

*,Srinagar, Kashmir.*



**BULLETIN No. 1.***5th April, 1961*

The All-India Oriental Conference, which has served as the national forum for scholars interested in scientific orientology for over 40 years, will hold its 21st Session at Srinagar, under the joint auspices of the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the University of Jammu and Kashmir, on the 14th to 16th of October, 1961.

The Session will comprise the following Sections :—

1. Vedic. 2. Iranian. 3. Classical Sanskrit. 4. Islamic Culture.
5. Arabic and Persian. 6. Pali and Buddhism. 7. Prakrit and Jainism.
8. History. 9. Archaeology. 10. Indian Linguistics. 11. Dravidic Studies.
12. Philosophy and Religion. 13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.
14. Greater Indian Studies.

The General President of the Conference will be Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, Madras-5. The Presidents of the different Sections mentioned above will be the following :—

- |   |        |   |
|---|--------|---|
| 1. Vedic                                | ....   | Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Calcutta. |
| 2. Iranian                              | ....   | Dr. J. M. Unwala, Bombay.                 |
| 3. Classical Sanskrit                   | ....   | Prof. Rasiklal Parikh, Ahmedabad.         |
| 4. Islamic Studies                      | ....   | Prof. A. W. Bukhari, Madras.              |
| 5. Arabic and Persian                   | ....   | Prof. G. Dastgir Rashid, Hyderabad.       |
| 6. Pali and Buddhism                    | ....   | Sri Jagadish Kashyap, Varanasi.           |
| 7. Prakrit and Jainism                  | ....   | Muni Punyavijayaji, Ahmedabad.            |
| 8. History                              | ....   | Prof. D. R. Mankad, Aliabad, Halar.       |
| 9. Archaeology                          | ....   | Prof. G. R. Sharma, Allahabad.            |
| 10. Indian Linguistics                  | ....   | Dr. N. G. Kalelkar, Poona.                |
| 11. Dravidic Studies                    | ....   | Prof. M. M. Bhat, Madras.                 |
| 12. Religion and<br>Philosophy          | } .... | Pandit Sukhlalji, Ahmedabad.              |
| 13. Technical Sciences<br>and Fine Arts |        |   |
| 14. Greater Indian Studies              | ....   | Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Calcutta.              |

A Section devoted to "The Languages and Cultures of the Jammu and Kashmir State" is being added to the Session this time, and its President will be soon elected. A Pandit Parisad is also being organised, and details about it will be given in the next Bulletin.



Besides the Sectional meetings, where original research papers will be read and discussed, a varied programme consisting of general lectures, symposia, entertainments, visits to historical places, etc., will be arranged at the Session.

The success of a Session like this depends upon the cooperation of Universities, Learned Societies, and Scholars interested in the various subjects coming under the purview of the Conference. Universities and Learned Societies are, therefore, requested to depute Delegates to the Session, and Scholars are requested to enrol themselves as Members of the Conference by filling in the attached form A. The subscription for the Session is Rs. 15/- and the Life-membership subscription is Rs. 150/- All persons interested in Oriental Learning and Research can become Members of the Conference, and it will be very much appreciated if Scholars, who are already Members of the Conference, will induce their colleagues and friends also to become Members of the Conference.

Scholars are further requested to submit research papers for any of the Sections of the Session. The papers should form original contributions to the subject. They should not normally exceed ten double-spaced typed pages, and should be each accompanied by a summary not exceeding forty lines. The papers, along with their summaries, should be sent to Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras University, Madras-5, so as to reach him not later than the 15th of June, 1961. It is proposed to send a booklet containing the Summaries of papers to every Member at least one month before the date of the Session, with a view to enabling him to take active part in the discussions. This will be possible only if Members will kindly cooperate by sending their papers before the due date. The scrutiny of papers and the printing of their summaries will take over two months. Scholars are requested to fill in the attached form B and send it to Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras University, before the 30th of April, 1961.

*Bona fide* Members of the Conference will be entitled to Railway concession for attending the Session at Srinagar. The concession forms will be sent to them in due course.

Donations and membership fees should be sent to the Local Secretary, Prof. P. N. Pushp, Assistant Director, Research and Publication Department, Srinagar (Kashmir).

P. N. PUSHP  
Local Secretary.

R. N. DANDEKAR  
M. RAMA RAO  
General Secretaries.



(A)

# ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

21st Session, Srinagar (Kashmir)

14th, 15th, and 16th October, 1961.

## MEMBERSHIP FORM

To

Reg. No.....

Professor P. N. PUSHP,

Assistant Director, Research and Publication Department,

Srinagar (Kashmir).

Dear Sir.

I know the aims and objects<sup>1</sup> of the All-India Oriental Conference and I Sympathise with them.

I desire to become<sup>2</sup>.....of the Conference and I am sending Rs.....only as my subscription. Kindly enrol me as such.

I have attended.....previous Sessions of the Conference, the last two being those that were held at.....and..... I had submitted.....papers, which were accepted for the..... Sessions, and I am accordingly entitled to be a member of the Council<sup>3</sup>.

Place.....

Yours sincerely,

Date.....

Full Name.....  
(In Block Letters.)

Academic Qualifications.....

Full Address.....

1. The Objects of the Conference are :

- (a) to bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental scholars in and outside India ;
- (b) to facilitate cooperation in Oriental studies and research ;
- (c) to afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subjects, and to point out the difficulties experienced by them in the pursuit of their special branches of study ;



- (d) to promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental Scholars ;
- (e) to encourage traditional learning ; and
- (f) to do such other acts as may be considered necessary to promote advancement in Oriental learning.

2. Mention one of the following classes :—

Patron : Paying Rs. 3000/-

Benefactor : Paying Rs. 1000/-.

Life-Member : Paying Rs. 150/- in a lump sum or in not more than two instalments within one financial year.

Full Member : Paying Rs. 15/- per Session.

3. The Council consists of all Members who have attended three or more Sessions of the Conference (including the one taking place at the time) and have submitted a paper or papers that have been accepted at any one or more of these Sessions.

( B )

( To be returned before 10th May, 1961 )

To

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN,

Madras University, Madras-5.

Dear Sir,

I intend to submit a research paper on.....  
for the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It will cover  
.....pages. The paper, together with its summary not exceeding  
forty lines, will be sent to you positively before 13th June, 1961. My full  
name and postal address are :

Yours sincerely,



**BULLETIN 2.***25th July, 1961*

As already announced in Bulletin No. 1, the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Srinagar under the joint auspices of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State and the University of Jammu and Kashmir.

Attention of Members is specially drawn to the change in the dates of the Session. It has now been finally decided that the Session at Srinagar will be held on the 14th, the 15th, and the 16th of October, 1961, (and not from the 12th to the 14th of October, as previously announced.)

Members attending the Srinagar Session will be lodged, free of charge, at the Tourist Reception Centre, the Tourist Hostel, and the Tourist Camp (in tents). On arrival at Srinagar each Member will have to pay, *in advance*, boarding charges at the concession rate of Rs. 5/- per day. The lodging and boarding arrangements, made by the Local Committee, will be available only for five days, that is, from the 13th to the 17th of October, 1961.

The weather at Srinagar in October is fine though rather cold. The average temperature at that time is usually 50°; warm clothing and adequate bedding are, therefore, essential.

The last date for enrolment of Members is the 25th of August, 1961. It will be difficult to guarantee accommodation at Srinagar to those who apply for Membership after that date.

Certificates for claiming Railway concession (single fare to and from Pathankot) will begin to be despatched to such members, as have duly paid their Membership fees, and to Life-Members, after the 25th of August.

Details about the programme for the Session, etc. will be given in Bulletin No. 3.

Members attending the Srinagar Session are, now, requested to fill in the accompanying form and return it to the Local Secretary, as soon as possible, in any case so as to reach him before August 25, 1961.

R. N. DANDEKAR

M. RAMA RAO

*General Secretaries.*

P. N. PUSHP

*Local Secretary.*



# THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

21 ST SESSION

SRINAGAR, (KASHMIR).

To.

Prof. P. N. Pushp,  
Local Secretary,  
All-India Oriental Conference.  
Asstt. Director,  
Research and Publication Dept.  
Srinagar, (Kashmir).

Dear Sir,

I have already registered myself as a Member of the Srinagar Session.  
(\*I am a Life-Member of the Conference) I have received Bulletin No.2 and  
I am attending the Session.

I propose to read paper (s) in the.....Section (s). These, along  
with the summary (ies), have already been sent to Dr.V. Raghavan, the  
General President of the Session.

\*Please arrange for my accommodation in the Delegates' Camp (Vege-  
tarian/Non-vegetarian; Orthodox/Non-orthodox)

I would like to be put up in a private Hotel/House boat, at my own  
expense (Vegetarian/Non-vegetarian).

\*I am making my own arrangements for boarding and lodging.

Date.....

Yours faithfully,

Name.....

Address.....

(Block Letters)

Receipt No.....

---

\*Please score out what is not required.



## BULLETIN No. 3

10th September, 1961

1. As already notified in Bulletin No : 2, the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Srinagar, on Oct. 14, 15 and 16, 1961 under the joint auspices of the Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State and the University of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. Sadar-e-Riyast Shri Karan Singh Ji has very kindly consented to inaugurate the Session on the 14th of October 1961, at 10 a.m. in the S. P. College premises, Srinagar.

3. Members attending the Session are requested kindly to intimate to the Local Secretary the date and time of their arrival at Pathankot\* by the 25th of September at the latest. The transport from Pathankot to Srinagar will, accordingly, be arranged at a return concession rate of Rs. 27/- per passenger (the concession being valid for three months).

4. As already notified, the weather at Srinagar during October will be rather cold, but fair. The mean temperature would be 10° Centigrade (the extremes in shade being 1.66° and 15.50°). *Members are, therefore, advised to equip themselves with warm clothing (including a Chester or two) and adequate bedding (including at least a razai and a rug).*

5. Owing to extreme shortage of accommodation, more than two delegates will have to be lodged in the same room. In case, a delegate is making his/her own arrangements for lodging and boarding he/she is requested kindly to inform the Local Secretary at least 15 days earlier.

6. For lodging and boarding arrangements *before* and *after* the Session (i. e., before Oct. 13 and after Oct. 17), members are requested to contact Director Tourism, Srinagar, at the earliest.

7. Members will be transported to the Delegates' Camps soon on their arrival at the Tourist Reception Centre on October 13, 1961. They are advised to book their return journey to Pathankot by bus (through Director Tourism, Srinagar) soon after their arrival at Srinagar. and from Pathankot

---

\* Whether by Srinagar Express or Kashmir Mail, (the former leaving N. Delhi at 20.25 and the latter starting from Delhi at 21.30) or by Sealdah Express.



onwards by train (through the Tourist Officer, Pathankot) as soon as they arrive there on their way to Srinagar.

8. Members will be taken round the famous Mughal Gardens on October 17, 1961.

9. Detailed programme and other necessary papers will be distributed to all the members on their arrival.

10. Nomination papers for *election* of the *New Executive Committee* and of *Sectional Presidents* for the 22nd Session must reach the General Secretaries before 6 p.m. on October 15, 1961. The required forms will be available with the General Secretaries as well as at the office of the Local Committee.

11. Henceforth all correspondence regarding the Srinagar Session should be addressed to the Local Secretary at Srinagar (and not to the General Secretary at Poona), invariably quoting the Receipt Number.

12. The Railway Concession Form is enclosed herewith, for further necessary action as advised therein.

13. No more Bulletins will be issued in connection with the Srinagar Session.

P. N. PUSHP

(Local Secretary)



**MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE***President :*

Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University.

*Vice - President :*

Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

*Treasurer :*

Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Retd. Vice - Chancellor of Lucknow University, Lucknow.

*General Secretaries :*

Dr. R.N. Dandekar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

Dr. M. Ramarao, Professor of History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.

*Local Secretary :*

Prof. P. N. Pushp, Srinagar, Kashmir.

**OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Dr. V. S. Agrawala, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

Dr. P. V. Bapat, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-4.

Dr. S. S. Bhawe, Madhav Bhuvan, Raopura, Baroda.

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta.

Dr. S. K. De, 19-A, Choudhuri Lane, Calcutta-4.

Dr. G. V. Devasthali, H. P. T. College, Nasik.

Dr. C. B. Gupta, Hindu College, New Delhi.

Dr. Hiralal Jain, Vaishali Institute, Muzaffarpur (Bihar).

Dr. S. M. Katre, Deccan College, Poona-6.

Dr. M. A. Mehendale, Deccan College, Poona-6.

Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Vishnusadan, Dharmapeth, Nagpur.

Dr. T. R. V. Murti, Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

Shri B. V. Nath, Department of Archaeology and Museum, Bhubaneswar (Orissa).

Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Adhyapak Niwas, Pratapganj, Baroda.

Dr. Sukumar Sen, 27, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta-6.

Dr. J. M. Unwala, Parsi Students Hostel, Ganadia Colony, Tardev, Bombay.

Prof. H. D. Velankar, 10/2, Shastri Hall, Bombay-7.



## DELEGATING UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTIONS

### Universities :

Universities of Aligarh, Allahabad, Andhra, Annamalai, Aurangabad, Banaras, Baroda, Bihar, Bombay, Burdwan, Calcutta, Ceylon, Delhi, Gauhati, Gorakhpur, Gujarat, Jabalpur, Jadavpur, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnatak, Kerala, Kurukshetra, Lucknow, Madras, Marathwada, Mysore, Nagpur, Osmania, Patna, Poona, Punjab, Rajasthan, Ranchi, Saugar, Sri Venkateswara, Utkal, Varanasiya Sanskrit, Visva Bharati.

### Colleges :

Rajaram College, Kolhapur ; M. J. College, Jalgaon (Maharashtra) ; S. V. Vidyapith, Vidyanagar (Gujrat) ; S. K. C. G. College, Parlakhimedi (Orissa) ; Municipal Arts and Commerce College, Upleta (Saurashtra) ; Maharaja College, Chhatarpur (M.P.) ; Gaya College, Gaya ; Govt. College, Anantnag ; Karnatak College, Dharwar ; Sri Raghunath Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Jammu ; D.G. Mahavidyalaya, Aliabad (Saurashtra) ; Bhadrak College, Bhadrak (Orissa) ; Puri College, Puri (Orissa) ; Dangar College, Bikanir ; Arts College, Hyderabad ; Govt. College of Arts and Science, Siddipet (Andhra Pradesh) ; Sanskrit College, Bangalore ; Hans Raj College, Delhi ; Fergusson College, Poona ; St. Xavier's College, Bombay ; Govt. College, Darjeeling (West Bengal) ; D. H. S. K. College, Dibrugarh (Assam) ; Siligin College, Siliguri ; H. P. T. College, Nasik ; Govt. Arts and Science College, Aurangabad (Dn) ; S. V. College for Music and Dance, Tirupati ; Arts and Science College, Modasa (Gujarat) ; Gujarat College, Ahmedabad ; N. R. Research College, Khurja (U. P.) ; Bhavan's College, Bombay ; N.R. E. C. College, Khurja ; Govt. Sanskrit College, Raipur ; M. P. Shah College, Surendranagar ; Govt. Girls' College, Sri Ganganagar ; D. S. College, Aligarh ; A. P. S. College, Bangalore ; Mahajana Sanskrit College, Nirchal (Kerala) ; H. D. Jain College, Arrah (Bihar) ; Raj Rishi College, Alwar ; D. A. V. College, Jallunder ; Kendrapara College, Kendrapara (Orissa) ; D. College, Dhenkenal (Orissa) ; I. S. C. College, Abgul, Dt. Bhenkaral (Orissa) ; Sri Rajani Parekh Arts College, Cambay (Gujarat) ; Ravenshaw College, Cuttack ; G. D. College, Begusarai (Bihar) ; Govt. College, Kolar ; Govt. Law College, Bombay ; Basaveshvar College, Bagalkot (Mysore) ; H. K. Arts College, Ahmedabad ; L. S. College, Muzaffarpur (Bihar) ; Govt. Degree College, Mandla ; Maharaja College, Ernakulam ; Govt. Oriental College, Srinagar.



**Govt. Departments, Museums, Etc.**

Departments of Archaeology, New Delhi, Bhopal, Gujarat and Srinagar.

Department of Archives, Maharashtra.

Department of Epigraphy, Ootacamund.

Director of Punjabi, Patiala, Punjab.

District Inspector of Schools, Poori.

Gazetters' Unit, Ministry of S. R. and C. A., New Delhi.

Temple Survey, Archaeology Department, Bhopal.

Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

Central Sanskrit Board, Ministry of Education, New Delhi.

Central Hindi Directorate, Delhi.

M. G. M. Museum, Raipur.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Orissa.

Research Section, A. I. R., New Delhi.

Inspector of Sanskrit Schools, Mysore.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Frontier Circle, Srinagar.

Special Officer for Nationalisation of Text Books, Hyderabad.

**Research Institutes and Libraries :**

Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras.

Akhil Bharat Samskrit Sammelan, New Delhi.

Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Patna.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal, Poona.

Bharatiya Pracya Vidya Pratisthan, Ajmere.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad.

Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

English - Tamil Dictionary Department, University of Madras.

F. Cama Research Institute, Bombay.

French Indological Institute, Pondicherry.

Institutes of Languages and Research, Jabalpur.

Institute of Oriental Learning, Calcutta.

Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Vrindavan.





International Academy of Indian Culture, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-16.

International Academy of Philosophy, Ahmedabad.

Iran League, Bombay.

Jain Cultural Research Society, Varanasi.

Jain Research Institute, Yeotmal.

Kerala University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum.

K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras.

L. D. Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidya Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Marathi Samsodhan Mandal, Bombay.

Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit' Darbhanga.

Music Academy, Madras.

National Library, Calcutta.

Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda.

Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda.

Purana Department, A. I. Kasiraja Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Banaras.

Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Raghunatha Temple, Jammu.

Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.

Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur.

Rupa Devi Sharada Pitha, Srinagar.

Sankaracharya Math, Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha, Conjeevaram.

Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Sanskrit College, Mysore.

Sanskrit Education Society, Madras.

Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

Tilak Maharashtra Vidya Pith, Poona.

Vaidika Samsodhan Mandal, Poona.

Veda Samsodhan Mandal, Bombay.

Visvesvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur.



**MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE****Chairman :**

Vice - Chancellor, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

**Secretary :**

Local Secretary of the Session.

**Treasurer :**

Treasurer, Jammu and Kashmir University.

**Members :**

1. Director of Education
2. Director Tourism
3. Controller Tawaza
4. Transport Commissioner
5. Executive Engineer
6. N. C. C. Chief
7. Secretary, Cultural Academy
8. Principal Information Officer, Srinagar
9. Director, State Archives
10. Superintendent, Archaeology
11. Principal, Madinat - ul - Uloom Hazratbal, Srinagar
12. Principal, Rupa Devi Sharada Peetha, Srinagar.

**MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE****Chief Patron :**

Sadar - i - Riyasat, Shri Karan Singh Ji.

**Chairman :**

Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

**Vice-Chairman :**

Vice - Chancellor, Sardar K. M. Panikkar.

**Patrons :**

1. Education Minister.
2. Finance Minister.
3. Development Minister.
4. Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs.

**Treasurer :**

Treasurer, Jammu and Kashmir University.

**Secretary :**

Local Secretary of the Conference.



**Members :**

1. Director of Education. 2. Director Tawaza. 3. Director Tourism. 4. Deputy Commissioner, Srinagar. 5. Chief Engineer (Construction). 6. Transport Controller. 7. Director, Information. 8. Station Director, Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. 9. Director, Food Control. 10. Director, State Archives. 11. Superintendent, Archaeology. 12. Secretary, Dharmarth. 13. Secretary, Cultural Academy. 14. Administrator, Municipality, Srinagar. 15. Chief Secretary. 16. Maulvi Abdul Kabir, Principal, Oriental College, Hazratbal, Srinagar, Kashmir. 17. Principal, Raghunath Sanskrit College, Jammu. 18. Mr. Hairat Kamili Pandani, Srinagar. 19. Mr. Mohd. Amin Darab, Srinagar. 20. Mufti-e-Azam, Srinagar. 21. Prof. (Mufti) Jalal-ud-Din, A. S. College, Srinagar. 22. Prof. G. M. Hajini, S. P. College, Srinagar. 23. Prof. Jia Lal Kaula, Retired Prof. of Sanskrit, Karan Nagar, Srinagar. 24. Prof. Balji Nath Pandit, Govt. College, Sopore. 25. Dr. S. N. Sharma, Narparistan, Srinagar. 26. Dr. V.D. Shastri, A. S. College, Srinagar. 27. Dr. Krishna Mohan, Principal, Govt. College for Women, Jammu. 28. Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai, Govt. College for Women, Jammu. 29. Prof. Ram Nath Shastri, G. M. Arts College, Jammu. 30. Prof. Maqbool Fazili, S. P. College, Srinagar. 31. Prof. (Miss) Zia Durrani, Govt. College for Women, Srinagar. 32. Principal G. M. Mattoo, Srinagar. 33. Dr. J. N. Bhan, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. 34. Prof. N. L. Kaul Talib, Retired Prof. of Persian, Srinagar. 35. Master Zinda Kaul, 2nd Bridge, Srinagar. 36. Prof. T. S. Siddiqui, Retired Prof. of Persian, Srinagar. 37. Principal, G. M. Arts College, Jammu. 38. Prof. S. M. Iqbal, S. P. College, Srinagar. 39. Prof. Prem Singh, Govt. College for Women, Srinagar. 40. Pandit Shridhar Kaul Dulloo, Rainawari, Srinagar. 41. Shri J. L. Kaul Nazir, Srinagar. 42. Pandit Parmanand, Rupadevi Sharda Peeth, Srinagar. 43. Prof. B. K. Madan, Srinagar. 44. Master Shankar Pandit, Srinagar. 45. Principal, A. S. College, Srinagar. 46. Principal, S. P. College, Srinagar. 47. Principal, Govt. College for Women, Srinagar. 48. Prof. Sri Kanth Kaul, A. S. College, Srinagar. 49. Head of the Department of Hindi, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar. 50. Head of the Dept. of Urdu, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar. 51. Deputy Directress, Womens' Education, Srinagar.



## SUB - COMMITTEES

**I. Accommodation Sub - Committee**

1. Director Tourism, 2. Director Education, 3. Executive Engineer, 4. Administrator, Municipality, Srinagar, 5. Registrar, University (Convener).

**II. Board Sub - Committee**

1. Controller Tawaza, Srinagar, 2. Director, Food Control, Srinagar, 3. Health Officer, Srinagar, 4. Deputy Registrar, University (Convener).

**III. Transport (and Sight Seeing) Sub - Committee**

1. Transport Commissioner, 2. Director Tourism, 3. Superintendent, Archaeology (N. Circle), Srinagar, 4. Assistant Registrar, University (Convener).

**IV. Cultural Programmes Sub - Committee**

1. Secretary, Cultural Academy. 2. Cultural Officer, Directorate of Information, Srinagar. 3. Principal, Govt. College for Women, Srinagar. 4. Director, School of Design, Srinagar. 5. Assistant Director, Research and Publication (Convener).

**V. Publicity Sub - Committee**

1. Station Director, Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. 2. Shri R. K. Kak, Press Representative. 3. Shri S. P. Sahney, Press Representative. 4. Shri Ali Jawad Zaidi, Srinagar. 5. Principal Information Officer, Srinagar (Convener).

**VI. Conference Venue Sub - Committee**

1. Prof. Maqbool Fazili, S. P. College, Srinagar. 2. Prof. Lachhmi Narain Sapru. Govt. College, Anantnag. 3. Field Publicity Officer, Srinagar. 4. Electrical Engineer, Srinagar. 5. Controller, Tawaza. 6. N.C.C. Chief. 7. Local Secretary (Convener),

**VII. General Programme Sub - Committee**

1. Vice-Chancellor. 2. Registrar. 3. Local Secretary (Convener).



## LOCAL SCHOLARS NOMINATED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE AIOC.

1. Prof. Mufti Jalalud Din, Professor of Persian, A. S. College, Srinagar.
2. Prof. N. L. Kaul Talib, Retired Professor of Persian and Urdu, Srinagar.
3. Sardar Prem Singh, Lecturer in Punjabi, Govt. College for Women, Srinagar.
4. Shri T.N.Khizanchi, Superintendent, Archaeology, Northern Circle, Srinagar.
5. Shri F. M. Hassnain, Director, Archives, Srinagar.
6. Prof. R. N. Shastri, Professor of Sanskrit, G. G. M. Arts College, Jammu.
7. Shri Baljinath Pandit, Reader in Sanskrit, Govt. College, Anantnag.
8. Dr. R. K. Kaw, V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur.
9. Dr. M. D. Qadri, "Zore", Head of the Urdu Department, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.
10. Dr. (Miss) Krishna Mohan, Principal, Govt. College for Women, Jammu.

## LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS

1. Ahmad, Khwaja Muhammad, F-11-5-406, Red Hills, Hyderabad [Dn.].
2. Ambika, Mrs. S., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Indraprastha College for Women, Alipore Road, Delhi.
3. Aney, M. S., M. P., Lok Sabha, New Delhi.
4. Bairolia, Rukmanand, Bara Bazzar, Darbhanga.
5. Bapat, Dr. P. V., Professor of Buddhism, University of Delhi, Delhi-8.
6. Belvalkar, Dr. S. K. "Bilvakunja", Poona.
7. Bhargava, Mrs. Savitri, c/o Sri Ramakrishna Dalmia, 15, York Road, New Delhi.
8. Bhatt, Banseedhar, Khadia, Mota Sutarwada, Ahmedabad.
9. Bhayani, Dr. H. C., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpathy, Bombay-7.
10. Birudaraja, Rama Raja, Reader in Telugu, Arts College, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
11. Buty, Shrimant, B. J., Civil Lines, Nagpur.
12. Buty, Shrimant, C. C., Do
13. Buty, Shrimant, K. G., Do
14. Buty, Shrimant, P. G., Do



15. Cassed, Jal Pestonjee, Garden Villa, 78, Ramdaspath Park, Nagpur-1.
16. Chatte, M. N., Civil Lines, Nagpur.
17. Chattopadhyaya, Kshetres Chandra, Director of Research, Varanaseya Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
18. Chitnavis, Shrimant K. S., Landlord, Civil Lines, Nagpur.
19. Chitnavis, Shrimant M. G., Chitnavispura, Nagpur.
20. Chopra, Chhogmal, President, Jain Svetambar Therapanth Mahasabha, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
21. Choudhuri, Dr. Narendra Nath, Professor of Sanskrit, University, of Delhi, Delhi-8
22. Choudhury, Kumar Shri Vaidyanatha, Durgaganj, Purnea.
23. Daruka, N. P., Gulloco Bara, Darbhanga.
24. Das Gupta, Mrs. Sibani, c/o Prof. Siva Prasad Das Gupta, Sobha Bazar Street, Calcutta-5.
25. Deshmukh, Shrimant D. K., Jahagirdar of Peruwa, Dt. Yeotmal.
26. Deshmukh, Shrimant L. S., Mahal, Nagpur.
27. Deshpande, Dr. Mrs. Kamalabai, "Pushkar", Prabhat Road, 33-22, Yernadavana, Poona-4
28. Dutt, Dr. Nalinaksha, 39, Ramananda Chatterji Street, Calcutta.
29. Filliozat, Dr. Jean, Director, French Indological Institute, Pondicherry.
30. Gorekar, Prof. N. S., St. Xavier's College, Bombay-1.
31. Hota, Siddhesvar, Professor of Sanskrit, S. K. C. G. College, Parlakemedi, Dt. Ganjam, Orissa.
32. Iyengar, Pt. M. C. Krishnaswami, Nagappa's Block, Srirampur, Bangalore.
33. Jajodia, Atma Ram B., Purchase Officer, Bhilai Steel Project, P. O. Bhilai Steel Plant, Dist. and Tehsil Durg (M. P.).
34. Jani, Dr. A. N., Jamkhana's Pole, Sultanpura, Baroda.
35. Joshi, Dr. R. B., Reader in Sanskrit, University of Delhi, Delhi-8.
36. Kahotia, Mohan Lal, Matchwell Electrical (India) Ltd., 4/11, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi.
37. Kane, Dr. P. V., Angres Wadi, Girgaum, Bombay-4.
38. Kazi, Prof. M. A., Kazi Wada, Godhrah.
39. Kheta, Shrimant Shasuji, Congress Nagar, Nagpur.
40. Kosambi, Prof. D. D., Deccan Gymkhana, Poona-4.
41. Law, Dr. B. C., 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.



42. Law, Dr. Narendranath, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9.
43. Mallik, Dr. Mrs. Kalyani, 35/1-A, Garcha Road, Calcutta-19.
44. Mallik, Madhusudan, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.
45. Malwad, Prof. S. S., Professors' Quarters, Karnatak University, Dharwar.
46. Mehta, Seth Gopal Das, Temple Road, Civil Lines, Mahal, Nagpur.
47. Mishra, Hara Govind, Mishra Hosiery, Kanpur.
48. Mishra, Jagannatha, Dilkushbagh Palace, Darbhanga.
49. Mishra, Umanath, Katihar East, Katihar, (Dist. Purnea).
50. Narayan, Lala Jai, Mohan Nagar, Nagpur.
51. Nayar, Husain Lal, Railway Clearing Office, S. T. E. P. Section, 1807, Wazir Singh Street, Paharganj, New Delhi.
52. Negi, M. S., Accounts Officer, Gorakhpur University, Gorakhpur.
53. Pandit, S. N., Nand Bhavan, Shirpur, Gautam Buddha Road, Lucknow.
54. Pandit, V. R., 8, Sethalwad Road, Napien Sea Road, Bombay-26.
55. Prasad, Awadh Bihari, Bangalagarh, Darbhanga.
56. Prasadji, Padmanabha, Ratnakutir, Darbhanga.
57. Raghu Vira, Dr., International Academy of Indian Culture, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi.
58. Rao, K. J. Gopal, Pantuluvely Upstairs, Masulipatam.
59. Sastri, Mahanta Shivacharan Bharati, Mathadhisa, Dularpur Math, P.O. Teghara, Dt. Monghyr (Bihar).
60. Sastri, N. Mallikarjuna, Principal, Sri Chamarajendra Veda Mahapathasala, Chamarajpeth, Bangalore.
61. Sastri, Prof. Visva Bandhu, Director, V. V. R. Institute, P. O. Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur.
62. Shah, Hiralal Amrithlal, 69, Marine Drive, Block No. 10 Bombay-1.
63. Singh, C. P. N., Indian Ambassador to Japan, Indian Embassy, Tokyo.
64. Singh, Jugeshwar, Mubbi Deorhi, Purnea.
65. Singh, Jyoti Prasad, Mubbi, Dt. Darbhanga.
66. Singh, Mantradhari, Madhubani Estate, Madhubani, Darbhanga.
67. Singh, H. H. Maharaja Sri Vibhutinaraia, Fort, Ramnagar, Banaras.



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

29

68. Singh Shan, Prof. Harnam, Head of the Punjabi Department, Punjab University, Chandigarh.
69. Singhaji, Chandradhari, Chandranagar Deorhi, Ranti, P. O. Madhubani, Dt. Darbhanga.
70. Singhaji, Kaladhari, Raghampur Deorhi, P. O. Sakri, Dt. Darbhanga.
71. Singhaji, Dewan Bahadur Sri Kameshwar Narain, Narahan Estate, P. O. Madhubani, Dt. Darbhanga.
72. Singhaji, Kumar Sri Krishnananda, Krishnagarh Estate, Sultan-ganj, P. O. Bhagalpur.
73. Singhaji, Lakshman Prasad, Rai Sahab ki Deorhi, Darbhanga.
74. Singhaji, Ram Prasad, Anadabhavan, Darbhanga.
75. Singhaji, Raja Bahadur Shriman Vishveshwar, Bala Palace, Darbhanga.
76. Singhi, Jagadish Nandan, Madhubani Estate, P. O. Madhubani, Dt. Darbhanga.
77. Sinha, Kumar Gangananda, "Sachiva Sadan", Darbhanga.
78. Sinha, Kumar Sri Taranand, Zamindar, Chouri Kothi, Bhagalpur.
79. Sutarai, Shrimant D. C., Proprietor, Bombay Cycle Stores, Mahal, Nagpur.
80. Suryakant, Dr., Professor of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
81. Varnekar, S. B., "Vagishwari Niketan", Dhantoli, Nagpur-1.
82. Vaudeville, Charlotte, Deccan College, Poona-6.







## LIST OF MEMBERS

1. *Abidi*, Dr. S. A. H., Faculty of Arts, Delhi University, Delhi-6.
2. *Acharya*, Paramananda, P.O. Baripada, Dist. Mayurbhanj, Orissa.
3. *Acharya*, Dr. Ram Kumar, Alwar Gate, Ajmer.
4. *Adhikari*, Ram Chandra, B/7/139, Hararbag, Varanasi-1, U.P.
5. *Adhvarya*, D.B., Subhas Chowk, Dabore, Gujarat State.
6. *Aditi*, Mrs., Nawab Manzil Compound, Fraser Rd., Patna-1, Bihar.
7. *Adyar Library and Research Centre*, Adyar, Madras-20.
8. *Agnihotri*, Dr. Balram Sadashiv, Kathol Wadi, Darbhanga, Bihar.
9. *Agnihotri*, Leela Balaram, Kathol Wadi, Darbhanga, Bihar.
10. *Agnihotri*, Leelakumari, Kathol Wadi, Darbhanga, Bihar.
11. *Agnihotri*, Rushiraj Chunilal, Modasa Arts and Science College, Modasa (Gujarat), Via. Talod.
12. *Agrawala*, V. S., Benaras Hindu University, Banaras.
13. *Ahmed*, Husain Khan, 10-3-293/2, Humayun Nagar, Hyderabad-4.
14. *Ahmed*, Khaja Hameed, Assistant Secretary of Health, Secretariat Buildings, Hyderabad.
15. *Ahmed*, Manazir, Lecturer, Sajjed Quarters, Bhopal.
16. *Ahmed*, Mukhtar Uddin, Reader, Institute of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh.
17. *Ahmed*, Nazir, Professor and Head of the Dept. of Persian, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.
18. *Ahmed*, Q., C/o K. P. Jayaswal Res. Institute, Museum, Patna-1.
19. *Ahmed*, Mrs. S. Iqbal, Reader, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh.
20. *Ahmed*, Syed Razi Uddin, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, S. V. University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh.
21. *Ahuja*, Dr. Yog Dhyani, Reader in Persian, Institute of P.G. [Evening] Studies, University of Delhi, A-16/11, Pratap Bagh, Delhi-6.
22. *Aiyar*, A. Ananthanarayana, Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, Srinagar.
23. *Aiyar*, N. Raghunatha, Sanskrit Education Society, Madras-4.
24. *Aiyar*, T. V. Visvanatha, 14, East Mada St., Mylapore, Madras-4.
25. *Ali*, Mohd. Hashim, Lecturer in Urdu and Persian, Govt. Arts and Science College, Gorakhpur.

A



26. *Allbless*, Boman Jee Dassabboy, Umrigar Mansion, Camballa Hills, Bombay-26.
27. *Ambashthya*, Brahma Deva Prasad, c/o B. Nauran Abul Ashane, Bankipoor P.O., Patna, Bihar.
28. *Anandamurthy*, Veturi, Hyderabad.
29. *Anklesaria*, Erward Dr. Peshotan Kavashaw, Principal, The M. F. Kama Athornan Institute, Cama Road, Andheri, Bombay-58.
30. *Ansari*, Muhammed Iqbal, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.
31. *Ansari*, Shareefunnisa Begum, Lecturer in Persian, outside Dabeer Pusa, Alwa Bibi, Masjid Osmania, H. No. 226, Hyderabad (A.P.).
32. *Apte*, Dr. V. M., Director, Veda Samsodhana Mandal, Bombay Co-operative Housing Society, Bombay-22.
33. *Arunachalam*, S. K., Ammapet, Salem-3, Madras State.
34. *Arunoday*, Mrs. Jani Kusumbala, Jamkhana's Pole, Sultanpura, Baroda.
35. *Athavale*, Ramachandra Balvant, 24, Maharastra Society, Ahmedabad-6.
36. *Athavale*, Vaidya, Poona.
37. *Ayyar*, A. S., Nataraja, Research Scholar, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
38. *Bajpai*, Krishna Datta, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugar, Saugar.
39. *Balasubramanyam*, Malladi Dakshinamurti, Deccan College, Poona-6.
40. *Balbir*, Dr. J. K. of Nainital, c/o Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras-5.
41. *Bamji*, Major Sohrab Rustomji, Prospect Chambers, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road, Bombay-1.
42. *Bana*, Dr. Homi Ratansha, 631, Divoo Villa, Joshi Road, Dadar, Bombay-14.
43. *Bana*, Mrs. Tehmi Homi, 631, Divoo Villa, Joshi Road, Dadar, Bombay-14.
44. *Banerjee*, Anukul Chandra, 1/5, Prem Chand Boral St., Calcutta-12.
45. *Banerjee*, Dr. Biswanath, Reader in Pali, Calcutta University, 3/4 B, Taltala Lane, Calcutta, West Bengal.
46. *Banerjee*, Jitendra Nath, 28, Manoharpukur Rd., Calcutta-29.
47. *Banerjee*, Satya Ranjan, 5F, Nebu Bagan Lane, Calcutta-3.
48. *Banhatti*, G. S., Professor of English, Deogiri College, Aurangabad.
49. *Banhatti*, Shalini, Nageshwar Wadi, Aurangabad.



50. *Bapat*, P. V., Svadhyaya, 772, Shivajinagar, Poona-4.
51. *Bapat*, Vaman Visvanatha, Pleader, Mattekdi Rd., Amaravati, Vidarbha, Maharashtra State.
52. *Basu*, Debkumar, 295, Netaji Subhas Rd., Howrah, West Bengal.
53. *Basu*, Miss Mira, G. 17, Ladies Colony, B. H. U., Benaras-5.
54. *Basu*, Dr. Mrs. S., G. 17, Ladies Colony, Hindu University, Varanasi-5.
55. *Basu*, Dwijendranath, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
56. *Becharada*, Pandit Prabodh, Reader in Linguistics, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad-9.
57. *Bedekar*, K. G., Shri Vallabha Nivas, 795, Bhandarkar Institute Road, Poona-4.
58. *Bedekar*, Vitthal Mahadev, Research Fellow, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona-4.
59. *Beg*, Mirza Bismillah, 11-5-570, Nampalli, Hyderabad, Deccan.
60. *Begum*, Hafiza, 7, Shaikh Dawood St., Royapettah, Madras-14.
61. *Behera*, Krushna Charan, Senior Lecturer, Oriya Department, Bhadrak College, P.O. Bhadrak, Orissa.
62. *Bhagvat*, Vaman Balakrishna, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Sadashivpeth, Poona-2.
63. *Bhandari*, Muralidhar Yallaneppa, 3/10, Khasbag, Basavangalli, Belgaum.
64. *Bhandari*, Parsharam Ramachandra, Upper Galli, Khasbag, Belgaum.
65. *Bhandari*, Miss Shanti, Headmistress, Lady Girls' Higher Secondary School, Bikaner.
66. *Bhandari*, Prof. V. S., Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur.
67. *Bharati*, H. L. N., 1158, Bajjanna Lane, Mysore-4.
68. *Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala*, Secretary, 1321, Sadashiva, Poona-2.
69. *Bhargava*, P. L., Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, Rajasthan University, Jaipur.
70. *Bhat*, Achirth, Satyanarayana Bhavan, Narayana Sastry Road, Shivarampet, Mysore-1.
71. *Bhat*, K. Shama, Principal, Mahajana Sanskrit College, Perdala, Nirchal P.O. Via Kumbha, Kerala.
72. *Bhat*, Dr. M. Mariappa, Professor and Head of the Department of Kannada, University of Madras, Madras-5.
73. *Bhatt*, Prof. Banseedhar, 3/B, Kamal Colony, Ahmedabad-9.



74. *Bhatt*, Dr. Govind Keshav, "Jaduban", Shahurpuri, Kolhapur, Maharashtra.
75. *Bhatt*, Govindlal Hargovind, Shakuntala, Kharivov Rd., Baroda.
76. *Bhatt*, Purushottam Nanalal, D. G. Mahavidyalaya, Aliabad, Saurashtra.
77. *Bhatta*, P. Chandrasekhara, Lecturer in Sanskrit, 1333, Krishnamurti Puram, Mysore-4.
78. *Bhattacharya*, Asoke Kumar, Hindi Education Officer, Education Directorate (West Bengal), Calcutta-1.
79. *Bhattacharya*, Prof. B. C., H. S. K. College, Medical Road, Dibrugarh, Assam.
80. *Bhattacharya*, Bhabatosh, P. O. Bhatpara, Dist., 24 Pharganas, West Bengal.
81. *Bhattacharya*, Dr. Bijan Bihari, Reader, Department of Modern Indian Languages, University of Calcutta, 103-E, Kankulia Road, Calcutta-19.
82. *Bhattacharya*, Devipada, Jadavpur University College of Arts, Calcutta-32.
83. *Bhattacharya*, Durgamohan, 42-A, Jibankrishna Mitra Road, Bilgachia, Calcutta-37.
84. *Bhattacharya*, Dvijendranath, New Colony, P. O. Shamnagar, Dist. 24 Pharganas, West Bengal.
85. *Bhattacharya*, Dr. Gopika Mohan, 24-B, Gauri Vidyaratna Lane, Calcutta-9.
86. *Bhattacharya*, Madhusudana, Calcutta.
87. *Bhattacharya*, Ramaprasad, 99-B 3, Tarak Pramasick Rd., Calcutta-6.
88. *Bhattacharya*, S. V. S., Research Scholar, University of Mysore, c/o, Gita Coffee Stores, Vanivilas Road, Mysore-4.
89. *Bhave*, Lilabhai S., Madhav Bhavan, Raopura, Baroda.
90. *Bhave*, S. S., Madhav Bhavan, Raopura, Baroda.
91. *Bhayani*, H.C., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpathy Road, Bombay-7.
92. *Bhide*, K. T., 35, Naris Peth, Poona.
93. *Bhide*, M. V., Swastika, Poona-4.
94. *Bhide*, V. J., 167-D, Vincent Road, Dadar, Bombay-14.
95. *Bhide*, Mrs. V. J. 167-D., Vincent Road, Dadar, Bombay-14.
96. *Bhide*, Vidyadhar Vishvanatha, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandal, Tilak Memorial, Poona-2.
97. *Bhide*, Mrs. Vijaya Vidyadhar, 319, Shanivar Peth, Poona-2.
98. *Bhopatkar*, Miss. Sharayu, Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, 15, Sukravar Peth, Poona-2.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

v

99. *Biswas*, Asutosh, Professor of Sanskrit, D. H. S. K. College, Jail Rd., Dibrugarh, P.O. Assam.
100. *Bode*, (Dastur) Framroz Arodeshir, c/o K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, 136, Apollo St., Fort, Bombay.
101. *Bon Moharaj*, Swami Bhakti Hridaya, Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Vrindaban, U. P..
102. *Bose*, Smt. Parul, 7c/14, Gokhale Road, Calcutta-20.
103. *Bulcke*, Rev. C., Kauresa House, Ranchi, Bihar.
104. *Bhutuda*, Champalal Hiralal.
105. *Brahmachari*, Sanskrit Department, H. D. Jain College, Arrah, Bihar.
106. *Brahmachari*, Raghava Chaitanya Das, 117, Gopinath Ghera, Vrindaban, Mathura, U.P.
107. *Buddha Prakash*, Head of the Dept. of Ancient History and Culture, P. University, Chandigarh-3.
108. *Canteenwala*, Major E.H., 85, Hazratganj, Lucknow, U.P.
109. *Chakravarti*, Chintaharan, 28/3-B, Sahanagar Road, Kali Ghat, Calcutta-26.
110. *Chakravathy*, Kumari Rani Devi, c/o Shri S. K. Chakravarty, 931, Wright Town, Near Motor Stand, Jabalpur, M. P.
111. *Chandayarkar*, P., Principal, Sri Rajani Parekh Arts College, Cambay, Gujrat.
112. *Chandra*, Dr. Sahib, Nawab Manzil Compound, Fraser Rd., Patna-1.
113. *Chandrasahana*, A., Principal, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.
114. *Chandramauliswar*, R., Dept. of History & Politics, National College, Masulipatam.
115. *Charles*, Damais Louis, Djalan Sunda, 5-A, Djakarta, Indonesia.
116. *Chatterjee*, Ashoke, 20/1, Halderpara Lane, P.O. Santragachi, Howrah, West Bengal, (Sanskrit College, Calcutta-12).
117. *Chatterji*, Chinmoyee, Hugli Women's College, Hugli.
118. *Chatterji*, Mrs. Depti, Institute of Oriental Learning, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9.
119. *Chatterji*, Durga Charan, Principal, Siliguri College, Siliguri, P. O., Darjeeling.
120. *Chatterjee*, Shrimati Jharna, 20/1, Halderpara Lane, P.O. Santragachi, Howrah, West Bengal.
121. *Chatterji*, Smt. Kamala, c/o Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 16, Hindustan Park, Calcutta-29.
122. *Chatterji*, Dr. Suniti Kumar, Chairman, Legislative Council, West Bengal, Calcutta.



123. *Chattopadhyaya*, Basanta Kumar, 3, Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta-20.
124. *Chattopadhyaya*, Kshetresachandra, Director of Research, Varanasiya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi.
125. *Chattopadhyaya*, Siddheswar, Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Burdwan, Burdwan.
126. *Chaturvedi*, Krishna Kanth, Institute of Languages and Research, Shaheed Bhavan, Jabalpur.
127. *Chaturvedi*, Smt. Mohini, c/o Dr. M. P. Chaturvedi, Civil Surgeon, Gonda.
128. *Chaturvedi*, Shaiih Nath, Assistant Professor, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Gorakhpur University, Gorakhpur.
129. *Chaturvedi*, S. P., Professor and Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
130. *Chaubey*, Maheswari Prasad, Lecturer, College of Indology, Department of Ancient Indian History, B.H.U., Camp, Cuttack, Orissa.
131. *Chaudhuri*, Dr. Jatindra Bimal, 3, Federation St., P.O. Amherst St., Calcutta-9.
132. *Chaudhuri*, Radhakrishna, Vice-Principal and Head of the Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, G. D. College, P. O. Begusarai, Bihar.
133. *Chaudhuri*, Dr. Roma, 3, Federation St., P.O. Amherst St., Calcutta-9.
134. *Chaudhuri*, Sarbari Bhusan, 15, Lalit Mitra Lane, Shambazar, Calcutta-4.
135. *Chaudhury*, Prof. Binayendra Nath, Latika Bhavan, Jayasri Colony, Bamacharan Roy Rd., Calcutta-34.
136. *Chaudhury*, Mrs. Nandita, Latika Bhavan, Jayasri Colony, Bamacharan Roy Road, Calcutta-34.
137. *Chaudhury*, Ummed Mal Jain, Advocate, Munsif Court, Kuchaman Road, Rajasthan.
138. *Chaudhury*, V. C. P., Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Building, Patna.
139. *Chettiar*, J. N. Arumugam, 271, Cadalore Main Rd., Ammapet, Salem-3.
140. *Chettiar*, Dr. A. Chidambaranatha, Chief Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary, University of Madras, Madras-5.
141. *Chhabra*, Dr. Bahadur Chand, Joint Director General of Archaeology, Janpath, New Delhi-11.
142. *Chintamani*, K. N., Lecturer in Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

vii

143. *Chisty*, Sahibzada Moinuddin N., Member, International Academy of Philosophy, 565, Delhi Chakla, Ahmedabad.
144. *Chishty*, Sahibzada Rasiduddin N., Nasir Baugh, Shahi Bagh, Ahmedabad-4.
145. *Chopra*, P. N., G. O. I., Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (Gazetteer Unit), New Delhi.
146. *Chou*, Dr. Hsiang-Kuang, 1/8 Jawahar Lal Nehru Road, Allahabad-2.
147. *Choudhury*, Shri Anjali Dutt, 16, Durgapore Lane, Calcutta-27.
148. *Choudhury*, Debiprosad Bose, India Govt. Silver Refinery, 47, Strand Road, Calcutta-7.
149. *Choudhury*, Dr. Narendranath, Dean of the faculty of Arts, University of Delhi, Delhi-6.
150. *Choudhury*, Radhakrishna, Head of the Dept. of History, Ganesh Datta College, Begu Sarai, Bihar.
151. *Chowdhury*, Dr. Mrs. Radha Rani, D-34/179, Ganesh Mohalla, Varanasi-1.
152. *Chumpaklal*, Lila Chand, G. B. Reast, Kirkee, Poona-3.
153. *Coulson*, Michael Anthony, c/o National and Grindlays Bank, Narasimharaja Square, Bangalore-2.
154. *Dalal*, Smt. Shantaben, c/o G. A. Dalal, Kothaie Pole, Ahmedabad.
155. *Damais*, L. C., Centre de Etudes de l'E. F. E. 9, Djakarta, Indonesia.
156. *Damle*, Mrs. Malati Madhao, c/o Dr. Mrs. Kalele, Dharampeth, Nagpur-1.
157. *Dandekar*, Indumati R., c/o Prof. R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona, Poona-7.
158. *Dandekar*, Dr. R. N., General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, University of Poona, Poona-7.
159. *Dange*, S.A.
160. *Das*, Anil Kumar, 295/4/2, Netaji Subhas Rd., Howrah.
161. *Das*, Dwaraka Nath, Chairman, Puri Municipality, Puri, Orissa.
162. *Das*, Jogdesh Chandra, Head of the English Department, H. D. Jain College, Arrah, Bihar.
163. *Das*, Ram Mohan, Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit, H. D. Jain College, Arrah, Bihar.
164. *Das Gupta*, Miss Amiya, Institute of Oriental Learning, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9.
165. *Das Gupta*, Bavani, P-472, C.I.T. Scheme, 47, Ballygunj, Calcutta-29.
166. *Das Gupta*, Miss Bulbul, c/o Prof. N. K. Das Gupta, 122/1/X, Manoharpukur Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26.



167. *Das Gupta*, Dr. Charu Chandra, Principals' Quarters, Darjeeling, West Bengal.
168. *Das Gupta*, Smt. Charuprabha, c/o Prof. Sivaprasad Das Gupta, 126, Sovabazar St., Top Floor, Calcutta-5.
169. *Das Gupta*, Dilip Kumar, c/o Prof. N. K. Das Gupta, 122/1/X, Manoharpukur Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
170. *Das Gupta*, Nishi Kanta, 122/1/X, Manoharpukur Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
171. *Das Gupta*, Smt. Purari, c/o Prof. N. K. Das Gupta, 122/1/X, Manoharpukur Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
172. *Das Gupta*, Dr. Sibani, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta.
173. *Dasgupta*, Prof. Sivaprasad, 126, Sovabazar St., Top Floor, Calcutta-5.
174. *Dasgupta*, Mrs. Sunity, c/o Prof. N. K. Das Gupta, 122/1/X, Manoharpukur Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta-26.
175. *Dash*, Dr. T. P., 61-M, Avenue Ring Rd., New Delhi-3.
176. *Dash*, Miss T.P., 61-M, Avenue Ring Rd., New Delhi-3.
177. *Dastoor*, Kaikhusro Minocher, Linden House, Lans Downe Rd., Apollo Bunder, Bombay-1.
178. *Datta*, Dr. K. K., Director, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna-1.
179. *Davane*, Kumari Gulam Vinayak, Satyendra Nivasa, Opp. Usha Talkies, Andheri (East), Bombay-58.
180. *Dave*, Hasmukh Manek Lal, 1/1 Shamti, 19, Peddar Road, Bombay 26.
181. *Dave*, Mrs. Indra Padmanabh, Acharved Khadeki, Near Soneri Lines, Broach.
182. *Dave*, Smt. Dr. Jasvanti Hasmukh Lal, 1/1, Shanti 19, Peddar Rd., Bombay-26.
183. *Dave*, Jayant Krishna Harikreshna, Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpathy Road, Bombay-7.
184. *Dave*, Padmanabhi Tapishanker, Acharved Khadaki, Broach, Gujarat.
185. *Dave*, Pinakin Natvar Lal, 1st Carpenter Street, Shri Nivas Bldgs., Second Floor, Bombay.
186. *Dave*, Dr. Shivakant Shambhulal, 20, New Staff Quarters, Vallabha Vidya Nagar.
187. *Dave*, Suresh J., Sri Swaminarayan Arts & Science College, Ahmedabad.
188. *Deleury*, Dr. G. A., 635/39, Vijayanagar, Sadashiv, Poona-2.
189. *Desai*, Jhinabhai R., Sheth N. Vidyavihar, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
190. *Deshpande*, Ganesh Trimbak, Reader in Sanskrit, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
191. *Deshpande*, Kumari Maya Gangadhar, Near Kamala Nursing Home, Prachand's House, Dhantoli, Nagpur.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ix

192. *Deshpande*, Ranganath Hanmanthrao, 1473, Deshpande Ghat, Belgaum.
193. *Deshpande*, Ranganath Ramkrishna, F/74, Lokamanya Nagar, Bombay.
194. *Deshpande*, Vimalabai Rangnath, 1473, Deshpande Ghat, Belgaum.
195. *Deva*, Mrs. Indira, c/o Arch. Survey of India, New Delhi.
196. *Deva*, Krishna, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
197. *Devappa*, Salaskar Lingappa, H. No. 1968, Ganpat Galli, Belgaum.
198. *Devasthali*, Dr. G. V., Principal, H. P. T. College, Nasik.
199. *Devasthali*, Mrs. Pramila Bai, c/o Dr. G. V. Devasthali, Nasik.
200. *Devi*, Moni Mala, 64/8-B, Suren Sarkar Rd., Calcutta-10.
201. *Dhaky*, M. A., Dept. of Archaeology, Rajkot.
202. *Dhall*, G. B., Puri College, Puri.
203. *Dharmadhikari*, Mrs. Pramila P., 5 H, Sidhupura Buildings, Gokhale Road, Dadar, Bombay-28.
204. *Dharmadhikari*, Trivikram Narayan, c/o Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Tilak Memorial, Poona-2.
205. *Dharmadhikari*, Mrs. Usha Trivikram, c/o T. N. Dharmadhikari.
206. *Dhuria*, Pratapchand, 773, East Nimard Ganj, Jabalpur (M.P.).
207. *Dhuru*, Miss Mandakini Shankar, Bhalchandra Nivas, 2, Matunga Rd., Bombay-19.
208. *Dikshitar*, T. V. Ramachandra, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
209. *Diskalkar*, D. B., 55/1954, Township Colony, P. O. Chembur, Bombay-71.
210. *Doulat*, Pandurang Mutkekar, 192, Tashildar Galli, Belgaum.
211. *Dravid*, N. S., Professor's Colony, Hanuman Nagar, Nagpur.
212. *Dube*, Padma Dhar, Student of LL. B., Allahabad University, 42, Darbhanga Castle Colony, Motilal Nehru Rd., Allahabad-2.
213. *Dutt*, Indra, Institute of Oriental Learning, 3, Federation St., Calcutta.
214. *Dutt*, Shri Amiya, 16/3, Garcha Second Lane, Calcutta-19.
215. *Dutt*, Sasanka Bhusan, 16/3, Garcha Second Lane, Calcutta-19.
216. *Dutta*, Miss Niru, 29, Haladhar Bushan Lane, Calcutta-12.
217. *Dvivedi*, Dr. P.C., Institute of P. G. Studies, Delhi University, Delhi-6.
218. *Dwivedi*, Surya Narain, c/o Roopa Devi Sharada Peeth, Srinagar.
219. *Ekbote*, P. S. 173, Bureed St., Khasbagh, Belgaum.
220. *Esteller*, A., S. J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
221. *Filliozat*, Dr. J., French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry.
222. *Fitter*, Kaikhosrow A., c/o The Iran League, Navsari Building, Hornby Rd., Bombay.
223. *Francisco*, Juan R., Inst. of Asian Studies, Uni. of Phillippines, Diliman, Rizal, Philippines.

B



224. *Gajendragadkar*, S. N., 34, Benam Hall Lane, Bombay-4.
225. *Ganesan*, Miss Ratna, 24, Fughlabh Crescent, New Delhi-11.
226. *Gangadhariah*, T., Sanskrit College Hostel, Bangalore.
227. *Ganguly*, Dharendra Nath, 3-A, Rampaul Lane, Calcutta-5.
228. *Ganhar*, J. N., 14-A/71, W. E. A. Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5.
229. *Gani*, Shahabuddin M., Tourist Information Officer, Rourkela.
230. *Garg*, K. S., Hewell Hostel, N. R. E. C. College, Khorja (UP).
231. *Gargi*, Miss Uniyal, Deccan College, Res Institute, Poona-6.
232. *Gaurisankar*, H. No. 2 H, Sector-16 D., Chandigarh.
233. *Ghai*, Dr. Miss Ved, Raghunathpura, Jammu (Tawi).
234. *Gharhi*, T., Raw Materials Dept., Rourkela Steel Plant, Rourkela-1.
235. *Ghosal*, Sabindra Nath, 51 L, Garcha Road, Calcutta-19.
236. *Ghose*, Khagendra Nath, 39, Ramkanta Bose Street, Calcutta-3.
237. *Ghose*, Miss Sarala, 39, Ramkanta Bose Street, Calcutta-3.
238. *Ghosh*, Atrayee, 6, Chatta Bagon Lane, Calcutta-6.
239. *Ghosh*, Prof. P. G., 4331, Nawatha Wada, Gujar Galli, Ahmednagar.
240. *Ghosh*, Sri Sutaba, 6, Chatta Bagon Lane, Calcutta-6.
241. *Gnanaratnam*, A., Regional Tourist Information Officer, Warangal.
242. *Godbole*, Ganesh Hari, No. 23, Borbhai Lane, Bombay-4.
243. *Godbole*, Dr. N. N., 'Udyog', Purandare Colony, Poona-2.
244. *Gokhale*, Mrs. A. V., c/o Prof. V. V. Gokhale, Delhi University, Delhi-6.
245. *Gokhale*, Justice Balachandra Narayan, 157-59, Gokhale Building, Bombay-4.
246. *Gokhale*, Mrs. Indra Balchandra, c/o B. N. Gokhale, Bombay-4.
247. *Gokhale*, Laxman Narayan, 1330, Hari Nivas, Natubag, Poona-2.
248. *Gokhale*, Mrs. Mayavati, Oriental Book Agency, 15, Sukravar Peth, Poona-2.
249. *Gokhale*, Shobhana Laxman, Deccan College, Poona-6.
250. *Gokhale*, Vishnu Bhaskar, 90, Blunt Square, Lucknow.
251. *Gokhale*, Prof. V. V., Dept. of Buddhist Studies, Uni. of Delhi, Delhi-6.
252. *Gopalakrishnamurti*, Parasuram, Lecturer in Telugu and Sanskrit, Govt. College of Arts and Science, P. O. Siddhipet, A. P.
253. *Gore*, N. A., Librarian, Marathwada University Library, Aurangabad.
254. *Gorekar*, N. S., St. Xavier's College, Bunder Road, Bombay-1.
255. *Goswami*, Bhagwan Bhandra, c/o Inst. of Ori. Philosophy, Vrindaban.
256. *Goswami*, Golokchandra, 79, University Campus, Gauhati.
257. *Goswami*, Mahaprabhulal, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute, Darbhanga, Bihar.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xi

258. *Guha*, Devaprasad, Dept. of Pali and Buddhism, Rangoon University, Rangoon.
259. *Guha*, Mrs. Uma, c/o G. Q. Chaudhari, Institute of Oriental Learning, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9.
260. *Gumaste*, Smt. Prabavati Shyamkant, 1461, Datta Nivas, Belgaum.
261. *Gumaste*, Shyamkant Chidambar, 1461, Datta Nivas, Deshpande Galli, Belgaum.
262. *Gunjkar*, Kashinath Rama Chandra, 17, Mathew Rd., Bombay-4.
263. *Gupta*, Shri Anand Swarup, Purana Department, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi.
264. *Gupta*, B. N., The International Tourist Club, Mahabubabad, Central Railway, Warangal P. O. (A. P.).
265. *Gupta*, Dr. Chandra Bhan, Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, Hindu College, 64-D, Kamalanagar, Delhi.
266. *Gupta*, Harihar Prasad, Srinagar.
267. *Gupta*, Dr. Hiralal, Head of the History Dept., Uni. of Saugar, Saugar.
268. *Gupta*, Prem Swarup, Lecturer, Sanskrit-Hindi Department, Muslim University, Aligarh.
269. *Gupta*, R. S., Marathwada University, Aurangabad.
270. *Gupta*, Dr. S. K., Reader in Sanskrit, Rajasthan University, D-40, Bapu Nagar, Jaipur.
271. *Gupta*, Dr. U. N. Sanjukta, Dept. of Skt., Jadavpur Uni., Calcutta-32.
272. *Gupta*, Yogendra Mohan, Assistant Director, The Central Hindi Directorate, Deihi-7.
273. *Gurjar*, Master Dhananjaya Y., 150, Hindu Colony, Bombay-14.
274. *Gurjar*, Mahadeo Raghunath, 150, Hindu Colony, Bombay-14.
275. *Gururajachar*, S., Res. Scholar, Uni. of Mysore, 599, College Rd., Mysore-1.
276. *Haider*, A. F., Assistant Professor of Persian, Patna University, Patna.
277. *Haldankar*, Gopal Krishnaji, No. 217, Talakwadi, Belgaum.
278. *Haldankar*, Vasant Sambaji Rao, House No. 3979, Sardar's High School Ground, Belgaum.
279. *Handa*, Banarsi Dass, House No. B-XI-412/5, Kucha Harnam Das, Contractor, Ludhiana.
280. *Handa*, Shri Devendra, H. No. B-XI-412/5, Kucha Harnam Das, Contractor, Ludhiana.
281. *Harkare*, Gunde Rao, Retd. Sessions Judge, 18-4-143/44, Kalava Gadda, Outside Aliabad, Hyderabad.
282. *Hasan*, Syed, Director, Arabic and Persian Research Institute, Patna-6,
283. *Hasnain*, Syed Mohammed, Gaya College, Gaya.



284. *Hasurkar*, Dr. S. S., Principal, Govt. Sanskrit College, Raipur.
285. *Homji*, Dastoor N.D. Minocheher, Petit Fasali Atash Kadeh, 44, New Marine Lines, Fort, Bombay-1
286. *Homji*, Mrs. N. D. Minocheher, 44, New Marine Lines, Bombay-1.
287. *Hota*, Siddheshvar, Head of the Sanskrit and Oriya Dept., S. K. C. G. College, Parlakhimundi, Ganjam.
288. *Hussain*, Dr. Khvat, 4, Hali Rd., Aligarh.
289. *Hussaini*, Dr. Q. S. Kalimullah, 693, Bazar Nooru Umara, Near Municipal Corporation, Hyderabad-24.
290. *Hwang Keng Chong*, Dr., C/o Dr. Chou Hsiang-Kuang, 1/8, Jawaharlal Nehru Road, Allahabad-2.
291. *Israeli*, Md. Shamoan, Israeli Lodge, Dodhpur, Civil Lines, Aligarh.
292. *Iyengar*, Melcote Cumara Krishnaswami, 1573, III Main Rd., Nagappa Block, Sriramapuram (P. O.), Bangalore-21.
293. *Jain*, Balchandra, Assistant Curator, M. G. M. Museum, Raipur.
294. *Jain*, Gokul Chandra, Jainashram, B. H. U., Varanasi-5.
295. *Jain*, Dr. Hira Lal, University, M. P. Jabalpur.
296. *Jain*, J. P., Vice-President, Jain Cultural Research Society, Varanasi-6.
297. *Jain*, Kailash Chand, Samir Bhavan, Daulat Bag Road, Ajmir.
298. *Jain*, Manohar Lal, c/o Munshiram Manohar Lal, Book-sellers and Publishers, Naya Sarak, Delhi.
299. *Jain*, Milap Chand, Advocate, Supreme Court and Lecturer in Law, Indra Bhavan, Kotwali Subezi Mundi, Ajmeer.
300. *Jain*, Praveen Chandra, Principal, Dungar College, Bikaner.
301. *Jain*, Ram Chandra, 26, C Block, Sriganganagar (Rajasthan).
302. *Jaini*, Padmanbha S., Post Beltangady, South Kanara Dt., Mysore.
303. *Jaitly*, R. S., Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, D. S. College, Aligarh.
304. *Jaitly*, Smt. Saral Vada, 2/49, Morris Road, Aligarh.
305. *Jakaty*, M. P., Kali Amrai, Belgaum.
306. *Jamadagni*, Mrs. K. N., c/o Prof. N. S. Jamadagni, Vice-Principal, M. E. S. College, Poona-4.
307. *Jamadar*, M. A., Principal, Islamia High School, Belgaum.
308. *Jambunathan*, M. R., 375, First Road, Khar, Bombay-52.
309. *Jambunathan*, Mrs. M. R., 375, First Rd., Khar, Bombay-52.
310. *Jainitran*, Prof. Suresh Chandra, 1141/Shethni Pole, Lakha Patel Pole, Ahmedabad-2.
311. *Jan Yun-Hua*, Cheena Bhavan, Visvabharati, Santiniketan West Bengal.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xii

312. *Jan Wang-Hsiao-Fung*, Cheena-Bhavan, Visva Bharati University, Santiniketan P. O., West Bengal.
313. *Janaki*, S. S., S. I. E. T. W. College, 82-A, Kutcheri Rd., Madras-4.
314. *Jani*, R. G., Dewanpara, Bhavanagar (Saurashtra).
315. *Jani*, Dr. Ramesh Nandshekar, Suraj Kutir, Marve Rd., Malad, Bombay-64.
316. *Jetly*, Jitendra Sundar Lal, Principal, Upleta Municipal Arts and Commerce College, Upleta (Saurashtra).
317. *Jha*, J. S., K. P. Jayaswal Res. Inst, Museum, Patna-1.
318. *Jha*, Kishora Nath, Bitho P. O., Sarisaba Pahi, Dt. Darbhanga, Bihar.
319. *Jha*, Dr. Subhadra, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
320. *Jhingram*, N. G., 1/83, Vishnupuri, Aligarh (U. P.).
321. *Jhingram*, Smt. Vidya Wati, c/o Sri N. G. Jhingram, Aligarh (U. P.).
322. *Jinananda*, Dr. B., Reader in Sanskrit and Pali, Dept. of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, Delhi-6.
323. *Joardar*, Chaitali, Kadai, Berhampore, West Bengal.
324. *Jog*, Keshav Pandurang, 16, Bharatibhavan, 73, Sewri Wadala State, Bombay-19.
325. *Joseph*, C.Y.Y.U., Sacred Heart School, 15, Western St., Calcutta-13.
326. *Joshi*, Balacarya, Nanded.
327. *Joshi*, Balkrishna Vithaldas, Architect, Sri Sadma Co-operative Society, Near Commerce College, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad.
328. *Joshi*, D. G., 4331, Nawathe-Wada, Gujar Galli, Ahmednagar.
329. *Joshi*, Ganesh Venkatesh, Anand Kanan, 31, Harvey Rd., Bombay-7.
330. *Joshi*, Kamala Balkrishna, 14, Stree Sadan, Co-operative Housing Society Ltd., Near Commerce College, Ahmedabad-9.
331. *Joshi*, Mrs. Malati Manohar, Block No. 22, Bhagirathi Sadan, Codall Road, Bombay-16.
332. *Joshi*, Mrs. Mandakini N., ck-1/13, Bhonsala Mandir, Patani Toal, Varanasi.
333. *Joshi*, M. D. 22, Bhagirathi Sadan, Codall Road, Bombay-16.
334. *Joshi*, M. S. Baswada, Kantareshwar Mahadeo's Pole, Baroda.
335. *Joshi*, Dr. N. P., Ck-1/13, Bhonsala Mandir, Patani Toal, Varanasi.
336. *Joshi*, Dr. Purushottam Mahadeo, Director, Archives and Historical Monuments, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay.
337. *Joshi*, Dr. Rasik Vihari, Reader in Sanskrit, Delhi University, Delhi.
338. *Joshi*, Shivaram Dattatrey, Deccan College, Poona-6.
339. *Joshi*, Shripad Laxman, Mahadev Lane, Belgaum.
340. *Joshi*, S. R. P. O. Vadner, Bhairao Tol, Chandore Dist., Nasik.
341. *Joshi*, Mrs. Sulochana Sivaram, 623/14, Sadashiv, Poona-2.



342. *Joshi*, Mrs. Usha Dattatreya, c/o Joshi D. G., 4331, Nawathewada, Gujar Galli, Ahmednagar.
343. *Joshi*, Vithal Krishna Rao, 1809, Kelkarbag, Belgaum, Mysore.
344. *Jyotikanesan*, Smt., c/o Prof. Sivaprasad Dasgupta, 126, Sovabazar St., Top Floor, Calcutta-5.
345. *Kaikini*, Pratibha Venkatarao, 40, Hughes Road, Bombay-7.
346. *Kaikini*, Dr. Venkatarao Manjunath, 40, Hughes Road, Bombay-7.
347. *Kale*, Mrs. Rukmini Bai Duddappa, c/o Subrao Duddappa Kale, Kirana Merchant, Khade Bazar, Belgaum.
348. *Kale*, Dr. Mrs. Sudhabai, Dharampeth, Nagpur-1.
349. *Kale*, Duddappa Subrao, Kirana Merchant, Khade Bazar, Belgaum.
350. *Kallappa*, Dr. A. M., 1492, Ganesh Pur Galli, Shahapur, Belgaum.
351. *Kamat*, Miss Indumati Ramchandra, 3474, Samadivi St., Belgaum.
352. *Kanchanamala*, Ku. M., S. V. College for Music and Dance, Tirupati.
353. *Kanga*, M. F., D-10, Cussow Bagh, Bombay-1.
354. *Kanslinle*, Dr., Head of the Sanskrit Dept., N. R. E. C. College, Khurja (U. P.).
355. *Kantawala*, Sureshachandra Govindalal, Kantareshwar Mahadeo's Pole, Near Champaner Gate, Baroda.
356. *Kapadia*, Dr. Bipinchandra Hira Lal, Reader and the Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, S. V. Vidyapith, V. Vidyanagar (Gujarat).
357. *Kapadia*, Dinshah Dorabhji, 6, Staurton Rd., Poona-1.
358. *Karambelkar*, V. W., 'Prasad', Tulsibag Rd., Mahal, Nagpur-2.
359. *Karnik*, Dr. Hemant Ramkrishna, N/3, Sharadoshrm, Bhavani Shankar Rd., Bombay-28.
360. *Karnik*, Mrs. Usha Devi Hemant, c/o Dr. 21, R. Kernik, Bombay-28.
361. *Kashikar*, C.G. Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala, Tilak Mandir, Poona-2.
362. *Kashikar*, P. G. Forest House, Ghole Road, Shivaji Nagar, Poona-5.
363. *Kashikar*, Mrs. Usha C., 198/27, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
364. *Kashyap*, Bhikku Jagdish, Buddha-Kushi, Sarnath (Varanasi).
365. *Kasture*, Yajneshwar Sastri, Sanskrit Pathasala, Nanded.
366. *Kati*, Shivaji Rao Balashale, 4375, Charat Galli, Belgaum.
367. *Katre*, Sadashiva Lakshmidhar, Curator, Scindia Orl. Inst., Ujjain.
368. *Katre*, Dr. S. I., Principal, Govt. Degree College, Mandla.
369. *Katre*, Mrs. Sindhu S., c/o Dr. S. I. Katre, Mandla.
370. *Kaw*, Dr. R. K., V. V. R. Institute, P. O., Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur.
371. *Kenda*, Bibhuti Bhusan, 18/1, Trilokchoudhary Lane, Calcutta-30.
372. *Kenghe*, C. T., Arts and Science College, Vengurla, Dt., Ratnagiri.
373. *Keny*, Dr. L. B. 247, Ramanarayana Nivas, Bombay-19.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xv

374. *Kesarwala*, Dinshah Darabshah, c/o The Iran League, Navsari Building, Hornby Rd., Bombay.
375. *Kesarwala*, 736, V. W. R., Budhwar Peth, Poona.
376. *Kesarwani*, Sunder Lal, Research Fellow, Uni. of Jabalpur, Jabalpur.
377. *Keshavamurthy*, B. R., 6/322-D. Subbaiah Rd., Mysore.
378. *Keshavamurthy*, C. A., Maharaja's College, Mysore.
379. *Khan*, Dr. Masud Hussain, Reader in Urdu, Muslim Uni., Aligarh.
380. *Khare*, Ganesh Hari, 1321, Sadashiv Peth, Poona-2.
381. *Khazanchi*, N. J., Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Govt. of India, Frontier Circle, Srinagar.
382. *Khazanchi*, Mulchand G., Secretary General, International Academy of Philosophy, 565, Delhi Chakla, Ahmedabad.
383. *Khazanchi*, Ram Jain, 2736, Kucha Chailan, Daryaganj, Delhi-6.
384. *Kher*, R. G., 1362, Shivaji Nagar, Poona-5.
385. *Kher*, U. R., 1362, Shivaji Nagar, Poona-5.
386. *Khubchandani*, L. M., Reader in Sindhi, D. C. R. Institute, Poona-6.
387. *Kochhar*, Swinder Singh, 104/12JBA St., Sector 23-B, Chandigarh.
388. *Kodikal*, Miss M. N. c/508, Anand Bhuvan, Vithalbhai Patel Rd., Bombay-4.
389. *Kokan*, M. Y., Reader in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University, Ms-5.
390. *Koul*, Prof. N. L., Dharmarth Road, Srinagar.
391. *Krishnamurthy*, C., Lecturer in Archaeology, University, Madras-5.
392. *Kulkarni*, Dr. E. D., Reader in Linguistics, DCRI., Poona-6.
393. *Kulkarni*, Govind Krishna, Kulkarni Wada Kasabe, Digraja, Via Sangli Rly., Dt. Sangli, Maharashtra State.
394. *Kulkarni*, Smt. Indirabai Viswanath, Advocate, Supreme Court of India, 2869/2, Karlkar Buildings, Khade Bazar, Belgaum.
395. *Kulkarni*, L. R., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
396. *Kulkarni*, Mhalasabai, c/o Annaji Kulkarni, 1623, Anasurkar galli, Belgaum.
397. *Kulkarni*, Prabhakar Ganesh, c/o V. R. Naik, Najor Camp, Dt. Vadgaon, Belgaum.
398. *Kulkarni*, Prabhavati Raghunath, Chhoti Dhantoli, Nagpur.
399. *Kulkarni*, Sow. Pushpa Govind, c/o Dr. G. K. Kulkarni, Sangli Rly., Maharashtra State.
400. *Kulkarni*, Sadashiv Narayan, Retired Head Master, Kulkarni Bhavan, Dharmpeth, Nagpur-1.
401. *Kulkarni*, Ujjvala Prabhakar, c/o V. R. Naik, Najor Camp, Dt. Vadgaon, Belgaum.
402. *Kulkarni*, Dr. V. M., Gujarat College, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.



403. *Kulkarni*, V. K. Hattarwatkar, Advocate, Supreme Court of India, 2869/2, Karlkar Buildings, Khade Bazar, Belgaum.
404. *Kulontri*, Norsingh Hiralal.
405. *Kumar*, Mahendra, Lecturer in Hindi Dept., P. G. D. A. V. College, Chitragupta Rd., New Delhi.
406. *Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute*, Mylapore, Madras-4.
407. *Kurane*, Baburao Balaram, Maratha History Bookseller, 3363/2, Gondhali Galli, Belgaum.
408. *Laxmi Narayan*, Asst. Prof. in Pali, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
409. *Lele*, Dr. S. C. 38, Latonche Rd, Lucknow.
410. *Leonardi*, Giuseppe, c/o International Hostel, University of Delhi, Delhi-6.
411. *Lester*, Robert, Sanskrit Dept. c/o University, Madras-5.
412. *Liang*, Wu Wei, 47, South Tangra Rd., Calcutta-39.
413. *Limaye*, S. K., Lecturer, Khare Town, Dharampeth, Nagpur.
414. *Limaye*, Vishnu Prabhakar, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandal, Tilak Memorial, Poona-2.
415. *Linkas-Chas*, c/o H. K. Chou, 1/8, Jawaharlal Nehru Rd., Allahabad-2.
416. *Lokare*, Dattatreya Shivram, B/18, Maharashtra Co-operative Housing Society, Ltd., Golanji Office Parel, Bombay-12.
417. *Lokare*, Smt. Mangala Dattatreya, Bombay-12.
418. *Lokesh Chandra*, Dr., J-22, Hauz khas Enclave, New Delhi-16.
419. *Mahajan*, Shri Dada Sahib D. G., Pesrident, Jain Research Institute, P. O. Yeotmal, Vidarbha Dt. (Maharashtra).
420. *Mahalingam*, Dr. T.V., Prof. of Archaeology, University, Madras-5.
421. *Mahanti*, R. K., Quarter N. D/3, Sector-4, Rourkela-2.
422. *Mahashabde*, Moreshwar Vinayak, 21, Tanibai Niwas, Station Rd., Wadala, Bombay-31.
423. *Mahashabde*, Mrs. Tarini, Bombay-31.
424. *Maity*, S. K., Lecturer, Jadavpur Uni., Calcutta.
425. *Majumdar*, A. B. 17/D, Basepara Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta-3.
426. *Majumdar*, Dr. M. R., Chaitanyadham, Pratapganj, Baroda-2.
427. *Majumdar*, R. C., 4, Bepin Pal Road, Calcutta-26.
428. *Majumdar*, Sila, 17/D, Basepara Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta-3.
429. *Malkani*, Somnath Shankerlal.
430. *Mallik*, Bhakti Prasad, 7, Iswar Mill Bye Lane, Calcutta-6.
431. *Mallik*, Madhusudan, Visvabharati P. O., Santiniketan.
432. *Mallik*, Mrs. Rani, c/o Prof. M. Mallik, P. O. Santiniketan.



433. *Malvania*, Dalsukh, L. D. Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidya Mandir, Pankore Naka, Ahmedabad-1
434. *Malwad*, Shanta Devi S., Karnatak University, Dharwar.
435. *Malwad*, S. S., Professors' Quarters, Karnatak University, Dharwar.
436. *Mamoo*, Kumari Malati Ganpatrao, Yashoda Mangal Bhavan, Hanuman Nagar, Near Medical College, Nagpur.
437. *Mamoo*, Kumari Suman Ganpatrao, Yashoda Mangal Bhavan, Nagpur.
438. *Mankad*, Smt. Pushad, P. O. Aliabad, Dist. Jamnagar, Gujarat.
439. *Mankad*, D. Rangildas, P. O. Aliabad, Dist. Jamnagar, Gujarat.
440. *Marathi*, N. B., Asst Ed., I. N. B. of National Library, Calcutta-27.
441. *Mariappa*, C. C., 117, IV Cross, Bangalore-9.
442. *Mehendale*, Dr. M. A., Deccan College Research Institute, Poona-6.
443. *Mehra*, B. B., Office of the Faculty of Arts, Uni. of Delhi, Delhi-6.
444. *Mehra*, Mrs. Kusum Kumari, c/o B. B. Mehra, Delhi-6.
445. *Menon*, D.D., Head of the Sanskrit Dept., D. A. V. College, Jallunder.
446. *Mimamsak*, Shri Yudhishtir, c/o Bharathi Prachyavidya Pratishthan, 24/212, Ramgunj, Ajmer.
447. *Minakshisundaram*, T. P., Prof. and Head of the Dept. of Tamil and Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar.
448. *Mirashi*, Dr. V. V., Vishnu Sadan, Dharampeth, Nagpur-1.
449. *Mirza*, H. K., New Khareghat Colony, Block A-2, Flat 21, Babulnath Road, Bombay-7.
450. *Mirza*, M. H., New Khareghat Colony, Block A-2, Flat 21, Babulnath Road, Bombay-7.
451. *Mishra*, Amar Nath, c/o Dr. H. R. Mishra, Principal, Maharaja College, Chatarpur, M.P.
452. *Mishra*, Gopal Chandra, Kalpanadhara National Highway, Cuttack-3.
453. *Mishra*, Dr. Hari Ram, Principal, Maharaja College, Chhatarpur, M.P.
454. *Mishra*, Gopal Chandra, I. S. C. College, Angul, Dhenkanal, Orissa.
455. *Mishra*, J., Head of the Dept. of Skt., L. S. College, Muzaffarpur.
456. *Mishra*, Mohan, Lakshmi Sagar, Darbhanga.
457. *Mishra*, P.K., Lecturer in Hist., S.K.G.G. College, P.O. Parlakimedi.
458. *Mishra*, V. B., 22, University Town, Gauhati University, Gauhati.
459. *Mishra*, Yogendra, Professor of History, Patna University, Patna-6.
460. *Misra*, K. M. Lakshmi, c/o Sri S. P. Misra, Head of the English Dept., Gorakhpur University, Gorakhpur.
461. *Misra*, Shri Sabita, Res. Student, 702, Dawnagaziad, Bally, Howrah.
462. *Misra*, S. D., c/o Asst. Prof. of Skt., Allahabad University, Allahabad.
463. *Misra*, Dr. S. S., Dept. of Skt., D. College, Dhenkanal P. O., Orissa.



464. *Misra*, Smt. Tulsi Devi, c/o Sri S. P. Misra, Head of the Dept. of English, University of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur.
465. *Mitra*, Mrs. S., c/o Dr. Mrs. S. Basu, B. H. U., Benaras-5.
466. *Modak*, Prof. B. R., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
467. *Mohamed*, Syed, Lecturer, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
468. *Mohammad*, Abdul Ravoof, Govt. House, Shambu's Peth, Warangal.
469. *Mohanty*, P. R., c/o Q. Rath Rao, Skt. Dept., Kendrapara College, Cuttack.
470. *Mohiduddin*, A., c/o Mr. Mohd. Ahmed Khan, Hyderabad.
471. *Mookerjee*, Rama Prasad, Retd. Judge, High Court, Calcutta-25.
472. *Moti Chandra*, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
473. *Motilal*, Bimal Krishna, Motilal Para, P. O. Joynagar, Mazilpur Dt. 24 Pharganas, West Bengal.
474. *Mudaliar*, Velayutha, 66-A, Modi Muthia Mudali St., Ammapet, Salem-3.
475. *Mukherjee*, Saroj Kumar, P-26, Graham's Land, Calcutta-40.
476. *Mukherjee*, S. C., 3, Pyall Rd., Allahabad-1.
477. *Mukherjee*, S. K., 34, Rajkrishna St., Uttarpara P. O., West Bengal.
478. *Mukherjee*, Sujal, 20, Amrita Lala Nath Lane, Belur Math, Howrah.
479. *Mukherji*, Birendra Nath, P-236, Block A., Bangur Avenue, Calcutta-28.
480. *Mukherji*, Kiron, Inst. of Orl. Learning, 3, Federation St., Calcutta-9.
481. *Mukherji*, Dr. Ramaranjan, Prof. of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University, Calcutta-32.
482. *Mundhakar*, Dr. Mrs. ., 5/4, Anil Colony, Erandweda, Poona-4.
483. *Murti*, Dr. T. R. V., Professor of Philosophy, B. H. U., Varanasi-5.
484. *Music Academy*, 115-E, Mowbrays Road, Madras-14.
485. *Mutkekar*, S. V., No. 303/13, Patil Mala, Belgaum.
486. *Nachane*, Dr. Miss. S. A., Lecturer in Skt., M. S. University, Baroda.
487. *Naidu*, S. Shanker Raju, Madras University, Madras-5.
488. *Naik*, Gurusid Nijalingappa, P. O. Hukeri, Dt. Belgaum.
489. *Naik*, T. G., Town Hall, Bombay-1.
490. *Naiyer*, Hussan Lal, 1807, Wazir Singh St., Pahar Ganj, New Delhi.
491. *Naiyer*, S. Ali Haider, Professor, A. and P. Research Institute, Patna-6.
492. *Nambiar*, K. Damodaran, Research Scholar, BORI., Poona-4.
493. *Nanavati*, Jayendra Kumar Mukundlal, Archaeologist, Govt. of Gujarat, Jubilee Garden, Rajkot.
494. *Nandimath*, Dr. S. C., Principal, Basaveshvar College, Bagalkot, Mysore.
495. *Narahari*, Dr. H. G., Deccan College, Poona-6.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xix

496. *Narain*, Vishnu Anugraha, Dept. of History, Patna University, Patna.
497. *Narang*, Gopi Chand, Inst. of P. G. Studies, Delhi Uni., Delhi-6.
498. *Nariman*, Faribouz, No. 4, Tata Colony, III Floor, Room No. 20, Tabdeo, Bombay-7.
499. *Natvarlal*, Jani Arunoday, Jamkhana's Pole, Sultanpura, Baroda.
500. *Navathe*, P. D., Skt. Dictionary Dept., Deccan College, Yerawada, Poona-6.
501. *Nayak*, Chinubhai J., 2154, Junomahajanwado, Timbapole, Kalapur, Ahmedabad-1.
502. *Nindhakar*, S. B., 5/4, Anil Colony, Erandweda, Poona-4.
503. *Nishara*, Dr. Amba Dutt Pande, Associate Professor, Hindi Dept., N. R. Research College, Khurja, U. P.
504. *Padhi*, Dr. Benimadhab, Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Puri.
505. *Paghow*, W., University Park, Uni. of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Ceylon.
506. *Palit*, Kumari Kajal, Lecturer in Sanskrit, c/o Sri S. C. Palit, Cuttack-2.
507. *Palit*, Sunil Chandra, I. A. S. Retd., Ninichauri, Cuttack-2, Orissa.
508. *Palsule*, Gajanan Balkrishna, 593, Sadashiv Peth, Gokhale Wada, Near Nagnath Var, Poona-2.
509. *Palsule*, Mrs. Kumudini, 593, Sadashiv, Gokhale Wada, Near Nagnath-var, Poona-2.
510. *Pandey*, P. B., 57, Kasaba State, Poona-2.
511. *Pandey*, Dr. Raj Bali, Prof. of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Jabalpur University, Jabalpur.
512. *Pandey*, Dr. Yogesh Chandra, Dept. of Skt., Saugar University, Saugar.
513. *Pandit*, Balaji Nath, Reader in Sanskrit, Govt. College, Anantnag.
514. *Pandit*, Mrs. Malati, Oriental Book Agency, 15, Sukrawar, Poona-2.
515. *Pandit*, S. I., Head of the P. G. Dept. of English, Srinagar.
516. *Pandurangi*, K. T., Govt. College, Kolar Dt., Kolar P.O., Mysore.
517. *Pandya*, Bhagavatiprasad Devasankar, Sarasvati Bhavan, Patavari Society, Ahmedabad-8.
518. *Pandya*, Prof. J. J., C. Prabhudas's Bungalow, Vaghawadi Rd., Bhavnagar.
519. *Panse*, Prof. G. M., 560/55, Housing Society, Sholapur.
520. *Parab*, L. Govindrao, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, Janpath, New Delhi-11.
521. *Paradkar*, Moreshwar Dinkar, Shah Building, No. 4, Block No. 11, Second Floor, Lady Harding Road, Mahim, Bombay-16.
522. *Paradkar*, Mrs. M. D., c/o M. D. Paradkar, Bombay-16.
523. *Paramanand*, Dr., Director, Hindi Department, Patiala, Punjab.
524. *Paranjpe*, Mrs. S. V., 715, Budhwar Peth, Patavardhan Wada, Poona-
525. *Paranjpe*, V. W., Skt. Dictionary Dept., Deccan College, Poona-6.



526. *Parekh*, Miss Kanchan Premchand, Jopiwala Mansion, 4th Floor, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Rd., Bombay-4.
527. *Parekh*, Mrs. Manekbai Rasiklal, c/o R. C. Parekh, Ahmedabad-6.
528. *Parekh*, R. C., 11, Bharati Nivas Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
529. *Parekh*, Smt. S. S., c/o R. C. Parekh, Ahmedabad-6.
530. *Parekh*, Somabhai D., Or. Inst., M. S. University, Baroda
531. *Parekh*, S. R., 11, Bharati Nivas Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
532. *Patel*, A. V., Vasantvihar, Azad Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
533. *Pathak*, Dr. Suniti Kumar, Lecturer, Dept. of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Visvabharati, Santiniketan, West Bengal.
534. *Patil*, Appasaheb Ch., Pleader, 1503, Kelkarbag, Belgaum.
535. *Patil*, Appanna Basavantappa, 39, Bazar Galli, Khasbag, Belgaum.
536. *Patil*, Dattaji Rao Narayan Rao, 403, Patil Galli, Belgaum.
537. *Patil*, G. M., Govt. Arts and Science College, Aurangabad, Dn.
538. *Patil*, Mrs. Prabhavati Gajanan Rao, c/o G.M. Patil, Aurangabad, Dn.
539. *Patil*, Vasant Santu, Prof. of Sanskrit, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
540. *Patkar*, Madhukar Mangesh, Deccan College, Poona-6.
541. *Pattabhiraman*, P. Z., French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry.
542. *Pattanayak*, Dr. D. P., Vidyabhavan, Santiniketan, West Bengal.
543. *Patwardhan*, Mrs. Kamal, c/o W. P. Patwardhan, Poona-2.
544. *Patwardhan*, Dr. W. P., 2025, Sadashiv, Tilak Rd., Poona-2.
545. *Phadke*, Prof. Hari Anant, 29/41, Kapileshvar Lane, Varanasi.
546. *Phadke*, Prof. Madhav Anant, 29/41, Kapileshvar Lane, Varanasi.
547. *Pillai*, G. Subrahmania, Head of the Dept. of Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
548. *Pillai*, Dr. K. Raghavan, Curator, Uni. Mss. Library, Trivandrum.
549. *Pillai*, M. Shanmugam, Reader in Linguistics, Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar.
550. *Potdar*, Dr. Krishnaji Raghunath, D/5, Sharadashram, Bhavani Shankar Rd., Bombay-28.
551. *Potdar*, Kumari Suman Yeshwant, M. S. Q. C./20/4, Ravinagal, Nagpur.
552. *Pradhan*, Annapurna, c/o Prof. R. Pradhan, Cuttack-3,
553. *Pradhan*, P., Prof. and Head of the Dept. of Skt., Utkal Uni., Cuttack-3.
554. *Pramavile*, Bimla Nanda, c/o Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Vrindaban.
555. *Prasad*, S. S., Lecturer in Sanskrit, L. S. College, Muzaffarpur.
556. *Prasad*, Someshwar, Research Assistant, Dept. of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, Delhi-6.



557. *Prasade*, P. R., 317, Nazar Camp, Post Madhavpur, Vadgash Dt., Belgaum.
558. *Prashant*, D. C., Jain Upasraya St., Jammu, Tavi, Jammu.
559. *Prem Shanker*, Dr., Dept. of Hindi, Saugar University, Saugar, M. P.
560. *Priolkar*, Smt. Anasuyabai, c/o Prof. A. K. Priolkar, Bombay-2.
561. *Priolkar*, Anant Kakba, Director, Marathi Samsodhana Mandal, Thakurdewar, Bombay-2.
562. *Priyabala Shah*, Dr., 12, Padma Society, Ahmedabad-9.
563. *Punyavijaya*, Muni, c/o Ratilal D. Desai, Lonsawada Jain Upashray, Matipal, Ahmedabad-1.
564. *Puranik*, Mrs. Indirabai P., 586, Tilak Rd., Panve, Kolaba.
565. *Puranik*, Pundarikaksha Gadadhar, 586, Tilak Rd., Panve, Kolaba.
566. *Puri*, Dr. B. N., Prof. of Indian History and Culture, National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.
567. *Purohit*, B. B., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpathy Rd., Bombay-7.
568. *Pusalkar*, Dr. A. D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.
569. *Pushp*, Prof. P. N., 33, Gogji Bagh, Srinagar.
570. *Pushyaragam*, S., c/o Dr. S. V. Jogarao, Lecturer in Telugu, Andhra University, Waltair.
571. *Raghavacharya*, E. V. V., Editor, Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad-7.
572. *Raghavan*, Dr. V., Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University, Madras-5.
573. *Raghavan*, Mrs. Sarada, c/o Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras-5.
574. *Raghavendrachar*, S. V., 23, Groyer Hall, University of Delhi, Delhi-6.
575. *Rahurkar*, Mrs. Nirmala Vasant, c/o Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, Poona-2.
576. *Rahurkar*, Dr. V. G., 423, Sadashiv, Ravetkar Sadan, Near S. P. College, Opp. to Khajina Mahal, Poona-2.
577. *Raja*, Dr. K. Kunjnni, Reader in Skt., Uni. of Madras, Madras-5.
578. *Rajamanikkam*, Dr. M., Reader in Tamil, Uni. of Madras, Madras-5.
579. *Rajanishkumar*, Asst. Director, Punjabi Dept., Patiala.
580. *Rajora*, Prof. K. S., Shri Geneshilal Building, Shrinagar Rd., Ajmer.
581. *Raju*, B. Rama, Reader in Telugu, Osmania Uni. Hyderabad.
582. *Ramachandra*, R. K., 143, Mangalvar Peth, Tilak Wadi, Belgaum.
583. *Ramachandra*, Sastri, V. S., Q. 14/111, Kedharghat, Varanasi-1.
584. *Ramachandran*, K. S., Dept. of Archaeology, Nagpur.
585. *Ramachandran*, Mrs. Nirmala, 45, Spur Tank Rd., Madras-31.
586. *Ramaiah*, Achajanaballi, Bunadagunta Post, via Chintamani, Mysore.
587. *Ramanathan*, C., Lecturer in Sanskrit, A.P.S. College, Bangalore-4.



588. *Raman*, Nallepally S. S., Head of the Philosophy Department, Punjab University, Chandigarh-3.
589. *Ramanathan*, S., 20, Sydoji St., Madras-5.
590. *Ramgopal*, Dr., Reader in Skt., Punjab Uni., 43/1, Sector 14, Chandigarh.
591. *Ranade*, Mrs. Sharadabai, Anand Chowk, Sitabardi, Nagpur.
592. *Ranade*, Saratchandra Vaman, Anand Chowk, Sitabardi, Nagpur.
593. *Ranganathachar*, C. K., 235, Thyagaraja Bazaar, Bangalore.
594. *Rangappa*, Ramappa Lankippanawar, 3339, Gondaligalli, Belgaum.
595. *Rani*, Dr. Sharada, J22, Hauz khas Enclave, New Delhi-16.
596. *Ranina*, Jahangir Manchershah, Prince's Chambers, Colaba Rd., Bombay-5.
597. *Rao*, A. N. V. Hanumanta, c/o A. N. Manikya Rao, Morrispet, P. O. Tenali, Guntur Dt., A.P.
598. *Rao*, A. N. V. Sanjeeva, Advocate, Munsiff Court, Kuchaman Rd., [Rajasthan].
599. *Rao*, Chopankar Vinayak Bhau, H. No. 303/13, Patil Mala, Belgaum.
600. *Rao*, D. S. Achyuta, Senior Lecturer in History, Department of P. G. Studies and Research in History, University of Mysore, Mysore-2.
601. *Rao*, K. Gangadhara, c/o A. N. V. Sanjeeva Rao, Morrispet P. O., Tenali-2, Guntur Dt.
602. *Rao*, Smt. Leela, Sadhana Sadan, University of Jabalpur, Kamala Nehru Nagar, Jabalpur.
603. *Rao*, M. Koteswara, 8-1130, Mukaramjabi Rd., Warangal.
604. *Rao*, Dr. N. Venkata, Dept. of Telugu, Uni. of Madras, Madras-5.
605. *Rao*, Dr. M. Rama, Professor of History, S. V. University, Tirupati.
606. *Rao*, P. S. R. Appa, Special Officer for Nationalisation of Text Books, Office of D. P. I., Chapel Rd., Hyderabad, A. P.
607. *Rao*, S. Ramachandra, Prof. of Skt., University of Mysore, Mysore.
608. *Rao*, Dr. S. V. Joga, Lecturer in Telugu, Andhra University, Waltair.
609. *Rao*, Tergaonkar Dattatrey Bhim, H. No. 217/A2, Talakwadi, Khanpur Rd., Belgaum.
610. *Rao*, Veldanda Prabhakara, 248/B, Mallepally, Hyderabad-1, Dn.
611. *Rasheed*, Dr. Ghulam Dastagir, Head of the Dept. of Persian, Osmania University, College of Arts, 827, Red Hill, Hyderabad.
612. *Rasool*, Maulvi Ghulam, Lecturer, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
613. *Rastogi*, Navjivan, Res. Scholar in Skt., Raja Bazaar, Lucknow.
614. *Rath*, Banmali, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Kendrapara College, Kendrapara P. O., Cuttack Dt.
615. *Rath*, Sri D.P., Dt. Savings Office, Qr. No. C-76, Sector-18, Rourkela-3.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xxiii

616. *Ratnam*, K. P., 58, 34th Lane, Colombo-6.
617. *Raval*, Dr. M., Sri Mandar's St., Ahmedabad-1.
618. *Raval*, Mrs. M. N., Sri Mandar's St., Ahmedabad-1.
619. *Ray*, Prafulla Chandra, Assistant Research Officer, Research and Reference Division, Akashwani Bhavan, New Delhi.
620. *Reddy*, D. R., c/o Viraraghavachar, Sanskrit College, Bangalore-2.
621. *Reddy*, G. N., Lecturer in Telugu, Sri Venkateswara Uni., Tirupati.
622. *Reddy*, Narayana, Subbarayanhalli, Burudagunte P. O., via Chintamani, Mysore State.
623. *Reddy*, Rama, c/o Veeraraghavachar, Sanskrit College, Bangalore-2.
624. *Revanasiddaiah*, K. M., Principal, Sanskrit College, Mysore.
625. *Rothermund*, Dietmar, A-334, Defence Colony, New Delhi-3.
626. *Rothermund*, Indra, A-334, Defence Colony, New Delhi-3.
627. *Rout*, Shri Duryodhan, District Inspector of Schools, Puri P.O.
628. *Rout*, Mrs. Savitri, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Utkal University, Cuttack-3.
629. *Roy*, Sita Ram, K. P. Jayaswal Res. Inst., Museum Buildings, Patna-1.
630. *Roy*, T. N., c/o B. N. Roy, Nagar Mohpalika, Varanasi (U. P.).
631. *Rudrappa*, J, Retd. Judge. 112, Bangalore-9.
632. *Sadashivappa*, Sri Shilappa c/o S. S. Ahir, Retd. Civil Judge, 937, Sri Prasad, Billory Golare Rd., Poona-4.
633. *Sadhu*, Prof. Krishna, 9-A, Madan Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta-7.
634. *Sahasrabudhe*, M. T., Sanskrit Dept., Uni. of Poona, Poona.
635. *Sahasrabudhe*, Parashuram Moreshwar, 173, Shukrawar Peth, Poona-2.
636. *Sajunlal*, K. A., No. 4266, Sajunalal St., Secunderabad.
637. *Sakhalkar*, Mrs. Krishnabai, c/o T. G. Sakhalkar, Belgaum.
638. *Sakhalkar*, Tukaram Gangadhar, Rangubai Palace compound, Ramalinga Khind Galli, Belgaum, Mysore State.
639. *Samadi*, Samsher Bahadur, Head of the Dept. of Arabic, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
640. *Samba*, Kapaleshwari Gangadhara, Mahadev Lane, Belgaum City.
641. *Sampath*, R. N., Asst. Prof. of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras-5.
642. *Samtani*, Prof. N.H., College of Indology, Banaras Hindu Uni., Banaras.
643. *Sandesara*, Dr. B. J., Adhyapak Nivas, Pratapganj, Baroda-2.
644. *Sangha Sena*, Lecturer, Sanskrit and Pali, Dept. of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, Delhi-6.
645. *Sanjeevi*, N., Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras, Madras-5.
646. *Sanyal*, Shankar, c/o Basanti Das Gupta, P. 473-C. I. T. Scheme, No. 47, Ballyganj, Calcutta-29.



647. *Saraf*, Mrs. Padma, c/o Bali Ram Shastri, K. 24/23, Ramghat, Varanasi.
648. *Sarasyati*, Miss. D. C., Sanskrit Dept., University, Madras-5.
649. *Sarasyati*, Smt. T. A. Lecturer in Sanskrit, Women's College, Ranchi.
650. *Sardesai*, Mrs. Gopikabai R., c/o R. N. Sardesai, Poona-2.
651. *Sardesai*, Miss Minakshi, c/o R. N. Sardesai, Poona-2.
652. *Sardesai*, Dr. R. N., Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, 15, Sukravar Peth, Poona-2.
653. *Sarkar*, Bijon Kumar, c/o S. C. Sankar and Sons, 1/c, College Square, Calcutta-12.
654. *Sarkar*, Sarasvati, c/o S. C. Sankar and Sons, 1/c, College Square, Calcutta-12.
655. *Sarma*, Smt. Annapurna, c/o Dr. R. K. Sarma, New Delhi-2.
656. *Sarma*, M. Radhakrishna, I.J.8, Iran Manzil, Officers Colony, Hyderabad.
657. *Sarma*, Dr. Ram Karan, Special Officer for Sanskrit, Ministry of Education, New Delhi-2.
658. *Sarma*, Shiva Dutta, Alwarwala House, Chatai Mohalla, Kaisargair, Ajmer, Rajasthan.
659. *Sarrari*, Abdul Qadir, Head of the Dept. of Urdu, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
660. *Sarup*, Narain Kishen, H/o Lati Anad Ram Tawa, Badiyar Bala, Srinagar, Kashmir.
661. *Sastri*, Ayodhyanath, Burdwan.
662. *Sastri*, Badri Nath, Teacher, Govt. Oriental College, Srinagar.
663. *Sastri*, Mm. Damodara, Kalikadevi Sahi, Puri.
664. *Sastri*, H. G., "Suvas", Azad Society, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.
665. *Sastri*, Dr. Heramba Nath Chatterji, Asst. Prof. of Sanskrit, Govt. Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
666. *Sastri*, Dr. Kali Kumar Dutta, 64/8b, Suren Sarkar Rd., Calcutta-80.
667. *Sastri*, K. Mahadeva, Lecturer in Telugu, S. V. University. Tirupati.
668. *Sastri*, K. Ramamurti, Prof. of Mimamsa, Sanskrit College, Madras-4.
669. *Sastri*, K. S. Ramaswami, V. V. Res. Inst., Hoshiarpur, Punjab.
670. *Sastri*, Manoranjana, Nalbari, Assam.
671. *Sastri*, Mm. P. Paramesvarananda, Old Hospital, Kapurtala, Punjab.
672. *Sastri*, N. A., Visva Bharati, Santiniketan.
673. *Sastri*, Shiv Natha, Srinagar.
674. *Sastri*, V. S. Ramacandra, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.
675. *Sastry*, Bommakanti Ramalinga, Lecturer in Skt., Osmania University, Hyderabad-20.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

XXV

676. *Sastry*, Dineshchandra, Editor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta-12.
677. *Sastry*, Dr. D. N., 88 MO., Lucknow Rd., Timarpur, Delhi.
678. *Sastry*, D. Visvanatha, Lecturer, W. G. B. College, Bhimavaram, West Godavari Dt., Andhra Pradesh.
679. *Sastry*, N. Sivarama, 5th Main Rd., Vani Vilas Mohalla, Mysore-2.
680. *Sastry*, V. Nageswara, Near Municipal Hospital, Uplands, Waltair.
681. *Sathasivan*, Dr. A., University of Ceylon, Peredeniya, Ceylon.
682. *Satyanarayana*, Ravuri Prasanna, c/o Dr. S. V. Jogarao, Lecturer in Telugu, Andhra University, Waltair.
683. *Satyavrat*, 3/54, Roop Nagar, Delhi.
684. *Sawal*, Ramlal, Raj Rishi College, Alwar.
685. *Sawalpurkar*, P. K., Prashant C. N., 6-A, Nagpur-2.
686. *Sekhar*, Dr. A. Chandra, Reader in Linguistics, Delhi University, Delhi.
687. *Sen*, Bibha, Laldighi East, Berhampore P.O., Murshidabad Dt., West Bengal.
688. *Sen*, Narayan Chandra, Visva Bharati, Cheena Bhavan, Santiniketan.
689. *Sen*, Dr. Nilamadhav, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona-6.
690. *Sen*, Dr. Sukumar, 27, Goabogon Lane, Calcutta-6.
691. *Sengupta*, Bama Prasanna, 21, Dr. Sarat Bhanuji Rd., Calcutta-29.
692. *Sengupta*, Dr. Bratindra Kumar, 28/1, Sri Mohan Lane, Calcutta-26.
693. *Sengupta*, Miss. N., 80, Kutab House, Shahjahan Rd., New Delhi.
694. *Sengupta*, Miss S., Lecturer in Buddhist Studies, Delhi Uni., Delhi-6.
695. *Sengupta*, Mrs. Sushama, 21, Dr. Sarat Bhanuji Rd., Calcutta-29.
696. *Seshacharyulu*, Dr. M., c/o M. Kanchanamala, Lecturer in Bharatanatya, S. V. College for Music and Dance, Tirupati.
697. *Seshamma*, Smt. E., c/o Vidyaratna E. V. V. Raghavacharya, Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, Hyderabad-7.
698. *Seth*, Bhola Bhai Jeshingbhai, Chinubhai Chimanbhai Institute of Learning and Research, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad-9.
699. *Sha*, Chand Shawale Syed Peer Hamid, Bhadkai Galli, H. No. 4613, Belgaum.
700. *Shah*, Smt. Madhumati Jayant, c/o Jayant M. Shah, Haribhaktini Pal, Sanak Disherry, Ahmedabad-1.
701. *Shah*, Shri Mohan Lal R., B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ashram Rd., Ahmedabad.
702. *Shah*, Navinchandra Mulchandbhai, 880, Hajira's Pole, Raipur, Ahmedabad-1.
703. *Shah*, Dr. Umakant Premanand, Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, P. B. No. 75, Baroda.
704. *Shahane*, Mrs. Kusum Narayan, 150, Hindu Colony, Bombay-14.

D



705. *Shan*, Harnam Singh, Head of Punjabi Dept., Punjab Uni., Chandigarh.
706. *Shankar*, B. K., Poona.
707. *Shankarappa*, S., Inspector of Sanskrit Schools, Bangalore-4.
708. *Shant*, R. L., Hindi Dept., S. P. College, Srinagar.
709. *Sharma*, B. N., Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Inst. of Languages and Res., Uni. of Jabalpur, Jabalpur.
710. *Sharma*, Bhavataran, c/o Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Vrindaban.
711. *Sharma*, Dr. B. R., Professor, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga.
712. *Sharma*, Goswami Maheend, 79, University Campus, Gauhati.
713. *Sharma*, Gurusevi, P. O. Righa, Dt. Muzaffarpur (Bihar).
714. *Sharma*, H. L., Dept. of Skt. and Hindi, Muslim Uni., Aligarh.
715. *Sharma*, K. V., Lecturer-Cum-Res. Asst., Sanskrit Dept., Uni. of Madras, Madras.
716. *Sharma*, Madanamohan, Panjab University, Chandigarh.
717. *Sharma*, Madeena, 50-D, Sector-14, Chandigarh-3.
718. *Sharma*, Mrs. Mohani R., c/o B. R. Sharma, Darbhanga.
719. *Sharma*, Smt. Nirmala, c/o Dr. Dharendra Sarma, Dept. of Philosophy, University of Kurukshetra, Kurukshetra.
720. *Sharma*, R. S., Patna University, Patna.
721. *Sharma*, Shyam Lal, 195, Vijay Garh, Jammu (Tawi).
722. *Sharma*, Srinivas, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Res. Int., Patna.
723. *Sharma*, Sri Ram, Osmania Uni., Hyderabad.
724. *Sharma*, Vinayak, Indore.
725. *Shastri*, A.M., Dept. of P.G. Teaching, Uni. Library Building, Nagpur.
726. *Shastri*, Avadhoot, 12, Ismail Bazaar, Indore City.
727. *Shastri*, Shri Bali Ram, Saroof, K-23, Ram Ghat, Varanasi.
728. *Shastri*, Shridevi H., "Suves", Azad Society, Ahmedabad-6.
729. *Shastri*, Jai Ram, Principal, Raghunatha Skt. Mahavidyala, Jammu.
730. *Shastri*, Jaydev Ganguly, 3-A, Rampaul Lane, Calcutta-5.
731. *Shastri*, Kaka Ram, Ranbir Skt. Res. Inst., Raghunath Temple, Jammu.
732. *Shastri*, Dr. Mandan Mishra, General Secretary, Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Sammelan, 172-D, Kamla Nagar, Delhi-6.
733. *Shastri*, Srimati Sukhada Devi, c/o Dr. Suryakanta, Benaras.
734. *Sheel*, Dharendra Sharma, Dept. of Philosophy, University of Kurukshetra, Kurukshetra, Punjab.
735. *Shende*, N. J., 12, Bhaskar Mansion, Sitaldevi Temple Road, Bombay-16.
736. *Shende*, Mrs. Sarojini N., c/o N. J. Shende, Bombay-16.
737. *Shendge*, Miss Malati, A-20, Miranda House, Delhi-8.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

xxvii

738. *Shiv Nath*, Dr., Santiniketan P. O., Visvabharati, West Bengal.
739. *Shrivastava*, B.V., Asst. Professor of Hindi, Kashi Vidya Pith, Banares.
740. *Shrivastava*, D. N., Asst. Prof. of Hindi, Uni. of Lucknow, Lucknow.
741. *Shriyan*, Nagesh, 115/5th Cross Rd., Kalasipalyam New Extension, Bangalore-2.
742. *Shriyan*, Smt. Ratna Nagesh, c/o Shri M. H. Bhandari, Bilva Kunj, 14, Harvey Rd., Bombay-7.
743. *Shroff*, Miss Devayani Hargovinddas, c/o H. M. Dave, Shanti, No. 1, Flt. No. 1, 19, Peddar Rd., Bombay-26.
744. *Shukla*, Bhagvati Prasad, Surya Nivas, Bazar Jhauul, Lucknow (U.P.).
745. *Shukla*, Daya Shanker, 15, Bulandbagh City Station, Lucknow (U.P.).
746. *Shukla*, Dr. D. N., Prof. of Skt., Punjab Uni., Chandigarh-3.
747. *Shukla*, Smt. Kamaladevi, c/o Dr. D. N. Shukla, Chandigarh.
748. *Shukla*, Kishorkant S., Shri M. P. Shah College, Surendarnagar.
749. *Shukla*, N. S., Lecturer in Skt., Inst. of P. G. Evening Studies, Uni. of Delhi, Delhi-6.
750. *Shukla*, Y. P., Principal Quarters, M. K. Arts College, Ahmedabad-9.
751. *Siddiqi*, Akbar Uddin, Lecturer, Osmania Uni., Char Qandil, Aghapura, Hyderabad.
752. *Siddiqi*, Mohammed Abdul Rahman Sayeed, House No. 14/-2-484, Moazzam Shabi, Hyderabad.
753. *Simha*, Dr. S, Head of the Dept. of Hindi, Benares Univ., Benares.
754. *Singh*, Dr. J. D., Kurukshetra Univ., Kurukshetra.
755. *Singh*, Dr. Mohan, c/o Postmaster, Khalsa College, Amritsar, Punjab.
756. *Sircar*, Dr. D. C., Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
757. *Sircar*, Mrs. D. C., 162/29, Lake Gardens, Calcutta-31.
758. *Sital*, Dr. Jit Singh, Director, Punjabi Department, Patiala.
759. *Sitammagaru*, Smt., c/o M. Kancanamala, S. V. College for Music and Dance, Tirupati.
760. *Sitaramiah*, G., Pratibha, 7th Main Road, Sarasvatipuram, Mysore.
761. *Solomon*, Dr. E. A., B. J. Inst. of Learning and Research, Ashram Rd., Ahmedabad-9.
762. *Solomon*, Miss Shobhavati, Lecturer in History, Govt. Girl's College, Sri Ganganagar.
763. *Somayaji*, G. J., Professor of Telugu, Andhra University, Waltair.
764. *Sontakke*, N. S., Vaidika Shamshodhan Mandal, Poona-2.
765. *Sreekantayya*, T. N., Prof. and Head of the Dept. of Kannada, Uni. of Mysore, Professor's Quarters, Sarasvatipuram, Mysore-5.
766. *Srihari*, B. R., L-143, Sarojini Nagar, New Delhi-3.



767. *Srikrishna Sarma*, E.R., Dept. of Skt., Sri Venkateswara Uni., Tirupati.
768. *Srinivasacharya*, R. V., Morrispet P. O., Tenali Dt., A. P.
769. *Srinivasan*, P. R., Asst. Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.
770. *Sriramamurti*, P., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Andhra Uni., Waltair.
771. *Srivastava*, Balram, Asst. Curator, Varanaseya Skt. Uni., Varanasi.
772. *Strongy*, Frederick J., 4, International House, B. H. Uni., Varanasi-5.
773. *Subramoniam*, V. I., Kerala.
774. *Sundaram*, C.S., Lecturer, Univ. of Madras, Sanskrit Dept., Madras-5.
775. *Sundaram*, P. M., Dept. of Tamil, Osmania Uni. Hyderabad.
776. *Suprasannacharya*, K., Res. Scholar, Telugu Dept., Osmania Uni., Hyderabad.
777. *Sur*, Smt. Bharati, 1/A., Shawl St., Calcutta-4.
778. *Sur*, Upendra Nath, 1/A, Shawl St., Calcutta-4.
779. *Suryabhan Agarwal*, Vasudevsnagar, Shahibagh, Ahmedabad-4.
780. *Svaminathan*, V., Sanskrit Dept., Univ. of Madras, Madras-5.
781. *Tagare*, Ganesh V. Headmaster, Multi-purpose H. School, Osmanabad.
782. *Tagore*, Mrs. Prabha D., 244, Phulbag Galli, Belgaum.
783. *Tagore*, Miss Vanamala Narayana, 244, Phulbag Galli, Belgaum.
784. *Talib*, Prof. N. L. K., Dharmarth Road, Srinagar.
785. *Tarapore*, Jamshed Cawashah, 802-B, Vincent Rd., Dadar, Bombay-14.
786. *Tarlekar*, Ganesh Hari, M. J. College, Jalgaon (Maharashtra).
787. *Tarlekar*, Nalini Ganesh, M. J. College, Jalgaon (Maharashtra).
788. *Tatachariar*, Agnihotram Ramanuja, C/o K. S. R. I., Madras-4.
789. *Temdee*, Miss Ratna, 26, Sikh Mohalla, Bokil Vada, Indore, M. P.
790. *Tewari*, B B., Hindi Lecturer, Arts and Science College, Warangal.
791. *Thada*, C., Rtd., Eng. Supervisor, Utar Ghasit, Gujar Mohalla, H. No. 527/VIII, Ajmer, Rajasthan.
792. *Thakur*, Anant Lal, Mithila Institute of P. G. Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, P. O. Darbhanga, Bihar.
793. *Thapar*, Dr. Miss R., 21, Kautilya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi-21.
794. *Tope*, Trimbak Krishna, Govt. Law College, Church Gate, Bombay-1.
795. *Tope*, Mrs. Vinata Trimbak, Law College, Church Gate, Bombay-1.
796. *Tripathi*, Kumari Kanakabala, c/o Dr. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack-3.
797. *Tripathi*, Dr. K. B., Ravenshaw College, Utkal Uni., Cuttack-3.
798. *Tripathi*, L. K., College of Indology, B. H. U., Varanasi.
799. *Tripathi*, R. S., Reader in Sanskrit, Aligarh Univ., Aligarh.
800. *Tripathi*, Mrs. Surekha, c/o Dr. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack-3.
801. *Trivedi*, D. V., New Order Book Depot, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.



802. *Trivedi*, H. V., Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Bhopal.
803. *Upadhyaya*, J. M., Asst. Prof. in Buddhist Phil., B. H. U., Varanasi.
804. *Upadhyaya*, Smt. Lalita Devi, c/o Dr. V. P. Upadhyaya, Gorakhpur.
805. *Upadhyaya*, Dr. R., Head of the Dept. of Skt., Uni. of Saugar, Saugar.
806. *Upadhyaya*, S. A., Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7.
807. *Upadhyaya*, Dr. V. P., Prof. of Skt., Uni. of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur.
808. *Upadhye*, Dr. A. N., 5. Rajarampuri, Kolhapur-1.
809. *Upadhye*, Mrs. Padmaja, P. c/o P. M. Upadhye, Bombay-62.
810. *Upadhye*, P. M., 91-A., Jayaprakash Nagar, Bombay-62.
811. *Upadhye*, S. S., 138, Kasba Peth, Poona-2.
812. *Upasak*, Dr. Chandrika Singh, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda.
813. *Ursekar*, Harihar Sitaram, Angreswadi, Bombay-4.
814. *Ursekar*, Mrs. Usha Harihar, Angreswadi, Bombay-4.
815. *Ursekar*, Kumari Vidya Harihar, Angreswadi, Bombay-4.
816. *Vachaspati*, Uniyal, Res. and Ref. Divison, Ministry of I. & B., Akashvani Bhavan, Parliament St., New Delhi.
817. *Vader*, V. H., Chavat Lane, Belgaum.
818. *Vaidya*, Mrs. Kamalabai, 204/2, Sadhashiv Peth, Poona-2.
819. *Vaidya*, Dr. P. L., 204/2, Sadhashiv Peth, Poona-2.
820. *Vajranabha*, 101, 3rd Main Rd., Chamarajpet, Bangalore.
821. *Vale*, Ramchandra Narayan, 226, Kasba, Poona-2.
822. *Varadachari*, Dr. V., Lecturer in Skt., Sri Venkateswara Uni., Tirupati.
823. *Varadarajan*, M., Professor of Tamil, Univ. of Madras, Madras-5.
824. *Varakhedkar*, Pt. Balacharya, Deccan College, Poona-6.
825. *Varanne*, J. A., c/o Deccan College, Poona-6.
826. *Varma*, Kumari Manorama, c/o Prof. K. L. Varma, D-53/99F, Narain Nagar, Kanachcha, Varanasi.
827. *Varnekar*, S. B., Dept. of Sanskrit, Nagpur Univ., Nagpur.
828. *Vatsyayan*, Dr. Kapila, A-75/D2, Moti Bagh, New Delhi-3.
829. *Vaudville*, Ch., D. C. R. I., Poona-6.
830. *Veeranjaneyulu*, K., c/o A.N.V. Sanjeeva Rao, Morrispet P.O., Tenali-2.
831. *Veeraraghavachar*, Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore-2.
832. *Velankar*, Hari Damodar, 10/2, Shastri Hall, Bombay-7.
833. *Velankar*, Mrs. Kshama Kamalakar, c/o Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay.
834. *Velankar*, N. H., Bhagvandas Building, Shivaji Chowk, Kalyan.
835. *Velankar*, Padma Narayan, c/o Dr. N. H. Velankar, Kalyan.
836. *Venkatachalam*, V., Prof. of Skt., Mogre Building, Madhav Nagar, Ujjain.



837. *Venkatachari*, N. C. S., Ajanta Printers, Secunderabad.
838. *Venkateshwaralu*, Prof. Jammadula, 19-C, Kajavari St., Tenali-1.
839. *Venkateswaran*, Dr. C. S., Prof. of Skt., Annamalai Uni., Annanagar.
840. *Vidya*, Narayan Vithal, Fergusson College, Poona-4.
841. *Vidyalankar*, Jaipal, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Hans Raj College, Delhi-6.
842. *Virabhadra*, M. V., 2543-44, Mirapur Lane, Shahapur, Belgaum.
843. *Vishvanath*, Maggavi Tarabai, c/o M. V. Virabhadra, Belgaum.
844. *Visvanathan*, Dr. A., Textile Res. Assn., Aerodrome Post, Coimbatore.
845. *Visvanathan*, Mrs. Saroja, c/o Dr. A. Visvanathan, Coimbatore.
846. *Wahiduddin*, Mohd., Rain Bazaar, Hyderabad.
847. *Wali*, Dr. (Kumari) Koshalya, Taindar Mohalla, Srinagar.
848. *Walvikar*, Miss Shanta Pandurang, 1570, Maruti Galli, Belgaum.
849. *Walvikar*, Miss Pramila Ramrao, 1570, Maruti Galli, Belgaum.
850. *Waray*, Ganesh Shridhar Shastri, Research Asst., Sanskrit Dept., Deccan College, Poona-6.
851. *Waray*, Smt. Gangabai Shridhar Shastri, 2022, Somwar Peth, Nasik.
852. *Waray*, Mm. Pt. Shridhar Anna Shastri, 2022, Somwar Peth, Nasik.
853. *Wilson Museum*, Lady, Dharipet, Dt. Surat.
854. *Yajnik*, J. S., G-17, Ladies Colony, B. H. Univ., Benaras-5.
855. *Yajnik*, N. S., D. C. Mahavidyalaya, P. O. Aliabad, Gujarat.
856. *Yedur*, Ramachndra Balappa, Khasbag Upper Galli, Belgaum.
857. *Zavar*, Champalal Mulchand, Sanganeckuar.



## PROGRAMME

Saturday, Oct. 14, 1961.

10 A.M. to 12 Noon

Inaugural Function

Venue :

Medical College Premises

- (a) Reception of the Sadar-i-Riyasat, Shri Karan Singh Ji, by Chairman, Reception Committee, Vice-Chairman and the Local Secretary.
- (b) Introduction of the General President to the Sadar-i-Riyasat by the Chairman.
- (c) Introduction of the Section Presidents and the General Secretaries by the General President.
- (d) Procession to the dais.
- (e) Welcome Address by the Vice-Chairman, Reception Committee.
- (f) Reading of Messages by the Local Secretary.
- (g) Inaugural Address by Sadar-i-Riyasat.
- (h) Presidential Address by Dr. V. Raghavan.
- (i) Announcements by the General Secretary.
- (j) Vote of thanks by Local Secretary.
- (k) National Anthem.

2 P.M. to 4 P.M. Sectional Presidents' Addresses

I

A

B

2 P.M.	Vedic	Iranian
2-30 P.M.	Classical Sanskrit	Dravidic Studies
3 P.M.	Pali and Buddhism	Arabic and Persian
3-30 P.M.	Prakrits and Jainism	Islamic Studies
4 P.M.	Prime Minister's At Home	
7 P.M.	Entertainment Programme	



xxxii

## AIOC. XXIST SESSION

Sunday, Oct. 15, 1961.

8-30 A.M. to 9-30 A.M. Sectional Presidents' Addresses II

A

B

8-30 A.M. Religion and Philosophy Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.

9 A.M. History Archaeology

9-30 A.M. to 11 A.M. Paper Reading and Discussions I  
(In all Sections)

11-15 A.M. to 12-30 A.M. Council Meeting

2 P.M. to 3 P.M. Sectional Presidents' Addresses III

A

B

2 P.M. Indian Linguistics Greater Indian Studies

2-30 P.M. Languages and Cultures of the Jammu and Kashmir State

3 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. Paper Reading and Discussions II  
(In all Sections)

5 P.M. Vice-Chancellor's At Home

9 P.M. Talk by Sardar K. M. Panikkar on Indology and National Integration.

Monday, Oct. 16, 1961.

8-30 A.M. to 11-30 A.M. Paper Reading and Discussions III  
(In all Sections)

10 A.M. to 11-30 A.M. New Executive Meeting

11-30 A.M. to 12-30 A.M. Visit to the Museum and Research Exhibition

2 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. Concluding Session

Tuesday, Oct. 17, 1961.

5 A.M. to 8 A.M. (Hike) Up the Shankaracharya Hill

9-30 A.M. to 8 P.M. Round the Mughal Gardens and to Burzahama Excavations.

(Note :—The Old Executive Committee will meet on Oct.13, '61 at 8-30 P.M.)



## GENERAL & SECTIONAL PRESIDENTS

### *General President*

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

<i>Section</i>	<i>President</i>
1. Vedic	Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, Calcutta.
2. Iranian	Dr. M. F. Kanga, Bombay.
3. Classical Sanskrit	Prof. Rasiklal Parikh, Ahmedabad.
4. Islamic Studies	Md. Yousuf Kokan, Madras.
5. Arabic and Persian	Prof. G. Dastgir Rashid, Hyderabad.
6. Pali and Buddhism	Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona.
7. Prakrits and Jainism	Dr. H. L. Jain, Muzaffarpur.
8. History	Prof. D. R. Mankad, Aliabad, Halar
9. Archaeology	Prof. G. R. Sharma, Allahabad.
10. Indian Linguistics	Dr. N. G. Kalelkar, Poona.
11. Dravidic Studies	Prof. M. M. Bhat, Madras.
12. Religion and Philosophy	Swami Bon Maharaj, Brindavan.
13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Sri Krishna Dev, Bhopal.
14. Greater Indian Studies	Dr. Raghuvira, Delhi.
15. Languages and Cultures of Jammu and Kashmir	Prof. Gauri Shankar, Chandigarh (Punjab).
16. Pandita Parishad	Mm. Parameshwaranand, Kapurtala.



## LOCAL (SECTIONAL) SECRETARIES

1. Shri Baljinath Pandit, Government College, Sopore.
- 2.
3. Prof. Ramnath Shastri, G. G. M. Arts College, Jammu.
4. Prof. Mufti Jalalud Din, A. S. College, Srinagar.
5. Shri Shamsad Din Ahmad, S. P. College, Srinagar.
- 6.
- 7.
8. Shri F. M. Hasnain, Director, State Archives, Srinagar.
9. Shri T. N. Khazanchi, Superintendent, Archaeology, Northern Circle, Srinagar.
10. Dr. H. P. Gupta, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.
- 11.
12. Dr. R. K. Kaw, V. V. R. I., Hoshiarpur.
13. Shri T. Kaul, Director, School of Designs, Srinagar.
14. Prof. Govardhan Singh, G. G. M. Arts College, Jammu.
15. Prof. Rahman Rati



## LIST OF PAPERS SUBMITTED

### SECTION I : *Vedic*

1. Andha and Śroṇa in Ṛgveda 4-30-19—Prof. H. D. Velankar, Bombay.
2. Further discoveries in the Saṁhitā-Palimpsest of the Ṛgveda—Rev. A. Esteller, Bombay.
3. Vṛṣā-Kapi—the Apeman in the Ṛgveda—Dr. V. M. Apte, Bombay.
4. About an imagery in the Uṣas-Sūkta—G. K. Bhat, Kolhapur.
5. Contribution of the Vasiṣṭha family to the cultural ideology of the Ṛgvedic Aryans—Dr. K. R. Potdar, Bombay.
6. Vāmadeva's contribution to Vedic Mysticism—Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, Poona.
7. The word Maniṣā in the Ṛgveda—Suresh A. Upadhyaya, Bombay.
8. Dantyoṣṭhyavidhi- a lakṣaṇagrantha of the Atharvaveda—B. R. Modak, Dharwar.
9. Some Derivative Legends from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—Dr. H. R. Karnik, Bombay.
10. The Vedic Legend of Cyavana and Sukanyā—Prof. V. S. Bhandari, Nagpur.
11. Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī—Dr. N. N. Godbole, Poona.
12. The Devas in the Vedic Literature—Dr. N. J. Shende, Bombay.
13. The Ecliptic or the महा अज्मा in the Vedas—V. H. Vader, Belgaum.
14. Ghṛta or Luminous Fog—V. H. Vader, Belgaum.
15. The Varāha Incarnation—V. H. Vader, Belgaum.
16. Heti Culture as explained by the Late Rhozani—V. H. Vader, Belgaum.
17. The Ritual Teachers: Āśmarathya and Ālekhana—C. G. Kashikar, Poona.
18. The Influence of the Kāthaka and the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitās on the Satyāśādha Śrautasūtra—V. V. Bhide, Poona.
19. The Antiquity of the Gr̥hyasūtras—Prof. G. M. Panse, Sholapur.



20. The Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra and the Manusmṛti—Dr. Ram Gopal, Chandigarh.
21. The Vedic Conception of "Tīrtha"—Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Annamalainagar.
22. Kośa, Kalaśa and Droṇa in the Ṛgveda—Dr. S. G. Kantawala, Baroda.
23. Varuṇa in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa—Dr. G. V. Devasthali, Nasik.
24. Specialities of Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra's Commentary on Taittirīya Saṁhitā—T. N. Dharmadhikari, Poona.
25. The Symbolism of the Three Brothers—Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Varanasi.
26. A note on "Apām Napāt"—Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Poona.
27. Indra in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda—Dr. G. H. Godbole, Bombay.
28. Purūravas and Urvaśī—Dr. V. W. Karambelkar, Nagpur.
29. Some Parallels between Mitrā-Varuṇa and Mithra-Ahura in the Ṛgveda and Avesta—Dastoor N. D. Minochehr Homji, Bombay.
30. Glimpses of philosophy in the oldest portion of the Ṛgveda—Dr. Y. Pandey, Saugar.
31. On Suparṇa in the Ṛgveda—B. R. Sharma, Darbhanga.
32. The Legend of Cyavana and Its Evolution in Sanskrit Literature—H. L. N. Bharati, Mysore.
33. On the accentuation of the Vocative 'Rtāvṛdhau' in Ṛgveda 1-2-8-ab—M. D. Balasubramanyam, Poona.
34. A study of the Uses of the word Brāhmaṇa in the Four Veda-Saṁhitās—Dr. S. K. Gupta, Jaipur.
35. दयानन्द भाष्य मे देवयान —Dr. S. K. Gupta, Jaipur.
36. Viṣṇu Daivatyaṁ of Vaikhānasa Kalpa Sūtra—Pt. P. Gopala-krishnamurthy, Siddipet.
37. Fresh Light on the Battle of the Ten Kings—Dr. P. L. Bhargava, Jaipur.
38. Mohenjo Daro Civilization—B. K. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta.
39. Kaṇva-Saṁhitā in Orissa—P. Acharya, Baripada.
40. Prayer in the Veda—Prof. J. A. Varanne, D. C. R. I., Poona.
41. Prajāpati and His Daughter—Dr. S. A. Dange.
42. The Vedic Conception of Suparṇa—Dr. S. A. Dange.
43. Vedic Aṅgīrasa—M. R. Jambunathan, Bombay.
44. Some Textual Problems in the Nirukta of Yāska by M. S. Dhuru, Bombay.



SECTION II : *Iranian*

1. Ambiguous Orthography of the Pāzend Texts—Dinshah D. Kapadia, Poona.
2. Pahlavi Astvīdhātīhā in Dd. Purīśn 24—Dr. H. K. Mirza, Bombay.
3. Sins in Patet Pashemani and Vandidat—Dr. H. R. Bana, Bombay.
4. Age of the Aban Yasht—J. C. Tarapore, Bombay.
5. The Exalted Status assigned to Agriculture and Cattle-tending by the Zoroastrian Tradition and the Antinomic Character of Modern Industrialism—Faribourz Nariman, Bombay.
6. The Concept of Khvarenangh (Divine Light) in Avesta—Dastoor N. D. Minocher Homji, Bombay.
7. The Pahlavi word Šāyandak/g or Šāyēndak/g—Erwad Peshotan Kavashaw Anklesaria, Bombay.
8. The Horse and Horsemanship in Ancient and Modern Iran—Kaikhosrow A. Fitter, Bombay.
9. Important textual readings in Avesta—N. S. Sontakke, Poona.
10. A critical study of Ch. II of Epistle II of Manuschihr—Prof. M. F. Kanga, Bombay.
11. Transcription, Translation of Dāstān i Dēnīk Purīśn LXVI with Explanatory notes on important words by Dastur Jamaspasa.

SECTION III : *Classical Sanskrit*

1. Major Interpolations in the Bālakāṇḍa—Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Baroda.
2. The Marriage of Rāma and Sītā in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa is of the Brāhma Type and not Prājāpatya—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, Varanasi.
3. The Causes of Sītāharaṇa in Rāma Literature—C. Bulcke, Ranchi.
4. Elements of Oral Poetry in the Mahābhārata—R. K. Sharma, Delhi.
5. Caste System in the Mahābhārata—Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar, Bombay.
6. Purāṇa Digests—Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, Calcutta.



7. The Place of Sūta in the Puranic Tradition—A. S. Gupta, Varanasi.
8. The Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas—A. S. Gupta, Varanasi.
9. On some Readings of the Mastya-Purāṇa—Dr. Nilmadhav Sen, Poona.
10. The Aśvins in the Matsya and Agni Purāṇas—Prof. K. P. Jog, Bombay.
11. Some observations on the Date of the Bengal Recension of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa—Prof. Asoke Chatterjee, Howrah.
12. The Antiquity of Viṣṇu Purāṇa—R. N. Sampath, Madras.
13. Raghu-Rākṣasa-Saṁvāda alluded to by Vedānta Deśika—its, Identification—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar, Varanasi.
14. The Rāhu-Ketu Myth—Kum. G. V. Davane, Bombay.
15. Treatment of Law in the Dharmasūtras—M. M. Patkar, Poona.
16. A critical and comparative study of the first chapter of Parāśara Smṛti—Krishna Sadhu, Calcutta.
17. Govindānanda, the least appreciated Bengal Nibandhakāra—Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
18. Śrīdattopādhyāya, the Maithila Smārta—J. Ganguly Shastri, Chandernagore.
19. A strong case for an additional form of Marriage—Dr. Heramba Nath Chatterjee Shastri, Calcutta.
20. Svayaṁvara—S. K. Limaye, Nagpur.
21. The Vatakanikā of Varāhamihira—Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane, Bombay.
22. Bhartṛhari's Commentry on the Vākyapadiya-Kārikās: Its Nature and Extent—Dr. C. T. Kenghe, Poona.
23. The Problem of spurious verses in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa—L. G. Parab, New Delhi.
24. Mallinātha and Vallabhadeva as commentators of the Raghuvaṁśa—L. G. Parab, New Delhi.
25. A New Theory about the Source of the Basic Story of the Meghadūta—V. Venkatachalam, Ujjain.
26. Trivikrama, the author of Madālasācampū—Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.
27. A Comprehensive study of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda—Dr. Bratindra Kumar Sengupta, Burdwan.



28. Bhaṭṭendurāja of Kāśmīr—His poetic Fragments (C. 960–990 A. D.)—E. V. Viraraghavacharya, Hyderabad.
29. A brief sketch of the contribution of Utkal to Sanskrit Literature—Prof. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack.
30. Sakala Vidyācakravartin's Gadyakarnāmrta—Kumari S. S. Janaki, Madras.
31. Sītārāmavihāra : a forgotten Sanskrit poem by a neglected Sanskrit poet of Andhra—Dr. B. Rama Raju, Hyderabad.
32. Gopālakelīcandrikā : a drama of erotic devotion—Devipada Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
33. Bhāvadīpikā on Saptasatīśāra of Peda Komaṭi Vema Bhūpāla—P. Sriramamurti, Waltair.
34. Naiṣadhīyacarita in Telugu—N. Venkata Rao, Madras.
35. Vasu-caritra-campū : A Sanskrit Translation of a well-known Telugu Classic—K. Suprasannacharya, Hyderabad.
36. Literary Value of the Inscriptions of Aśoka—Prof. D. B. Diskalkar, Bombay.
37. Subhāṣitas in Inscriptions—D. B. Diskalkar, Bombay.
38. Bharata and Aristotle : A brief comparative study in respect of dramaturgical canons—H. R. Mishra, Chhatarpur.
39. Bhāmaha on Grammar in relation to Poetry—V. M. Kulkarni, Ahmedabad.
40. Dhvanyābhāsa—S. Ramachandra Rao, Mysore.
41. A further note on Krauñca-vadha in Dhvanyāloka and Kāvya-mīmāṃsā—Ch. Vaudville, Poona.
42. An obscure Apabhraṃśa verse in the Daśarūpa—G. K. Bhat, Kolhapur.
43. Viśveśvara's contribution to Sanskrit Poetics—Kum. D. C. Sarasvati, Madras.
44. Treatment of Poetic Truth in Sanskrit poetics—Suresh J. Dave, Ahmedabad.
45. Similes in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on Aitareyopaniṣad—Dr. M. D. Paradkar, Bombay.
46. The vocabulary of Jayantabhaṭṭa—Dr. H. G. Narahari, Poona.
47. Mammaṭa's concept of Poetry—Ramaranjan Mukherjee, Calcutta.
48. Commentaries on the Sāhityadarpaṇa—Banamali Rath, Kendrapara.



49. Influence of the Sāhityadarpaṇa on later writers on poetics—Banamali Rath, Kendrapara.
50. On the date and authorship of a well-known traditional verse—V. Venkatachalam, Ujjain.
51. Study of some dreams presented by Sanskrit Poets—G. Sitaraniah, Mysore.
52. Influence of Tantra in Maṇimālā Nāṭikā (an unpublished Sanskrit Drama)—Mrs. S. Rout and Prof. P. Pradhan, Cuttack.
53. Mṛcchakaṭika and Hamlet: a brief note—G. S. Banhatti, Aurangabad.
54. Some Misconceptions about well-known authors—Mohan Mishra, Darbhanga.
55. The subhāṣitas of Somadeva—N. Raghunatha Aiyar, Madras.
56. Prārthayanti—a ghost-word discussed by the Grammarians—Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras.
57. The keystone of Kālidāsa's Greatness as a poet—Mrs. Leela Agnihotri, Darbhanga.
58. Sanskrit Kāvya in Oriya Literature—Prof. G. C. Misra, Angul.
59. Mm. Shankar Lal's contribution to Sanskrit Literature—Shiva Dutta Sharma, Ajmer.
60. Authors and works quoted in the Rasacandrikā of Śaṅkara on the Abhijñāna Śākuntala—Gurusevi Sarma, Righa.
61. The Vedas and the Bhāgavata—S. S. Prasad, Muzaffarpur.
62. Govindācārya Kesari (a Marathawada Pandit) and his works—Dr. G. V. Tagare, Osmanabad.
63. The imagery of Kālidāsa—K. M. Revanasiddaiah, Mysore.
64. A Stylistic introduction to the Nalavilāsa-nāṭakam—Dr. J. K. Balbir, Paris.
65. The conception of Rasa and its suggestibility—Prof. J. J. Pandya, Bhavnagar.
66. Appreciation of reality in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa—Prof. Vēera-raghavachar, Bangalore.
67. Sanskrit as a national language—Dr. Paramanand, Patiala.
68. Pāṇini—Prof. Chandrakant Pondey, Patna.
69. An Emendation of a Sūtra of Pāṇini—Dr. A. N. Jain, Baroda.



SECTION IV : *Islamic Culture.*

1. Authentic Quranic Reciters of Orissa—Lt. Col. Mirza Bismilla Beg, Hyderabad-Dn.
2. Analogy between Sufi and Vaiṣṇavite Mysticism—Dr. V. M. Kaikini, Bombay.
3. New Light on the Saffavid-Tamurride Relation—A. F. Haider, Patna.
4. The Stages of Spiritual Life in Sufism—Mrs. S. Basu, Varanasi.
5. Arab sciences and their influence on the West with reference to Medicine and Philosophy—Dr. S. B. Samadi, Lucknow.
6. The Islamic Educational System—A. R. Sayeed Siddiqui, Hyderabad.

SECTION V : *Arabic and Persian*

1. Versified Vocabularies of Persian and Arabic words, and Sanskrit-Pārasika Kośas—Dr. M. R. Majumdar, Baroda.
2. Hindu Efforts at Persian studies—Prof. N. S. Gorekar, Bombay.
3. Sheikh Mohd. Ya'qub 'Sarfi'—Prof. N. L. K. Talib, Srinagar.
4. Fānī Kashmīrī—His Life and works—Dr. S. A. H. Abidi, Delhi.
5. Sidelights on Aqil Khan Razi's Madhumālat—Dr. Yog Dhyān Ahuja, Delhi.
6. Qissae Laela-Majnoon of Shaik Gulam Mohiuddin — Dr. Raziuddin Ahmad, Tirupati.
7. Futuh al-Haramain and its real Author—Q. S. Kalimullah Hussaini, Hyderabad.
8. Mulla Bahrul Uloom—Md. Yousuf Kokan, Madras.
9. Dakini Prose Literature after 17th century—Brij Behari Tewari, Warangal.
10. Hadaiq-us-Salateen—Dr. Shareefunnisa Begum Ansari, Hyderabad.
11. Dr. Ahmad Husain Mayal—Mohd. Waheeduddin, Hyderabad.
12. Dah-Namah-s in Persian—Syed Hasan, Patna.
13. Some un-discovered Prose and Poetical Pieces of Hakīm Sanāī—Nazir Ahmad, Aligarh.
14. A Study and Survey of Hir Literature in Persian—Harnam Singh Shan, Chandigarh.

F



15. Bilingual Persian Poets of Bihar—Syed Ali Haider Naiyer, Patna.
16. Two little-known urdu Mathnawis based on the Indian folktale 'Lurak-chanda'—Dr. Gopi Chand Narang, Delhi.
17. Qazi Irtaza Ali Khan—Hafiza Begum, Madras.
18. Some observations on the origin of the Urdu Language—Masud Husain Khan, Aligarh.
19. Shiblee and Azad—Dr. S. M. Hasnain, Gaya.
20. Ibn Kathir—Mohammad Iqbal Ansari, Aligarh.
21. Burhanuddin Janam Bejapuri and his works—Prof. M. Akbaruddin Siddiqi, Hyderabad-Dn.
22. The court-poets of Asifjah I — Prof. Syed Mohammad, Hyderabad-Dn.
23. Corrected script of Urdu—Maulavi Ghulam Rasool, Hyderabad-Dn.
24. Moulana Rukn-din Sain Al-Harvi: (His Life and Works) —Dr. Syed Hasan.

SECTION VI: *Pali and Buddhism*

1. Gilgit Manuscripts and Numerical Symbols—Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona.
2. Bhadanta Śubhagupta's defence of Buddhist Atomism—N.A. Sastri, Santiniketan.
3. Rituals in Buddhism — Prof. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, Calcutta.
4. Pratītyasamutpāda in the Laghu-Kālacakra-Tantra—Dr. Biswanath Banerjee, Calcutta.
5. Doublets in Pali—Madhusudan Mallik, Santiniketan.
6. Buddhist Heritage of ancient Vaiśālī—prof. Binayendra Nath Choudhury, Calcutta.
7. Paññāsa-Jātaka (A collection of apocryphal Pali Jātaka Stories from Thailand)—Dr. Padmanabh S. Jaini, London.
8. The fundamental principles of the Dhyāna school in China—Dr. Chou Hsiang-Kuang, Allahabad.
9. सिरिघनसद् - समिक्खा —Sangha Sena, Delhi.
10. A Note on Mi-fam's Cintāmaṇi worship—Suniti Kumar Pathak, Santiniketan.
11. The first three leaves of the Abhidharmakośa Kārikā Manuscript—Prof. Prahlad Pradhan, Cuttack.



12. Vedic Brahmanism in the Samyutta-Nikāya—G. Sitaramiah, Mysore.
13. The functional use of the Buddhist Tantrik Maṇḍala—Miss Malati Shendge, Delhi.
14. Concept of Duhkha in Buddhism—Prof. N. S. Dravid, Nagpur.
15. Interpretation of some of the Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas of the Buddha—Prof. N. H. Samtani, Varanasi.
16. The Location of Ālavī—Dr. C. S. Upasak, Nalanda.

SECTION VII: *Prakrits and Jainism*

1. The Jaina and the Sahajayāna Schools of Yoga Philosophy—Dr. H. L. Jain, Muzaffarpur.
2. Lohācārya's Ārādhana: a missing work—Prof. Dr. A.N. Upadhye, Kolhapur.
3. Historical and Cultural data in some colophons of Jain works—Dr. Priyabala Shah, Ahmedabad.
4. A note on the word 'Śalākā' as used in 'Triṣaṭṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra' by Hemacandra—S. D. Parekh, Baroda.
5. Prākṛta Sarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya—Miss Kajal Palit, Cuttack.
6. The sect of Vimalasūri, the author of the Paumacariya—P. M. Upadhye, Bombay.
7. Hemacandra's concept of Deśī—Smt. R. N. Shriyan, Bombay.
8. Kumudacandra—Pinakin N. Dave, Bombay.
9. The Later Jain and non-Jain versions of the story of Naravikrama from Guṇacandra's 'Mahāvīracariya'—Dr. Ramesh Nandshankar Jani, Bombay.
10. A study on Mānasāgara's Kānhaḍa-Caupai, a Jaina Text in old Rājasthānī—Prof. Satya Ranjan Banerjee, Calcutta.
11. सोमदेवसूरि और जैनाभिमत वर्णव्यवस्था—Gokul Chandra Jain, Banaras.
12. The vicissitudes of Vaiśālī as a Jaina Tīrtha—Yogendra Mishra, Patna.
13. Jainism in Mysore (During the two Centuries of Wodeyar Rule, 1578–1760 A. D.)—D. S. Achyuta Rau, Mysore.
14. Socio-Historical causes for the addition of the fifth vow by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra to the four-fold vows of Pārśva—Ramachandra Jain, Sri Ganganagar.
15. A few important Jain kāvyās of the 14th century—P. C. Jaini, Bikaner.



16. The forgotten Jain heritage of the Tamil-land in the ancient Draviḍa Deśa—D. G. Mahajan, Yeotmal.

### SECTION VIII: *History*

1. Genealogy of the Solar Dynasty in the Purāṇas and the Rāmāyaṇa: A critical study—Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Poona.
2. Origin of Kuru Tribe—Ramachandra Jain, Sri Ganganagar.
3. The problem of the identification of the Raivataka Hill near Dvārakā—Prof. H. G. Shastri, Ahmedabad.
4. The History of Kalinga as depicted in the Mahābhārata—Prabodh Kumar Mishra, Parlakimedi.
5. Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśālī—Prof. Radhakrishna Choudhary, Begusarai.
6. The later Kushāṇas—Dr. B. N. Puri, Mussoorie.
7. The Prākṛtapaiṅgalam, an important source for the study of the political history of Mithila—Prof. Radhakrishna Choudhary, Begusarai.
8. The epoch of the Gāṅga era—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta.
9. A note on the Viṣṇukunḍins—Dr. M. Rama Rao, Tirupati.
10. Alleged inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III—Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta.
11. History of Naraina—Dr. K. C. Jain, Ajmer.
12. Religious Sects in India During the Seventh Century A. D.—C. S. Sundaram, Madras.
13. The Relation of the Chandellas with imperial Kanauj—V. B. Mishra, Gauhati.
14. Khayat of Patal Pota—B. P. Ambashthya, Patna.
15. Religious policy of Firozshah Tughlaq—Manazir Ahmed, Sehore.
16. Kharītās in Rajasthan—K. S. Rajora, Ajmer.
17. Salt Trade of the English East-India Company in India during the Second half of the Eighteenth century—Dr. K. K. Datta, Patna.
18. A note on the Libraries in Bihar under the E. I. Company's Rule—J. S. Jha, Patna.
19. Internal organisation of the Wahabi Movement, 1831–1871—Q. Ahmad, Patna.
20. Captain Bonnevaux's Diary—Prof. K. Sajunlal, Secunderabad.



21. The Imperial Assemblage of 1877—V. C. P. Chaudhary, Patna.
22. East-India Company and Education (1765-1813)—Vishnu Anugraha Narain, Patna.
23. An interregnum in Pallava History—Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Madras.
24. Historical Data of the Daśakumāracarita—B. R. Sastri, Hyderabad.
25. Maratha Invasion of the Madura Country (1740-1745)—Prof. R. Chandra Mauli Eswar, Masulipatam.
26. The Dominion of Pushyamitra Sunga—Dr. S. L. Katre, Mandla.
27. Gupta administration of Bihar—Dr. R. S. Sharma, Patna.
28. Bilhana and Virasimha—Dr. E. A. Solomon, Ahmedabad.

SECTION IX: *Archaeology*

1. The N. B. P. ware is the first Representative Aryan pottery in Bihar—Sita Ram Roy, Patna.
2. Excavations at Eran—Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Saugar.
3. New Bharhut Sculptures—Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Saugar.
4. Metrological study of the gold coins of Early India—Dr. S. K. Maity, Calcutta.
5. A motive of three fish with a common head—Prof. D. B. Diskalkar, Bombay.
6. Hermaphroditism and early Ardhanārīśvara figures in India—K. S. Ramachandran, Nagpur and C. Krishnamurti, Madras.
7. A new Brāhmī inscription in the Tamil Country—Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Madras.
8. An one word inscription of Mahendra Pallava—Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Annamalinagar.
9. Raipur Museum inscription of Śivadeva—Balchandra Jain, Raipur.
10. Copper Plate II from Chinchani (Dist. Jhana)—Dr. G. M. Patil, Aurangabad.
11. The Bhikṣātanamūrti at Khajurāho—Prof. J. Filliozat, Pondicherry.
12. The Maitraka and the Saindhava Monuments of Saurāṣṭra—J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, Rajkot.



13. A dated reference to the Ghṛṣṇeśvara Jyotirlinga at Ellora—  
N. A. Gore, Aurangabad.
14. An interesting Panel from the Aurangabad Caves—R. S. Gupta, Aurangabad.
15. An interesting image of Nandī with his consort—N. P. Joshi, Varanasi.
16. Paṭṭa. Paṭṭalikā and Paṭṭalā—Dr. Shobhana Gokhale, Poona.
17. A note on four copper-plate grants recently discovered—  
Prof. G. H. Khare, Poona.
18. Terracottas from the Avra Excavation—Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Bhopal.
19. Qadam Rasool Monument of Cuttack—Shahabuddin M. Gani, Rourkela.
20. Warangal and its environs—A. Gnanaratnam, Warangal.
21. A note on the Navagraha Slab of the Temples of Orissa—  
P. Acharya, Baripada.
22. Sculpture and architecture of Cambay through Muslim period  
in Cambay—Prof. P. Chandavarkar, Cambay.
23. Inscriptions of Ashoka—A Critique—Dr. L. B. Keny, Bombay.

#### SECTION X: *Indian Linguistics.*

1. Two Derivatives in-Ya—Dr. M. A. Mehandale, Poona.
2. Pronunciation of: 'य'- 'व'- 'ज' and 'ण'- 'ख' in Śukla Yajurveda—G. S. Waray, Poona.
3. Some un-Pāṇinian forms in the Śrauta-Sūtras—P. D. Nawathe, Poona.
4. The visarga sandhi in Pāṇini's Grammar—Dr. G. M. Patil, Aurangabad.
5. Patañjali and the Nirukta—V. Swaminathan, Madras.
6. Formation of Feminine Bases in Mahābhārata—Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, Poona.
7. Extended Application of some Pāṇini Sūtras—Dr. G. T. Deshpande, Nagpur.
8. Some Remarkable words from Māṭharavṛtti on the Sāṃkhya Kārikās—Dr. V. W. Paranjpe, Poona.
9. Some peculiar words from the Bṛhatkathakośa—a linguistic study—Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, Poona.



10. Allophones of the Dental Nasal in Sanskrit : a fourteenth century Discussion—Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras.
11. On some instances of vowel-metathesis in Prakṛt—Dr. S. N. Ghosal, Calcutta.
12. Analogical replacement in M.I.A. Past passive participle bases : replacive-gga-,dha,-ina,-inna—Dr. H. C. Bhayani, Bombay.
13. OIA verb-root sthā in M.I.A. Languages—D.N.Basu, Calcutta.
14. Affricates in Marathi—Dr. S. N. Gajendragadkar, Bombay.
15. Sibilants in Wādwaḷ Dialect—G. M. Patil, Aurangabad.
16. Old literature in various dialects of Matathi—Dr. A. K. Priolkar, Bombay.
17. अवधी में किर्यारूप (Verb forms in Awadhi)—Prof. Yogendra Mohan Gupta, Delhi.
18. Repeated or Chameleon Morphemes in Bhāratchandra—Bhakti Prasad Mallik, Calcutta.
19. So : Ra : Loans in Oriya—Prof. S. Hota, Parlakhemundi.
20. A temporal classification of Oriya Verbs—Dr. S. S. Misra, Dhenkanal.
21. Symbolism in Oriya Literature—Prof. Sri Gopal Chandra Misra, Cuttack.
22. Pronominal suffixes in Sindhi—L. Khubchandani, Poona.
23. An examination of some so-called non- Aryan loan words in Sanskrit—Asutosh Biswas, Dibrugarh.
24. The Study of Phonetics in India to day—G. B. Dhall, Puri.
25. Comparative reconstruction : a note on Methodology—Debi Prasanna Pattanayak, Santiniketan.
26. Transference of Stems in Epic Nominal Declension — Dr. Mrs. Sibani Das Gupta, Calcutta.
27. On some Deśya Prakṛt words—H. C. Bhayani, Bombay.
28. Garhwali Phonemics—Dr. A. Chandra Sekhar, Delhi.
29. On the N. I. A. Element of the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottama-deva—Prof. Siddheswar Hota, Parlakhemundi.
30. Un-Pāṇinian forms in the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha—Satyavrat, Delhi.
31. Studies in Pāṇinian grammar—V. P. Limaye, Poona.
32. A comparative study into the suggestiveness of Hindi, Urdu and Bengali verbs—A. K. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta.
33. The Method of compiling Urdu and Hindi dictionaries—Dr. Sri Ram Sharma, Hyderabad—Dn.
34. The Kashmiri word अन्न (a historical and comparative study) —Dr. Harihar Prasad Gupta, Srinagar.



SECTION XI: *Dravidic Studies.*

1. Conjugation in Tamil—Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Annamalainagar.
2. Exceptions to the Palatalisation Law—Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Annamalainagar.
3. Participial Nouns in Tamil—M. Shanmugam Pillai, Annamalainagar.
4. Syntax of Old Tamil—Dr. Sathasivam, Peredeniya (Ceylon).
5. The Idaiccol Morpheme in Tamil—S. K. Arunachalam, Salem.
6. The Main Impulses behind Ancient Tamil Literature—Dr. M. Varadarajan, Madras.
7. Fundamentals of Indian Culture in Tamil Literature—Dr. M. Rajamanikkam, Madras.
8. The Spirit of Indian Unity in Ancient Tamil Literature—N. Sanjeevi, Madras.
9. Tamils in Ancient Ceylon—K. P. Ratnam, Ceylon.
10. Rāma of Kambar and Tulasī—Dr. S. Shankar Raju, Madras.
11. Place-Names in Andhra—Prof. G. J. Somayaji, Waltair.
12. Telugu a link between the North and the South—N. Venkata-Rao, Madras.
13. Telugu Grammar by Englishmen—Sri G. N. Reddy, Tirupati.
14. Types of alternating Forms in Telugu—Sri G. N. Reddy, Tirupati.
15. Telugu Names—P. Gopala Krishnamurty, Siddipet.
16. Kṛṣṇamācārya-The Progenitor of Telugu Vacana Kāvya—Veturi Anandamurthy, Hyderabad.
17. Case Suffixes in Tuluva—Prof. M. M. Bhat, Madras.
18. Kittel's Etymology of certain Kannada Words examined—K. Shama Bhat, Nirchal.
19. Development of Kannada Literature under the Hoysalas—Prof. S. S. Malwad, Dharwar.
20. The Adjective in Malayalam—Dr. K. Raghavan Pillai, Trivandrum.
21. An Important Phonological Feature of Telugu—Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri, Tirupati.
22. Telugu Language of the Inscriptions of the 14th Century A. D.—Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri, Tirupati.
23. The Place of Avvaiyār among women Poets in Tamil—Prof. P. M. Sundaram, Hyderabad.



24. Nasals in Tamil with special reference to the Dental and Alveolar—Dr. S. Shankar Raju, Madras.
25. On 'CATTĀṆA' and 'BEDANDE'—T. N. Sreekantaiya, Mysore.
26. Malayalam Verb Classification—V. I. Subramoniam, Kerala.
27. Hooker Transformation in Tamil—V. I. Subramoniam, Kerala.

SECTION XII: *Religion and Philosophy.*

1. Prameya-Siddhiḥ Pramāṇād dhi (Sāṅkhya-Kārikā, Verse 4 d) —Kshetresachandra Chattopadhyaya, Varanasi.
2. Non-difference of Sāṅkhya and Vedānta in Ancient Times—G. S. Waray, Poona.
3. The Problem of Khyāti as discussed in the Sāṅkhya and Yoga Systems—Dr. C. T. Kenghe, Poona.
4. 'DHĀRANĀ' and 'CODANĀ' (Yogic Terms) in the Mokṣadharmaparvan of the Mahābhārata in Their Relation with the Yoga-Sūtras—V. M. Bedekar, Poona.
5. Ānandasamuccaya: a rare work of Haṭha Yoga—Dr. Sadashiva L. Katre, Ujjain.
6. Concept of Ahimsā in Yogadarśana—Dr. Koshalya Wali, Srinagar.
7. Vātsyāyana and the Vaiśeṣika system—Prof. Anantalal Thakur, Darbhanga.
8. Alaukika Sannikarṣa in Nyāya Theory of Perception—Prof. Bimal Krishna Motilal, Calcutta.
9. Savyabhicāra Fallacy—Dr. V. Varadachari, Tirupati.
10. The Concept of Samavāya—Dr. G. Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
11. Bādari—a forgotten Philosopher of Mīmāṃsā—K. S. Ramaswami Shastri, Hoshiarpur.
12. Śabdāparokṣavāda—Ramaprasad Bhattacharya, Burdwan.
13. Aspects of Realization (According to Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgītā)—Dr. B. S. Agnihotri, Darbhanga.
14. Padmapāda as an Independent Interpreter and Thinker—Dr. B. H. Kapadia, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

G



15. Vedānta-Sarva-Saṅgraha of Yajñeśvara : a Doctrinal Study—  
Shrinath S. Hasurkar, Raipur.
16. Place of Devotion in Advaita Philosophy—D. C. Shastri,  
Calcutta.
17. Conception of Bhakti as depicted by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī—  
Dr. U. N. Sanjukta Gupta, Calcutta.
18. Saivism and Vedānta—B. N. Pandit, Sopara, Kashmir.
19. Distinctive Features of the Pratyabhijñā System—Dr. R. K.  
Kaw, Hoshiarpur.
20. The Āgamic Tattvas and the Āgamic Conception of the  
Mind—Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, Annamalainagar.
21. Appayya Dīkṣita's Śivādvaita—D. G. Joshi, Ahmednagar.
22. Yogī Śrī Gopeśvarajī's Contribution to Śuddhādvaita  
Vedānta—Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Baroda.
23. Tulsi's Concept of Three Illusions—Dr. Devaki Nandan  
Srivastava, Lucknow.
24. Some deliberations on the Parakīyā Tattva—Chinmoyee  
Chatterjee, Hooghly.
25. The Concept of Prapatti (Self-Surrender) in the Thought of  
Rāmānuja—Robert Lester, Madras.
26. Vedānta Līlā-Vāda—Dr. Roma Chaudhuri, Calcutta.
27. Philosophy and Religion: Their Nature and Aim—B. A. Swami  
Bon Maharaj, Vrindaban.
28. Myth and Metaphysics : Relation between Vedic and Puranic  
myths and the Concepts of Saṁsāra, Punar-janma,  
Karma and Dharma—Dr. G. A. Deleury, Poona.
29. Conception of Jāti in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali—R. S.  
Tripathi, Aligarh.
30. Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa—Miss E. A. Solomon, Ahmedabad.
31. Bhartr̥hari's list of Sentence-Definitions : the Textual Pro-  
blem—Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras.
32. Nāgeśa on the guiding principles of Constructional Mean-  
ing—Dr. S. D. Joshi, Poona.
33. Some popular Superstitions and Beliefs in the Seventh Cen-  
tury India—Baijnath Sharma, Jabalpur.
34. Upaniṣads and Rituals—B. K. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta.



35. The Bhakti Cult in the Gītā—Prof. J. S. Yajnik, Varanasi.
36. A Study in the different views of Pratibimba school of Advaitism—Dr. V. P. Upadhyaya, Gorakhpur.
37. Parabrahmaprakāśa: Raghūttama Yati's Commentary on Ānandatīrtha's Brhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya — Dr. G. V. Tagare, Osmanabad.
38. Some issues in the methodology of Oriental Research—Mallepalli S. S. Raman, Chandigarh.
39. An approach towards Cultural Synthesis by the Saguna Bhakti Poets of Hindi—Dr. Prem Shankar, Sagar.
40. Bhagavad Gītā and Patañjali—Dr. Mohan Singh, Amritsar.
41. Arguments against the view that the identity of the Supreme Soul with the Individual Soul is taught by Vedānta—D. Viswanatha Sastry, Bhimavaram.
42. The Contribution of Women to the Religious Life of India through the Ages—Smt. Sabita Misra, Bally.
43. The Religion of Love and Service—Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta.
44. On Maṇḍana's Interpretation of an Īśāvāsyamantra—Dr. E. R. Sreekrishnasarma, Tirupati.

#### SECTION XIII: *Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.*

1. Foundations of Technical Sciences in Vedic Literature—Dr. D. N. Shukla, Chandigarh.
2. Some Mathematical Achievements of Ancient India—H. S. Ursekar, Bombay.
3. Gleanings from Bhāskara (I)'s Bhāṣya on the Āryabhaṭīya—K. V. Sarma, Madras.
4. The Cyclic Quadrilateral in Indian Mathematics—Smt. T. A. Sarasvati, Madras.
5. Tantraratna and Candravākyas: Two Astronomical Works of Sāluva Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla—K. V. Sarma, Madras.
6. The Tenth Planet—Māndī alias Gulika—K. Damodaran Nambiar, Poona.
7. A Note on Balances in Ancient India from Earliest Times to 3rd Century A. D.—Balram Srivastava, Varanasi.



8. The Prāsāda-Lakṣaṇādhyāya of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira—Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur.
9. The Height of the Garbha Gṛha of a Temple—P. R. Srinivasan, Ootacamund.
10. A Study of the Stambha in the Early Medieval Temples in Telingāṇa—M. Radhakrishna Sarma, Srikakulam.
11. The Capital—Its Layout According to the Matsyapurāṇa—Dr. S. G. Kantawala, Baroda.
12. Peeps into Agriculture in Ancient India—Dr. R. K. Kaw, Hoshiarpur.
13. A Reference to Mineral Oil in Jaina Canonical Literature—Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Baroda.
14. Mallaśāstra of Devīsimha : Its Contents and Importance—Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, Poona.
15. Ornaments of the Women of Ancient Karnatak—Smt. Shantadevi Malwad, Dharwar.
16. The Evolution of the Rāga System in Karnatik Music—S. Ramanathan, Madras.
17. Fretted Viṇā in Indian Sculpture—Prof. G. H. Tarlekar, Jalgaon.
18. Sanskrit Dramas and Music—Prof. Athavale, Ahmedabad.
19. Pūrvaraṅga in Sanskrit Drama—Dr. K. D. Sastri, Calcutta.
20. Pusta in Sanskrit Dramaturgy—Prof. S. Chattopadhyaya, Burdwan.
21. The 108 Karaṇas : a Technical Interpretation of Bharata's Tāṇḍava-Lakṣaṇam—Smt. Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, New Delhi.
22. The Aspect of Rhythmic Variation in Bharata Nāṭyam—Smt. Nirmala Ramachandran, Madras.
23. Some Dance Poses in Tirumala and Tirupati Temple Architecture—Miss M. Kanchanamala, Tirupati.
24. The Bahurūpa—Dr. S. V. Joga Rgo, Waltair.
25. Folk Amusements of Andhra—R. P. Sātyanarayana, Waltair.
26. The Indo-Morse System of Telegraph in Indian Languages—Dr. Bijan Bihari Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
27. Yaśastilakam varṇita bhāratīya veṣa-bhūṣa—Gokul Chandra Jain, Varanasi.



SECTION XIV: *Greater Indian Studies.*

1. Boundaries of Greater India in Ancient Times—G. S. Waray, Poona.
2. Contribution of Kashmir to the Expansion of Buddhism in Far East—Jan Yun-Hua, Santiniketan.
3. The Rama Story in the Post-Muslim Malay Literature—Juan R. Francisco, Philippines.
4. More Sanskrit Loan-Words in the Philippine Languages—Juan R. Francisco, Philippines.
5. The Śrīvijaya Empire and the Philippines—Juan R. Francisco, Philippines.
6. The Hari-Hara (?) Image in the Philippines—Juan R. Francisco, Philippines.
7. On the Symbolical Colours attached to the Directions of Space in Indonesia—L. C. Damais, Djakarta.
8. Hui-Ch'ao's Record on Kashmira—Jan Yun-Hua, Santiniketan.
9. India as Described in Chiu T' Shu or 'The Old History of the T'āng Dynasty'—Narayan Chandra Sen, Santiniketan.
10. Sarasvatī in Burma—Deva Prasad Guha, Rangoon.
11. The Contribution of Women Sanskrit Scholars of Cambodia—Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta.

SECTION XV: *Local Languages and Cultures.*

1. Indian Literary Tradition and Kashmiri Poetry—R. L. Shant, Srinagar.
2. Jammu-Kashmir as Depicted in Old and New Panjabi Poetry—Harnam Singh Shan, Chandigarh.
3. Wāṣil Kashmīrī—Dr. Md. Shamoan Israeli, Aligarh.
4. Kashmir's Contribution to the Propagation of Buddhism—J. N. Ganhār, New Delhi.
5. Kāśmīrasya Sāhityaśāstriya-vāṇmayam—[A Study of Kashmirian Classical Sanskrit Literature]—Acharya Surya Narayan Dwivedi, Srinagar.
6. Dogri and Panjabi—Dr. Jit Singh Sital, Patiala.



7. Dogri Language--Shyamlal Sharma, Jammu.
8. Sa'dat's History of Kashmir in Persian Poetry--Dr. G. D. Rasheed, Hyderabad.
9. Dogri Language--D. C. Prasant, Jammu Tawi, Jammu.
10. Literary Tradition of Kashmir--P. N. Pushp, Poonch.

SECTION XVI: *Pandita Parisad.*

[The Texts of the Papers are in Sanskrit]

1. Vedāḥ--Pt. Kaka Ram Shastri, Tawi, Jammu.
2. Vedārthālāpanapaddhatiḥ--Mm. Pt. Shridhar Anna Shastri Waray, Nasik.
3. Bhāratīyadarśanatattvasamīkṣā--Pt. Jayaram Shastri, Jammu.
4. Nyāyabhāṣye Śāstrāntaravimarśaḥ -- Kishora Natha Jha, Darbhanga.
5. Akhāṇḍārtha Doctrine in Bhāmatī--Panditaraja T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Varanasi.
6. Vyākaraṇasūtrāṇi--Pt. V. B. Bhagawat, Poona.
7. Ekāki--Dr. G. B. Palsule, Poona.
8. Śrī Sarvajñātmanemūḥ Sākṣātpratibimbavādaḥ--Prof. Rushiraj C. Agnihotri, Modasa.
9. Śrī Jagannāthopāsanāyāḥ bījaṁ--Dr. Beni Madhaba Padhi, Puri.
10. Sāhityaṁ Pratyabhijñādarśanaṁ ca--Gunde Rao Harkare, Hyderabad.
11. Bhavabhūteḥ Śabdārthaprayogacāturyaṁ--Dr. Narendranath Choudhuri, Delhi.
12. Pūrvadhvanikālikānāmālāṅkārikāṇāṁ Rasavicāraḥ -- Shri Jayamanta Mishra, Muzaffarpur.
13. Dhvanyālokalocanacarcā--Prof. Mahaprabhulal Goswami, Darbhanga.
14. Śṛṅgārarasasya Sarvaprathamābhivyaktiḥ -- R. S. Jaitly, Aligarh.
15. Utprekṣālāṅkāraṇiṣaye Appayyadīkṣitakṛtāṁ Abhinavam Cintanam--Prof. Bhagavatiprasad Devasankar Pandya, Ahmedabad.



16. Anyabhāṣāśabdānām Saṃskṛtīkaraṇam — S. B. Varnekar, Nagpur.
17. Āyurvedetihāsaḥ—Sitarama Ranganath Joshi, Nasik.
18. Dharmah tattvajñānam ca—Pt. Balacharya Varakhedkar, Poona.
19. Śrī Śaṅkarācāryāṇām Māyā cāvidyā ca—Mm. Vedāntatīrtha Yajñeśvaraśāstrin Kasture, Nanded.
20. Śabdādvaitavādaḥ—Ayodhyanatha Sastri, Burdwan.
21. Kāśmīrikaśabdānām Prāyaśas Saṃskṛtaśabdā eva prabhavaḥ—Badarinatha Śāstrin, Srinagar.
22. Samavāyavivekaḥ—Madhusudana Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
23. Prābhākaramate Vidhyarthaḥ—B. K. Shankar, Poona.
24. Purāvṛttam—Sivanatha Sarma Sastri, Srinagar.
25. Bhāratīyanīteḥ Tattvam—Balacharya Joshi, Nanded.
26. Antiquity of the Yajurveda—Madanamohana Sarma, Panjab.
27. Pāṇinipatañjalyoḥ Samanvayo Virodho vā—Vinayaka Sarma, Indore.
28. Devavāṇī Cirantanī; Ṛgvedamantre Bhāṣāsaṃskārōllekhaḥ—Vinayaka Sarma, Indore.
29. Vidyām cāvidyām cetiśāvāsyā mantrārtha samālocanam—V. S. Ramachandra Sastry, Varanasi.
30. Kāmarūpīya kirātanṛpatīnām Saṃskṛta bhāṣāprītiḥ Bhāratīyasaṃskṛtisamādaraśca—Sri Manoranjan Sastri, Nalbari.
31. About Sanskrit Language—Mm. Pt. Sri Damodar Sastri, Puri.
32. Similes in Ṛgveda -- Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya, Madras.
33. Mīmāṃsakarītyā Viyadādiprapaṇco Vedaśca Nityaḥ, Īśvarābhāvaḥ, Ātmasvarūpam, Mokṣasvarūpam, Mokṣasādhanaḥ—K. Ramamurti Sastri, Madras.
34. Śaṅkarakṛtāyām Abhijñānaśākuntala-rasacandrikāyām Prācīnagrantha-granthakṛtcarca—Pt. Gurusevi Sarma



## MINUTES OF THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on the 13th of October, 1961, at 8-30 P.M., in the Badsha Hotel, Srinagar. The following members were present :

V. Raghavan (in the Chair), A. N. Upadhye, P. V. Bapat, G. V. Devasthali, C. B. Gupta, H. L. Jain, V. V. Mirashi, A. D. Pusalkar, P. N. Pushp (Local Secretary), B. J. Sandesara, M. Rama Rao and R. N. Dandekar. The following business was transacted.

1. *Resolved* that the Executive Committee places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad deaths of the following persons who had been members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference at one time or another:

K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, A. S. Altekar, J. M. Unwala, and R. P. Sethu Pillai.

2. The General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, reported on the action taken by the office on the various resolutions passed at the 20th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in October 1959. The report was recorded.

3. The General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, reported that the following volumes of the Proceedings of the Conference had been published since the last Session of the Conference :

(1) Proceedings of the 19th (Delhi) Session, Vol. II.

(2) Proceedings of the 20th (Bhubaneshwar) Session, Vol. II.

4. *Resolved* that the audited statement of accounts for the years 1959 and 1960 (see below) be and is hereby adopted.

5. *Resolved* that Messrs G. M. Oka and Co., Poona, be and are hereby appointed Auditors of the Conference for the years 1961-1964 (both inclusive).



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

lvii

6. The General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, reported that the General President had filled in the vacancies caused in the Sectional Presidencies as follows :

*Iranian* : Dr. M. F. Kanga *vice* Dr. J. M. Unwala deceased.

*Technical Sciences and Fine Arts*: Shri Krishna Deva *vice* Dr. U. P. Shah resigned.

*Greater Indian Studies*: Dr. Raghu Vira *vice* Dr. U. N. Ghoshal resigned.

The General Secretary further reported that the General President had nominated Mm. Pandit Parameshwarananda as President of the Pandit Parisad and Prof. Gauri Shankar as President of Section dealing with the Language and Cultures of Kashmir.

7. The General Secretary placed before] the Executive Committee the resolution regarding the memorial of Kalidasa at Ramtek and of Bhavabhuti at Padmapur, forwarded by the Vidarbha Sahitya Sangh, Nagpur.

*Resolved* that the resolution be recorded.

8. The General Secretary reported on the preparations which were being made in connection with 26th International Congress of Orientalists to be held at New Delhi in 1963.

9. The Executive Committee discussed at some length the amendments to the Rules and Byelaws of the All-India Oriental Conference proposed by Dr. V. Raghavan, the General President, and Dr. G. V. Devasthali.

*Resolved* that a Committee consisting of V. Raghavan, M. Rama Rao, and R. N. Dandekar be authorised to prepare, in the light of the discussion, a draft of the amendments to be submitted to the Council of the Conference.

10. *Resolved* that it be recommended to the Council that the following ten persons, recommended by the Local Committee, be co-operated on the Council of the Conference under Rule 10 (b) (i) :

Sarvashri Mufti Jalal-ud Din, N. L. Koul, Prem Singh, T. N. Khizanchi, F. M. Hassnain, Ramnath Shastri, Balje Nath Pandit, R. K. Kaw, M. D. Zore Kadri, and Krishna Mohan.

11. The General Secretary reported that the Presidents of the Prakrit and Jainism, Pali and Buddhism, Islamic Studies, and Religion and Philosophy Sections were not able to attend the Session.

H



*Resolved* that the following persons be requested to act as Sectional Presidents :

- |                   |   |                          |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Prof. H. L. Jain  | — | Prakrit and Jainism.     |
| Prof. P. V. Bapat | — | Pali and Buddhism        |
| Prof. Kokan       | — | Islamic Studies.         |
| Shri Bon Maharaj  | — | Religion and Philosophy. |

(Muni Punyavijayaji, Shri Jagadish Kashyap, and Pandit Sukhlalji had sent in their Presidential addresses for the Prakrit and Jainism, Pali and Buddhism, and Religion and Philosophy Sections respectively).

12. Dr. P. V. Bapat, representative of All-India Oriental Conference on the Central Board of the Archaeology, submitted a report on his work on the Board.

*Resolved* that the report be recorded.

13. *Resolved* that Dr. R. N. Dandekar, General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, be and is hereby authorised to open and operate an account for the Conference in the State Bank of India, Poona City, in the name of "All-India Oriental Conference, operated by Dr. R. N. Dandekar as General Secretary of the Conference".

R. N. DANDEKAR,  
General Secretary.

V. RAGHAVAN,  
Chairman.



**ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, POONA-4.****(BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE)***Consolidated Receipts and Payments Account for the year ending**31st December 1959 and 31st December 1960.***RECEIPTS.**

To	Balance at commencement : (1-1-1959)			
	Cash on hand	9	12	
	In S. B. A/C with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd,	7,404	35	
	3½ per cent Treasury Savings Certificate	12,000	00	
	With the Treasurer	4,131	23	23,544 70
„	Life Membership Fees :			
	from Utkal University, Cuttak (1960)	2,266	00	
	from Others :			
	(1959)	376	00	
	(1960)	75	00	2,717 00
„	Interest			
	on 3½ per cent Treasury Savings Certificates			
	(1959)	420	00	
	(1960)	420	00	
		840	00	
	On Savings Bank Account			
	(1959)	140	72	
	(1960)	119	85	260 57
				1,100 57
Membership Fee & Subscriptions :				
	(1959)	25	25	
	(1960)	30	00	55 25
„	Aid from Osmania University, Hyderabad for 1959-1960			500 00
„	2/rd Sale Proceeds of Conference volumes for 5 years from Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (1959)			3,414 75
„	Sale Proceeds of Index (1960)			11 00
	Total Rs.	31,343	27	

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

(Sd.) G. M. OKA & CO.

Chartered Accountants.

10-6-1961.



## AIOC. XXIST SESSION

## PAYMENTS

## By Postage &amp; Telegrams

(1959)	....	208	16		
(1960)	....	53	09	261	25

## ,, Printing &amp; Stationary

(1959) (including Rs. 4,335.13 for 1000 copies of Index Papers)	....	4,656	85		
Index Papers (1960)	....	33	75	4,690	60

## ,, Remuneration to Clerks

(1959)	....	500	00		
(1960)	....	150	00	650	00

## ,, Honorarium to Sri. K. Venkateswara

Sarma for Index of Papers (1959)	....			600	00
----------------------------------	------	--	--	-----	----

## ,, Railway Freight &amp; Packing

(1959)	....	128	83		
(1960)	....	36	80	165	63

## ,, Audit fees for 1957 &amp; 1958

	....			50	00
--	------	--	--	----	----

## ,, Subscription to the International

Union of Orientalists (1960)	....			535	75
------------------------------	------	--	--	-----	----

## ,, Conveyance (1959)

	....			6	75
--	------	--	--	---	----

## ,, Typing charges (1959)

	....			10	50
--	------	--	--	----	----

## ,, Conference Expenses

	....			53	48
--	------	--	--	----	----

## ,, Registration fees, stamps etc.

	....			22	00
--	------	--	--	----	----

## ,, Balance (at Close)

Cash on hand	....	25	96		
In S.B.A/C with P.C.C. Bank Ltd.	....	8,140	12		
3½ per cent Treasury Savings Certificates	....	12,000	00		
With the Treasurer	....	4,131	23	24,297	31

Total Rs. .... 31,343 27



## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the *Council of the All-India Oriental Conference* was held on the 15th October, 1961, at 11-15 A.M., in the Medical College, Srinagar.

The following members registered their attendance :

D. B. Diskalkar, G. H. Khare, N. J. Shende, K. R. Potdar, P. V. Bapat, G. M. Patil, R. R. Deshpande, N. G. Kalelkar, H. R. Karnik, R. B. Athavale, A. N. Jani, D. P. Pattanayak, S. A. Nachane, H. S. Ursekar, G. H. Godbole, A. D. Pusalkar, G. Davane, S. N. Gajendragadkar, B. K. Sengupta, S. R. Banerjee, G. Bhattacharyya, A. Chatterjee, J. Y. Hua, M. D. Paradkar, S. A. Upadhyaya, E. V. V. Raghavacharya, L. G. Parab, E. A. Solomon, Priyabala Shah, D. Malvania, C. S. Venkateswaran, M. D. Balasubrahmanyam, V. Venkatachalam, Ram Gopal, Gauri Shankar, Y. M. Gupta, S. Sharma, D. R. Mankad, B. J. Sandesara, R. Parikh, P. Pradhan, P. Acharya, B. Banarjee, C. T. Kenghe, G. V. Devasthali, R. V. Joshi, B. M. Pandit, A. Thakar, Devaprasad Guha, D. Bhattacharyya, C. G. Kashikar, B. R. Modak, M. Goswami, V. P. Upadhyaya, C. Chakravarti, C. B. Gupta, R. K. Kaw, Prem Singh, R. N. Sastri, M. D. Zore Kadri, F. M. Hussain, M. M. Patkar, S. S. Malvad, E. D. Kulkarni, A. N. Upadhye, R. S. Jaitley, S. K. Gupta, P. M. Sundaram, T. N. Khizanchi, S. N. Ghoshal, P. L. Vaidya, H. L. Jain, T. P. Meenakshisundram, A. Esteller, M. M. Bhat, K. D. Bajpai, D. N. Shukla, Sibani Das Gupta, Shankar Raju Naidu, V. G. Rahurkar, K. V. Sarma, H. V. Trivedi, P. N. Pushp, S. C. Nandimath, V. V. Mirashi, P. M. Joshi, M. Rama Rao, V. Raghavan, R. N. Dandekar.

Dr. V. Raghavan was in the Chair. The following business was transacted.

1. *Resolved* that, as recommended by the Local Committee, the following ten persons be and are hereby co-opted members of the Council under Rule 10(b) (i).

Sarvashri Mufti Jalal-ud Din, N. L. Koul, Prem Singh, T. N. Khizanchi, F. M. Hassnain, Ramnath Shastri, Balje Nath Pandit, R. K. Kaw, M. D. Zore Kadri, and Krishna Mohan.



2. The Council elected the following eighteen members to form the New Executive Committee. (Fifty valid nominations were received for the election. The figure against the name of the elected member indicates the number of votes obtained by that member.)

(1) R. N. Dandekar	.... 61
(2) V. Raghavan	.... 54
(3) S. K. Chatterji	.... 53
(4) A. D. Pusalkar	.... 39
(5) H. D. Velankar	.... 37
(6) C. B. Gupta	.... 35
(7) V. S. Agrawala	.... 34
(8) P. V. Bapat	.... 32
(9) P. N. Pushp	.... 32
(10) P. L. Vaidya	.... 31
(11) A. N. Upadhye	.... 30
(12) Ram Gopal	.... 28
(13) G. V. Devasthali	.... 27
(14) S. M. Katre	.... 27
(15) P. V. Kane	.... 25
(16) S. N. Gajendragadkar	.... 22
(17) V. V. Mirashi	.... 22
(18) R. R. Deshpande	.... 21

3. The Council discussed at some length the various amendments to the Rules and Bye-laws, forwarded by the Executive Committee, and resolved that the Rules and Bye-laws of the All-India Oriental Conference be and are hereby amended as follows :

(i) Rule 6 (f) : After the words "academic qualifications and distinctions of the applicant" *add* "and shall be sponsored by a Professor or a Head of a University Department or some other University authority or State or Union Government or a Statutory Body or a well-established Research Institute or Learned Society or by one who is or has been an Office-bearer of the Conference."

Note: The clause regarding applications for Membership being required to be formally sponsored shall not apply to persons who have attended three or more Sessions of the Conference and have submitted a paper or papers that has or have been accepted at any



one or more of these Sessions, or to persons who are or have been office-bearers of the Conference.

(ii) Rule 16 (vii): After the sentence ending "or by non-Members through some Member", add "It shall be open to the General President or the Section President to reject any paper without being required to give any reason for such rejection".

(iii) Rule 16(vii): In the sentence beginning with "All papers must reach the General Secretary", add "or any other person or persons appointed for the purpose" after the words "the Local Secretary" as also after the words "submission of papers and the Secretaries".

(iv) Rule-16(vii): After the words "the General Secretary" in the sentence beginning with "If the abstract is longer", add "or any other person or persons appointed for the purpose".

(v) Rule 16(vii): After the words "papers rejected by" in the sentence beginning with "Papers not accepted because", add "the General President or".

(vi) Rule 16 (vii): After the words "General Secretary" in the sentence beginning with "The General Secretary should on receipt", add "or the Local Secretary or any other person or persons appointed for the purpose".

4. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti proposed and Dr. M. Rama Rao seconded the following Resolution:

"Resolved that the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference notes with appreciation the undertaking by the National Institute of Sciences in India of a Government-sponsored scheme for the compilation of a Comprehensive History of the Sciences of India, preliminary work on which has already commenced at two centres—the ancient unit at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and the mediaeval unit at Mysore".

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

R. N. DANDEKAR,  
General Secretary.

V. RAGHAVAN,  
Chairman.



## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on the 16th of October, 1961, at 10 A.M., in the Medical College, Srinagar. The following members were present :

V. Raghavan, R. N. Dandekar, S. K. Chatterji, A. D. Pusalkar, C. B. Gupta, P. V. Bapat, P. N. Pushp, P. L. Vaidya, A. N. Upadhye, Ram Gopal, G. V. Devasthali, S. N. Gajendragadkar, V. V. Mirashi, and R. R. Deshpande.

Dr. V. Raghavan was voted to the Chair. The following business was transacted.

1. *Resolved* that Prof. Dr. V. S. Agrawala be and is hereby elected General President of the All-India Oriental Conference.

2. *Resolved* that Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye be and is hereby elected Vice-President of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(After his election as Vice-President, Dr. A. N. Upadhye took the Chair in the absence of the President.)

3. *Resolved* that Prof. Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Prof. P. N. Pushp be and are hereby elected General Secretaries of the All-India Oriental Conference.

4. *Resolved* that Prof. Dr. S. M. Katre be and is hereby elected Treasurer of the All-India Oriental Conference.

5. *Resolved* that the following five persons be co-opted as members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference in the Vacancies caused by the appointment of five elected members as office-bearers of the Conference :

Sarvashri M. Rama Rao, K. V. Sharma, B. J. Sandesara, M. F. Kanga, and G. Dastgir Rashid.

6. *Resolved* that, in view of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists to be held in India in 1963, the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference be held in 1964 (instead of in 1963).



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

lxv

7. *Resolved* that the venue of the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference be fixed in course of time by the President and the General Secretaries.

8. *Resolved* that a committee consisting of V. Raghavan, A. N. Upadhye, and R. N. Dandekar be appointed to consider and report to the Executive Committee on further amendments to the Rules and Bye-laws of the All-India Oriental Conference.

9. *Resolved* that an up-to-date register of the members of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference be prepared and that the work of preparing this register be entrusted to Prof. M. Rama Rao and Shri K. V. Sharma.

10. *Resolved* that, in response to the appeal dated 5-10-1961, made by the editors, a grant of Rs. 100/- be made to *Bhāratavāṇī*, the Sanskrit Fortnightly published at Poona, in connection with the Special Supplement on the AIOC. brought out by them.

A joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the various Sectional Presidents of the current as well as the earlier Sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference was held immediately after the meeting of the New Executive Committee. The following Sectional Presidents for the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference were elected :

1. *Vedic* : Dr. C. S. Venkateshwaran, Annamalai University.
2. *Iranian* : Dr. P. K. Anklesaria, Andheri.
3. *Classical Sanskrit* : Dr. C. B. Gupta, Delhi University.
4. *Islamic Culture* : Dr. S. B. Samadi, Lucknow University.
5. *Arabic and Persian* : Dr. S. A. H. Abidi, Delhi University.
6. *Pali and Buddhism* : Prof. Devaprasad Guha, University of Rangoon.
7. *Prakrit and Jainism* : Pandit Bechardas, Ahmedabad.
8. *History* : Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Madras University.
9. *Archaeology* : Dr. R. Subramanyam, Bhopal.
10. *Indian Linguistics* : Dr. P. B. Pandit, Gujarat University.
11. *Dravidic Studies* : Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Annamalai University.

I



12. *Philosophy and Religion*: Dr. K. C. Varadachari, Sri Venkateswara University.

13. *Technical Sciences and Fine Arts*: Dr. D. N. Shukla, Punjab University.

14. *Greater Indian Studies*: Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, New Delhi.

R. N. DANDEKAR,

A. N. UPADHYE,

*General Secretary.* *Chairman.*

Session of the All-India Oriental Conference were elected :

1. Veda: Dr. C. S. Venkateswara, Anantpur University.
2. Upanishad: Dr. P. K. Anand, Anandpur.
3. Classical Sanskrit: Dr. G. B. Gupta, Delhi University.
4. Islamic Culture: Dr. S. B. Sani, Indore University.
5. Arabic and Persian: Dr. S. A. H. Akbar, Delhi University.
6. Pali and Buddhist: Prof. Govindaraj, University of Madras.
7. Prakrit and Pali: Prof. B. B. Bhattacharya, Anandpur.
8. History: Dr. P. V. Mahalingam, Madras University.
9. Archaeology: Dr. R. S. Sharma, Banaras.
10. Indian Literature: Dr. P. K. Puri, Gujarat University.
11. Sanskrit: Prof. T. T. Mishra, Banaras University.



## INAUGURAL SESSION

The Inaugural Session of the 21st All-India Oriental Conference was held on the 14th of October, 1961, at 10 A.M., in the Medical College, Srinagar. The Sadar-i-Riyasat arrived at 9-45 A.M. and was received by the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary of the Reception Committee. The General President of the Conference was introduced to the Sadar-i-Riyasat and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. The General President introduced to him and the Prime Minister the Section Presidents, and the Members of the Executive Committee of the Conference. Thereupon all of them proceeded to the assembly-hall in procession.

The proceedings of the Inaugural Session began with the Welcome Address by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jammu and Kashmir and Chairman of the Reception Committee.

After the Welcome Address, Prof. P. N. Pushp, Local Secretary, read some of the more important messages received on the occasion.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said in the course of a message to the President of the Conference : "I am glad to know that the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is meeting at Srinagar under your Presidentship. I am sure that national integration can be effected only if we are able to mould the minds and hearts of our people through the classics which have always a contemporary value. You are not only a great student of Sanskrit literature but also of arts and I feel that there will be sufficient emphasis laid on the transformation of our minds and hearts by these great instruments of culture, literature and art."

Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, said in his message : "I am glad that the 21st All-India Oriental Conference is meeting in Srinagar and that H. H. Sri Karan Singh, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, is inaugurating the Conference on the 14th. During the past 20 years, the Oriental Conference has been largely responsible to create an interest in many aspects of oriental culture. It has brought together literary scholars in all the languages of this country and given great encouragement to a study of comparative philology and linguistics. It is to the University of Madras a particular source of pleasure that the President of the Conference is Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit in this University, who has rendered excellent service to



the cause of oriental studies in general and Sanskrit in particular. I wish the Conference every success."

Sri M. Patanjali Sastri, Retd. Chief Justice of India and Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board, wished the Conference all success and conveyed his greetings to the Pandits. Messages were also received from the Representative of the League of Arab States, Professor W. Ruben, Berlin, Professor Akira Nakanishi, Representative of the Shinto organisation and Chuo University, Japan and Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, Treasurer of the Conference.

The Sadar-i-Riyasat then formally inaugurated the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. This was followed by the address of the General President of the Conference, Prof. V. Raghavan. After the General President's Address, the General Secretary placed before the Conference the following resolution of condolence which was carried, all members standing:

"Resolved that this 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, meeting at Srinagar, places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad deaths of the following Oriental Scholars which have occurred since the 20th Session of the Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in October, 1959 :

Swami Agamananda, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, A. S. Altekar, L. D. Barnett, R. G. Bhandarkar, Vidhusekhar Battacharyya, A. Chakravarti, P. J. Chaudhari, E. Cutts, P.C.Divanji, J. R. Firth, (Frau) M. Geiger, P. K. Gode, M. V. Govindaswami, Betty Heimann, Indra Vacaspati, M. S. Irani, Mahendra Kumar Jain, Narayan Sastri Khiste, R. Nagaraja Sarma, K. Natesa Sastri, J. Nobel, P. V. Ramanujaswami, Sakuntala Rao Sastri, R. P. Sethu Pillai, H. A. Shah, P. N. Srinivasachari, Sripada Krishnmurti Sastri, S. Sundarachariar, J. M. Unwala, and Leonard Woolly."

The General Secretary then announced that Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha had been pleased to make a donation of Rs. 500/- to the All-India Oriental Conference. A message in Sanskrit from Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha was read by a representative of the Peetha, Pt. R. S. Ramasubba Sastrigal. (See pp. 68-71 for the text of the message).

The general Secretary then made a few announcements regarding the programme of the Session.

The Inaugural Session concluded with a vote of thanks by the Local Secretary and the singing of the National Anthem.



Message of H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetha

श्रीः

श्री-श्रीनगरप्रवर्तमानस्य प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः २१-तम-अधिवेशनस्य  
मङ्गलाय श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीपीठाभिषिक्तैः जगद्गुरुभिः शङ्कराचार्यैः  
अनुगृहीतं

श्रीमुखम्

॥ श्री चन्द्रमौलीश्वर ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखिल - भूमण्डलालङ्कार-त्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिदेवतासेवित-श्री  
कामाक्षीदेवीसनाथ - श्रीमदेकाग्रनाथ - श्रीमहादेवीसनाथ - श्रीहस्तिगिरिनाथ-  
साक्षात्कारपरमाधिष्ठान-सत्यव्रतनामांकित-काञ्चीदिव्यक्षेत्रे शारदामठसुस्थिता-  
नाम् अतुलितसुधारसमाधुर्यकमलासनकामिनीधम्मिलसंफुल्लमल्लिका - मालिका-  
निष्यन्दमकरन्दझरीसौवस्तिकवाङ्निगुम्भविजृम्भणानन्दतुन्दिलितमनीषिमण्डला -  
नाम् अनवरताद्वैतविद्याविनोदरसिकानाम् निरंतरालंकृतीकृतशान्तिपान्तिभूझाम्  
सकलभुवनचक्रप्रतिष्ठापक-श्रीचक्रप्रतिष्ठाविख्यातायशोलंकृतनाम् निखिलषण्ड-  
षण्डकण्टकोद्धाटनेन विशदीकृतवेदवेदान्तमार्गषण्मतप्रतिष्ठापकाचार्याणाम्  
श्रीमत्परमहंस-परिव्राजकाचार्य-श्रीमच्छंकरभगवत्पादाचार्याणामधिष्ठाने सिंहा-  
सनाभिषिक्तानां श्रीमुखम् ॥

मुद्राः

क्षेमेन्द्रकल्हणामिनवगुप्तराजानकोत्पललोष्टदेवाद्यसंख्यसंख्यावदभिजन -  
भुवि मसृणघुसृणसौरभेनेव तद्वाक्सौरभेण सुरभीकृते कृत्स्नस्यापि भारतस्य  
तत्परिसरभुवां च नवनवतत्त्वनवनीतगर्भवाग्गुम्भदुग्धासारदोग्धीसुरभिमनुकुर्वाणे  
पोषके अस्मत्पूर्वाचार्यसंचारादृते भारतदेव्या मुखमण्डले काश्मीरे तत्तिलकायमाने  
श्रीनगरे एकविंश प्राच्यविमर्शकानां सम्मेलनं प्रवर्तत इति स्थाने ।



अपि च मद्रावंशप्रसूनकश्मीरमहाराजकर्णसिंहविहितोपक्रमं सत् आयु-  
ष्मत्सामगराघवशर्मोढाध्यक्ष्यं विशिष्य शोभावहम् ।

भूमण्डले यावन्ति प्रसिद्धानि मतानि मानवजातेः पापपरिहारपूर्वक-  
मुत्तमगतिप्राप्त्युद्देश्यकानि, तावतां समेषामपि उद्भवभूमिः वैदिकमित्रावरुणो-  
पास्तिवासितं मध्यतराब्धितीरमारभ्य चीनाब्धितीरपर्यन्तैव । पारसीकभरत-  
खण्डघटितमध्यभागोऽयं भूखण्डः आधुनिकैः प्राच्यसंस्कृतस्थानत्वेन व्यवहिय-  
माणः ऐतिहासिककालातीतवाङ्मयानुस्यूतिपुष्टः यावत् यावत् भाषाचारव्यव-  
हारशिल्पगीतनाट्यदैवभक्तितत्त्वविचारपरोपकारादिसांस्कृतिकविषयेषु परानन्दा-  
नुभूत्यन्तेषु उत्तरोत्तरं सावधानं निष्पक्षपातं सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परीक्ष्य विमृश्यते,  
तावत् तावत् कृत्स्नेऽपि लोके भविष्यज्जनतायाः साधुमार्गदर्शनेन सकलपुरु-  
षार्थसिद्धिः भाव्या भाव्या भाविनी ।

विष्णुसहस्रनामान्तर्भूतस्वयंभूशब्दं तदव्यवहितोत्तरशम्भुशब्दं च सर्वो-  
त्तमार्थप्रतिपादकत्वेन व्यवहरतः मङ्गोलियजनपदनिवासिनः आरभ्य आगमि-  
कशैवाचारनिरुद्धान् यवद्वीपपरिसरबलिद्वीपनिवासिनो यावत्, तावतां सर्वेषां  
मानवानाम् अनुस्यूतैकसंस्कृतिसंबन्धित्वोद्बोधनमेव चित्तविकासस्य औदार्यस्य  
प्रेम्णः शान्तेश्च नियतं निदानम् ।

अद्य श्रीनगरे मिलितैः बहुश्रुतैः प्रेक्षाकुशलैः दोषज्ञैः अन्तर्वाणिभिः  
समदृष्टिभिः फलेग्रहिभिः सम्भूय, एकाग्रचित्ततया सर्वार्थान्तर्यामिपरमार्थभूत-  
परमेश्वरकृपानुसन्धानपुरस्सरं, भौतिकविज्ञानेन जडविषयकेन उद्विक्तानां तद्वि-  
ज्ञानकलितनवनवविधिहिंसासाधनैः मानवकुलं भीषयतां संरम्भातुराणां सर्व-  
विमर्शफलभूतप्रेमसर्वोत्तमत्वप्रतिबोधनचिकित्सादानेन जगति शान्तिबीजम्  
उप्यतामिति शिवम् ।

यात्रास्थानम् इलैयात्तकुटी }  
(रामनाथपुरं जिल्ला) }  
वि. सं. २०३८ }  
कन्यारविकृष्णैकादशी }

इत्येवमाज्ञानुसारी

विश्वनाथः

श्रीमटीय-कार्यनिर्वाहकः



## ENGLISH VERSION OF THE MESSAGE OF

**His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi  
Kamakoti Pitha**

**TO THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, SRINAGAR**

It is indeed appropriate that this twentyfirst Session of the All-India Oriental Conference meets at Srinagar, the tilaka, as it were, of Kashmir, the face of the divine land of Bharata, which has been blessed by the visit of our great Guru (Adi Sankara), which acts like the divine cow to the entire land of Bharata and its surrounding countries by giving the shower of milk in the form of sweet words pregnant with the butter of newer and newer truths, which has been the birth-place of numerous men of letters like Kshemendra, Kalhana, Abhinavagupta, Utpala and Loshtadeva, and which has been perfumed with the fragrance of their weighty thoughts resembling the spreading fragrance of saffron.

Further it gives additional charm that it is being inaugurated by Sri Karna Simha, Maharaja of Kashmir, of illustrious lineage and presided over by the long-living Sāmaga, Raghava Sarman.

All the well known religions that exist in this world, which have as their aim the removing of the sins and the securing of the Supreme Goal for the human race—to all of them, the land bounded by the Mediterranean Sea (in the west) and sanctified by the worship of the Vedic deities Mitra and Varuna, and the China Sea (in the east) has been the place of birth. This land having for its central portion Persia and Bharata-khanda, nourished by the unbroken literary activities extending from even pre-historic times, and considered by modern Orientalists as the cradle of Oriental culture—the greater it is examined carefully with an impartial and enquiring mind regarding cultural matters like language, conduct, justice, architecture, music, dance, devotion to God, philosophical enquiry and philanthropic activities and ending with the realisation of the Supreme Bliss, the greater will be, by reason of showing the right path to the future generations, the achievement of all human aspirations for the welfare of the entire world.



Beginning with the inhabitants of Mongolia who considered the words Svayambhu and Sambhu, occurring consecutively in the Vishnusahasranama, as conveying the noblest Being and ending with the inhabitants of the island of Bali in Indonesia adjoining Java who are rooted in Agamic Saivism—for all those people, it is the awareness of the continuous cultural unity that is invariably the cause of the breath of their outlook, generosity, love and peace.

Let the veteran scholars who have met today at Srinagar, scholars endowed with vision and capacity, who can trace the mistakes, who can express themselves with restraint, who are impartial in their approach and aim at fruitfulness of enquiry, let them, coming together and with attention, and with their thoughts on the grace of the Great Lord who is the Supreme Truth and the inner Controller of everything, remind those who, priding on their material science and control over physical matter, and with the manifold and newer and newer instruments of destruction produced through that scientific knowledge, are threatening the human family with their preparations for war, that Love which is the fruit of all research, is superior to everything else, and thereby sow in the world the seed of peace.

Happiness to all !



## WELCOME ADDRESS

By

DR. SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR,

*Vice-Chairman, Reception Committee.*

I have much pleasure in extending to you, delegates of the 21st Oriental Conference, a most cordial welcome to Kashmir and to Srinagar. This conference which brings together scholars engaged in Indological, Islamic, Buddhist and other allied studies, collectively miscalled orientalism, has now established its undisputed position as one of the great organisations of learning and as such we in Srinagar feel honoured that its authorities should have accepted our invitation to hold its annual session in this city.

Every one would agree that Kashmir has unique claims to honour from scholars interested in Indological and allied studies. Its contribution to almost every field of what Europeans used to call oriental learning and which we in our tendency to imitate and follow in the footsteps of Europeans continue to call "Oriental" is unparalleled. It has been a melting pot of cultures, what Dara Shikoh described in another connection as Samudra Samgama or 'the mingling of oceans'.

In the vast field of Sanskrit literature no one will deny that Kashmir's contribution has been unique. The country which produced the polymath Kshemendra, Somadeva, the author of *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*, who has preserved for us a portion at least of the lost treasures of Gunadhya, Kalhana, the great author of *Rajatarangini*, and Damodara Gupta, to mention only a few of the more outstanding names in the field of pure letters, must always be considered not only by Sanskritists but also by persons interested in Indian culture as entitled to special consideration and honour.

The influence of Kashmiri writers was not local or even confined to North India. They enjoyed wide popularity even in the South. In the important subjects of Poetics and Alankara Sastra Kashmir's position was always one of uncontested leadership. It may indeed be said that from the time of Bhamaha in the seventh century to Ruyyaka in the twelfth, for nearly five centuries, it is Kashmiri thought on this subject that dominated the quality of criticism. The names of Bhamaha, Rudrata and Anandavardhana

J



alone should suffice to show what dominance Kashmiri thought exercised on India's sense of poetic beauty.

There is one aspect of this question which deserves emphasis here. The all-India influence which Kashmiri thinkers enjoyed is paralleled by the discovery in Kashmiri of works by poets from the South. A copy of the *yamaka* poem Yudhisthira Vijaya of the Kerala poet Vasudeva was discovered in Kashmir. Many other instances could be quoted which would demonstrate the unifying character of Sanskrit and the integrating quality of the culture it embodied.

Kashmir's contribution to Indian literature is too well-known to require any elaboration, especially to an audience of specialists like this. But there are two other aspects which are the special characteristics of Kashmir which deserve mention here. The first relates to the great religious philosophy of Saivism which is Kashmir's unique contribution to India's religious thought and the second is the dominant part Kashmir played in the transmission of Buddhist culture to Central Asia and China.

Kashmir Saivism has a very long history. Rajatarangini makes even the strange assertion that Asoka built two temples dedicated to Siva in the valley. Damodara II is described as the crest jewel of Siva worshippers. In fact Kalhana claims for Saivism a continuity of popularity from the earliest times, though not any special philosophy. With the 8th century, however, a great renaissance seems to have taken place in Kashmir which provided the local Saivaite doctrines with a profound philosophic background. Some scholars have attributed this development to the influence of Shri Sankara who is said to have spent some time in Kashmir. While no doubt *advaita*, which Kashmir Saivism began to emphasise from this period, may well be attributed to Sankara's influence, the special characteristics with which the system came to be identified after Vasugupta and the *pratyabhigna* philosophy which it developed are wholly to the credit of Kashmir and may be claimed as Kashmir's special contribution to Indian philosophic thought. With Kallata the system attained its high water-mark and took its place as a great school in Indian systems of philosophy.

To many of you it must be known that a school of Saiva philosophy, which possesses many similarities with Kashmir Saivism, existed in the South also. The Saiva Siddhanta of the Tamils is a major school of



Indian religious thought and it is a matter for scholarly enquiry to discover if there has been any direct contact between these two great systems.

If Kashmir's contributions to Sanskrit literature and Hindu religious philosophy have been outstanding and are recognised by scholars all over India as such, there is another aspect of its intellectual activities which is less wellknown but which is no less significant. It is the part that the Valley has played in the spread of Indian civilisation into Central Asia and in the transmission of Buddhism to China. This began very early, perhaps even in the first century A. D. As we know, Kanishka held the Fourth Council of Buddhism in Kashmir under the leadership of Asvaghosha. The importance of this council in spreading the religion of the Buddha and the culture of Hinduism into Central Asia could not be overestimated. The Kushan Empire, though it included the Punjab and Kashmir, extended far and wide into Central Asia and touched the borders of China. The organisation of the Council by the Emperor and the numerous texts and commentaries written under his directive dealing with *Sutra*, *Vinaya* and *Abidharma*, provided the intellectual background for this great missionary effort. There is reason to think that both the Upadesa Sastra and the Vibhasha Sastra, as these treatises came to be known, were the work of Kashmiri scholars.

How important a centre of Buddhism Kashmir was during the first centuries of the Christian era may be seen from the fact that most of the great Buddhist acharyas of the period, of whom we know, resided at least for a time in Kashmir either as students or as teachers. Thus according to Kalhana, the great philosopher, Nagarjuna resided here in one of the monastries. We have also the authority of Hiuen Tsang that Asvaghosa, Vasubandhu, Vasumitra and many other philosophers and acharyas took up their residence in Kashmir following the revival of Buddhism in Kanishka's time.

That Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Kashmir during the early centuries of the Christian era when the Indianisation of Central Asia took place, is attested by incontestable archaeological evidence. Both at Harwan and at Uskur, or Huviskapura, many Buddhist remains have been discovered relating to this period. Buddhism as we know continued to flourish in the valley, for according to Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in 631, there were then over a hundred monastries which enjoyed popular favour and respect.



It was mainly from this well established base that Indian culture moved forward to Central Asia. In a period of two hundred years new Indianised states Khotan, Kuchi and numerous others developed in the area now known as Chinese Turkistan, which was then an intermediate territory between the Chinese empire and India. The literary finds from Central Asia sites and the investigations carried on by Stein, Greenwedel, Pelliot and others show clearly that the area was thoroughly Indianised with Indian (Kharosthi) script in use, with Sanskrit studies popular and Indian arts and sciences acclimatised. Also that the eyes of the intellectuals in those states were turned in all matters towards India. That it was Kashmir which played a dominant part in this remarkable cultural expansion is proved by the fact that every one of the translators of the four Sanskrit agamas was a Kashmiri acharya. Thus the Dirghagama was translated into Chinese in 412-13 by Buddhayasas, one of the most notable scholars of his time; the Madhyamagama by Gautama Sanghadeva; Gunabhadra translated the Samyuktagama and the Ekottara was by Dharma Nandi. In fact Kashmir may well claim to have been the sacred land of the Sarvastivada School, whose texts and commentaries were extensively studied in the valley and spread from there to Central Asia.

These were translations that made their way into China. In fact the career of the great Kumarajiva, the prince of translators and truly one of the greatest acharyas that India produced, would show how close was Kashmir's connection with not only the transformation of Central Asia but with the cultural expansion of India into China. Kumarajiva's father hailed from Kashmir. He was a minister in the state of Kucha and was married to a Kuchean lady. The father died when Kumarajiva was only a child but the Kuchean mother brought the son for education to Kashmir, which would indicate that travel across the Karakorum from the territory now known as Sinkiang to the valley was frequent, safe and used even by ladies. After completing his education in the texts of the Sarvastivada School and also after acquiring proficiency in the Hindu systems of learning including the Vedas, Kumarajiva returned to Kashgar where he came across the greatest Kashmiri acharya of the time Buddhayasas under whom also he studied for some years. The later history of this really great man, perhaps the greatest son of Kashmir, need not concern us here. We may, however, note that he was the person mainly responsible for organising one of the most remarkable movements of intellectual transmissions in history by which the great litera-



ture of Mahayana Buddhism in all its aspects was translated into Chinese. It may indeed be claimed that by sponsoring and directing this movement he was responsible for the preservation of a vast body of Indian thinking of high quality which strangely enough was repatriated to India fifteen hundred years later through translations into European languages. The philosophical works of many of India's greatest thinkers would have been lost for us but for the movement which started under Kumarajiva's leadership.

Kumarajiva was only the first and the greatest of the vast army of scholars and missionaries who devoted themselves to the translation of Sanskrit authors. They came from all parts of India, from far off Kanchi, from Magadha, from Central India, but those who hailed from Kashmir, because of their close relations with the Central Asian states, were perhaps the most numerous.

It is not only in Sanskrit literature, Hindu philosophy and Buddhist studies that Kashmir was able to contribute to Indian culture. In the later periods of its history it became a centre of Persian and Islamic studies and for over 400 years it was famous for its patronage of learned men from across the borders. Though its original contribution to Persian literature is not, I am told, held in high esteem, its patronage of scholars from abroad gave to the Kashmir Court an important and honoured position in the world of letters. Apart from poets like Mir Ali and Tabib Asfahani, many lesser people seem at that time to have taken up their residence in Kashmir. But the efflorescence of Kashmiri talent in Persian literature was during the Moghul period, when it is claimed that Kashmir produced a number of poets who have earned a position of distinction in Indo-Persian literature.

Kashmir has thus special claims on a conference of this nature of scholars from different parts of India interested in different spheres of learning. It comes into practically many aspects of their study. No one could claim scholarship in classical Sanskrit without being familiar with the works of the great poets of Kashmir. No one could be a scholar of Hindu philosophy without familiarising himself with both the Saivite and the Tantrik systems of Kashmir. For Buddhist scholarship as we have seen, the works of Kashmiri writers are of special significance. More than all, in my opinion, is the unique importance of Kashmir in the study of Indianisation of Central Asia before Islam and of the transmission of Indian culture to China. These spheres offer to all Indologists great scope for original



work which would help to throw light on many problems of Indian cultural history.

It is thus to a State which is of special importance to Indological and other connected studies that I have pleasure in welcoming you today. But I would hasten to add that this welcome is not only based on Kashmir's integral relationship with the subjects you have under consideration. We welcome you to a region whose snow clad mountains enclose a State rich not only in historical tradition but in present day achievements, whose natural scenic beauties are among the most renowned in the world, whose gardens, lakes and springs continue to evoke the admiration of all. In short, I welcome you to the Kashmir of the past as well as to the Kashmir of today.



## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

SRI KARAN SINGH

*Sadr - I - Riyasat of Jammu & Kashmir*

*Dr. Raghavan, Members of the All-India Oriental Conference and Friends :*

It is both a pleasure and an honour for me to welcome you all to Srinagar on the occasion of the Twenty-first session of the All-India Oriental Conference : a pleasure because it gives me the opportunity to meet a large number of delegates who are attending this Conference from all corners of our great country ; and an honour because in welcoming you I am greeting a body of highly distinguished Orientologists representing the cream of Indian scholarship in this sphere of learning.

I consider the choice of Srinagar as the venue of this important Conference an extremely appropriate one. Srinagar, as you know, is a very ancient city with a history going back over two thousand years. It is believed to have been founded at the time of the great emperor Asoka, and since then it has been witness to many interesting events in the long and varied history of this lovely valley. Not only is Srinagar a city hoary with tradition and history, but Kashmir itself has been one of the most important seats of Indian culture. As is well known, Kashmir was referred to in ancient times as the *Sarada Peetha*, abode of Devi Sarasvati, the Goddess of Wisdom and Learning. In fact one of the famous invocations to Sarasvati runs as follows :—

“ Namaste Śāradā-Devi  
Kāśmīra-pura-vāsini.”

This association symbolizes the fact that Kashmir was the home of great scholars and sages devoted to the pursuit of learning. Situated as it is in the Western extremity of the mighty Himalayas, Kashmir shares with other Himalayan regions the distinction of being one of the great birthplaces of Indian culture. The immortal words of Kalidasa regarding the Himalayas are well known :—



“ Astyuttarasyām diśi devatātmā  
 Himālayo nāma nagādhirājaḥ,  
 purvāparau toyanidhī vagāhya  
 sthitaḥ prthivyā iva mānadaṇḍaḥ ”

“ In the Northern direction is the King of mountains, the mighty Himalayas embodying the spirit of the gods. The range spans the wide land from the East to the Western sea like a measuring rod to gauge the world's pride.” In the complex of the Himalayan mountain system Kashmir occupies a very special place, both geographically as well as historically.

It is hardly necessary for me, even if I were competent to do so-which I am not to enter in the presence of distinguished experts into a detailed description of Kashmir's contribution to the broad stream of Indian culture. It must suffice to say that in the spheres alike of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic thought Kashmir has made distinguished contributions, and in some spheres, such as Indian poetics, the contribution is indeed outstanding. In the realm of philosophy the Kashmir Trika Darsana is known throughout the world as a precious heritage of Indian thought. It is valuable not only from the philosophical standpoint but also because of its literary value as a sublime expression of emotional and intellectual aspirations. Abhinavagupta and his disciple Kshemaraja are renowned for their clear and original thinking. Another outstanding name is Kalhana, whose Rajatarangini is one of the earliest and greatest historical works in Sanskrit. Kalhana portrays therein the long vista of Kashmir's history, and his work is particularly valuable as the earliest known historical survey of this area. Kalhana's chronicle is enlivened with realistic glimpses of the socio-political set-up of his times, as are the subsequent Rajataranginis of Jonaraja, Srivara and Suka, which are also rich sources of material for the history of Kashmir. In addition to a rich heritage of Sanskrit, Kashmir has also made an important contribution in the sphere of Persian literature, particularly during the reign of the liberal monarch Zain-ul-Abidin. Thus Mulla Ahmad at that time rendered the Mahabharata and the Rajatarangini into Persian verse. During the Mughal period Persian literature in Kashmir reached its zenith with Mulla Mohsin Fāni and Mulla Tāhir Gani.



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS—INAUGURAL ADDRESS 1xxx1

An outstanding theme of Indian culture has always been synthesis and toleration, *Ekam sad viprah bahudha vadanti* as the Rigveda has it, and this syncretic and liberal approach has always characterized the most creative periods of Indian history. Kashmir is an excellent example of this synthesis in action. For many centuries people of different faiths have lived here peacefully and in harmony with each other, and this feature is clearly reflected in the literary and philosophical creations of this area. In the vast and varied mosaic that is India, Kashmir occupies an integral and outstanding position. Not only is it geographically the glittering crown on the fair head of Mother India, but also a symbol of the synthesis that our nation has always sought to achieve.

However much a nation may progress, its development is necessarily bound up with its past history and culture. This is particularly true of a country like ours which has an unbroken historical and cultural tradition stretching back to the very dawn of recorded history. We are now a sovereign democratic Republic striving to progress in this age of science and technology and to transform our society into a modern one. It must always be remembered, however, that we are necessarily building upon our past. It is a mistaken view which holds that progress can only be made after a complete break from the past. In fact, for true progress it is essential that we should draw strength and sustenance from our past history and the structure of our modern greatness must be raised upon the firm foundation of our cultural heritage. It is to a study of this heritage that the All-India Oriental Conference is dedicated, and this organization has since its inception in 1919 rendered valuable service to this study.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to the foreign scholars who in the last century began the laborious task of unearthing our past. In fact I think it would be correct to say that the modern rediscovery of our ancient heritage was to a considerable extent due to foreign scholars, and this was an important factor in the Indian renaissance that began towards the end of the nineteenth century and swept to a triumphant political conclusion before the middle of the twentieth. Along with foreign scholars we have had a large number of dedicated Indian scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of various aspects of our ancient culture. The field for constructive work in Indology is vast and there are still nume-



rous gaps in our knowledge which must be filled in. Being a layman on the subject, I am not in a position to go into the various fields of orientology in any detail, or to point out the outstanding tasks that face orientologists. As a layman, however, there are one or two aspects of the problem which have struck me as being particularly important and which I would venture to place before this distinguished gathering.

The word 'Oriental Conference' implies a body devoted to the study of the Orient, and that term covers, I should think, almost the whole of Asia. Indology, though a tremendous field in itself, is only one part of Orientology, and for a proper study of our own country it is essential to get a clearer picture of the whole panorama of oriental culture with specific reference to India's position therein. In particular, a study of the Arab culture and the ancient Chinese culture seems to me to be peculiarly important, because along with the Indian these form three of the most prominent strands in the cultural milieu of the Orient. I may add that the results of such study should not remain confined merely to the pages of learned journals. In the democratic age it is important that the general public should be progressively educated and enlightened with regard to these matters, and I think the Oriental Conference would be performing a valuable service if it were to disseminate the results of such research work in a manner easily understandable by the educated layman.

The second point that I wish to make is with regard to the collection of manuscripts. You are perhaps aware that we have two important collection in this State. One is in the library of our State Research and Publications department here in Srinagar, and many of you will be familiar with the well-known Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies that have been published on the basis of some of these manuscripts. Our second important collection is in the Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute at Jammu. This is attached to the famous Shri Raghunath temple in Jammu, and both the library and the temple were constructed a century ago by Maharaja Ranbir Singh who was a great patron of learning. There are, of course, numerous collections throughout the country, but there are also a very large number of manuscripts lying scattered outside proper libraries. Such manuscripts represent an important part of our heritage, and we cannot afford the luxury of letting



them lie neglected. I think a concerted effort should be made to acquire such manuscripts and place them in the various recognized libraries in the country so that they become available for study and research by scholars not only from our own country but from all over the world. Unfortunately not many research institutes and libraries can afford to meet the expenses of purchase and proper maintenance of such manuscripts, and it is obviously necessary to tackle this problem on a planned national basis. Perhaps the Union Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs can take a lead in this matter, in close consultation with the All-India Oriental Conference.

Before closing, I would like to make one general remark about the work of this Conference. We have had a glorious past, but the memory of that is not sufficient for modern India. While we can and must draw inspiration from our past achievements, we have to put all our energies into building a future even more glorious and scintillating. May I submit that while you are working upon various aspects of our past this vision of a golden future should always remain in your minds, so that you receive added inspiration in your scholarly tasks.

I once again express my pleasure in welcoming all of you to Srinagar. I hope you will have a pleasant stay here, and that amidst our beautiful surroundings you will have an unusually fruitful meeting. I have much pleasure in inaugurating this twenty-first session of the All-India Oriental Conference.



Ixxxiv

AIOC. XXIST SESSION

## VOTE OF THANKS

BY

PROF. P. N. PUSHP

At the end of the Inaugural Session, the Local Secretary proposed a vote of thanks :

Dr. Raghavan and friends,

On behalf of the sponsors of this Conference, it is my privilege to express our deep sense of gratitude to all the members who have condescended to attend, despite the rigorous journey and humble arrangements of Board and Lodge.

We are indebted to all individuals as well as institutions, officers as well as departments, advisers as well as workers, that have in various ways, contributed towards the organisation of this conference. The conference should have been well nigh impossible but for the active co-operation and support we have received from the Director, Tourism, Controller Tawaza, Transport Commissioner, Chief Engineer, N. C. C. authorities, D. I. G. of Police, Directorate of Information, Education Department, Radio Kashmir, Principal, Medical College; and last but not least, the bulk of workers in all these departments and many others like the Posts and Telegraphs and the University Office.

We are also immensely grateful to the Sardar-i-Riyasat Shri Karan Singh Ji who has very kindly inaugurated the Session just now, and to our Prime Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed whose quick resourcefulness has been our mainstay.

Permit me, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, to propose a vote of thanks to all these patrons, advisers and collaborators that have brought us together today.

---



## CONCLUDING SESSION

The Concluding Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on the 16th of October, 1961, at 2 p.m., in the Medical College, Srinagar. Prof. V. Raghavan presided.

1. At the outset, the General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, made an announcement regarding the election of New Executive Committee and the Section Presidents :

## New Executive Committee

<i>General President</i>	:	V. S. Agrawala
<i>Vice-President</i>	:	A. N. Upadhye
<i>Treasurer</i>	:	S. M. Katre
<i>General Secretaries</i>	:	R. N. Dandekar P. N. Push

*Other Members of the Executive Committee :*

P. V. Bapat, S. K. Chatterji, G. Dastgir Rashid, R. R. Deshpande, G. V. Devasthali, S. N. Gajendragadkar, C. B. Gupta, M. F. Kanga, P. V. Kane, V. V. Mirashi, A. D. Pusalkar, V. Raghavan, M. Rama Rao, Ram Gopal, B. J. Sandesara, K. V. Sarma, P. L. Vaidya, and H. D. Velankar.

*Section Presidents for 22nd Session :*

1. Vedic : C. S. Venkateswaran
2. Iranian : P. K. Anklesaria
3. Classical Sanskrit : C. B. Gupta
4. Islamic Studies : S. B. Samadi
5. Arabic & Persian : S. A. H. Abidi
6. Pali & Buddhism : Devaprasad Guha
7. Prakrit & Jainism : Bechardas
8. History : T. V. Mahalingam
9. Archaeology : R. Subrahmanyam
10. Indian Linguistics : P. B. Pandit
11. Dravidic Studies : T. P. Meenakshisundaran



12. Philosophy & Religion : K. C. Varadachari
13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts : D. N. Shukla
14. Greater Indian Studies : B. Ch. Chhabra

2. The General Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, announced the resolutions passed by the New Executive Committee in connection with the date and venue of the 22nd Session of All-India Oriental Conference.

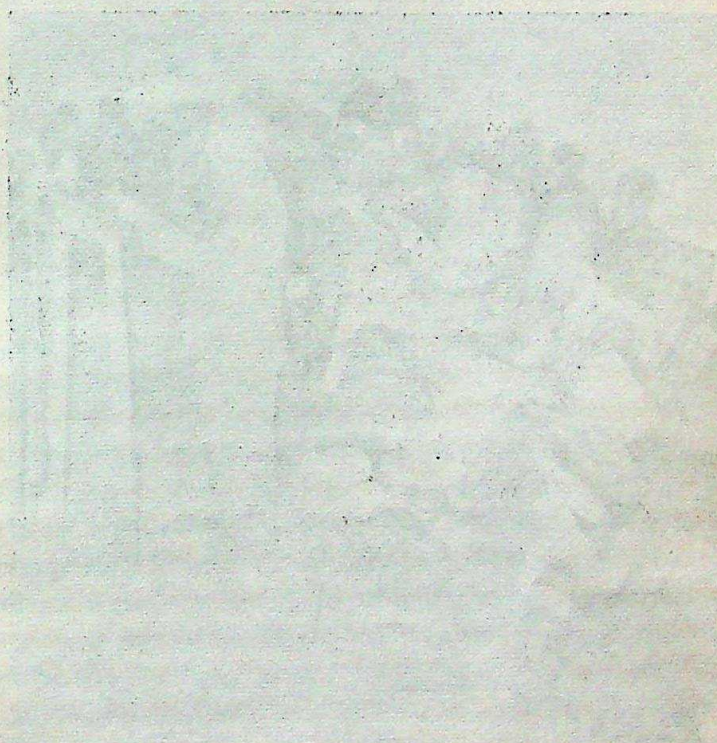
3. The General Secretary announced the decision of the Executive Committee to prepare a complete up-to-date register of the Members of the Council of All-India Oriental Conference and appealed to all persons concerned to co-operate with the Committee appointed for the purpose by sending in full information about themselves.

4. The General Secretary drew pointed attention of the members to the various amendments made to the Rules and Bye-laws of the Conference, particularly to the amendment made to the Rule regarding the Membership of the Conference.

5. The General President then delivered his concluding address. This was followed by brief speeches by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prof. Jean Filliozat, Prof. Mirashi, Pandit Parameshwarananda, Prof. Dastgir Rashid, and Prof. Mufti Jalaluddin.

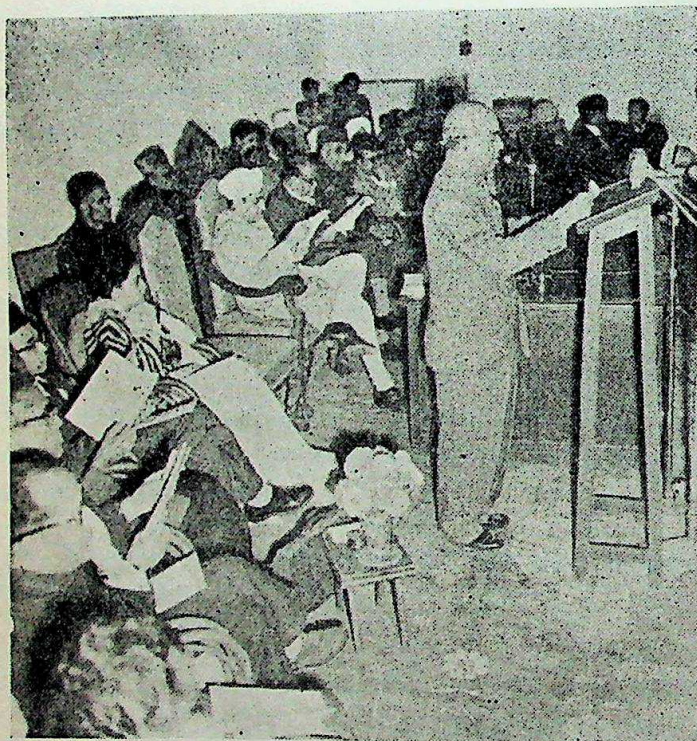
6. The Concluding Session terminated with the speeches by the two General Secretaries.





THE GURUKUL KANGRI  
HARIDWAR





THE OPENING SESSION  
*21st Session, A.I.O.C., Srinagar*



## ADDRESS BY THE GENERAL PRESIDENT

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

यो भारतीयवरसंस्कृतिसारभूतः

तस्याः समन्वयगुणस्य परः प्रतीकः ।

यस्य स्थिरं यश इवात्र पुरो विभाति

तन्नामभृन्नगरनायकवद् गिरीन्द्रः ॥

तं शङ्करं गुरुवरं हृदये निधाय

तद्ध्यानतः समुपबृंहितबुद्धिसत्त्वः ।

प्राच्यागमार्थपरिशीलनसंसदोऽस्याः

प्रस्तौमि कर्म सुमनस्सहयोगधन्यः ॥

Your Highness, the Hon. Prime Minister, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Fellow Delegates and friends !

My first duty is to express to the members of this Conference my gratitude for calling upon me to preside over this, our 21st Session. In a body devoted to traditional culture, we should of course observe such forms, but I should say that there are special reasons for my feelings of gratification on this occasion. Although by the number of the Sessions held, we are yet to have any kind of Jubilee meeting, you will, if you recall our history, notice that it is now full *fifty* years since the first Conference of Orientalists was convened at Simla by Sir Harcourt Butler in July 1911. Secondly the venue of our meeting this year, I am sure you will all agree, adds a special significance. Poet Śrīharṣa, when stating that his poem *Naiṣadhiyacarita* had received the approbation of scholars, said that his work had been honoured by Kashmiris who knew the fourteen *Vidyāsthānas*:

काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विदद्भिः (XVI. 131)

There is the wellknown tradition that in this region of the Goddess of learning, *Śārada*, there is the *Sarvajña-pīṭha* which



the great Śaṅkara, invoked by me at the outset and born in the part of the country to which I and my colleagues including the Vice-Chancellor here belong, had, in the course of his *digvijayas* in the different parts of the country, mounted. As I stand before you as President of this Session in Srinagar, in front of the Śaṅkarācārya Hill, I cannot help my mind harking back to this tradition and seeking therefrom strength and guidance.

Śaṅkara is not the only bond that binds Kashmir and South India although it is the greatest. It is recorded in the life of the other great philosopher of the South, Rāmānuja, that for writing his Viśiṣṭādvaitic commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, he came to Kashmir to secure a manuscript of the *vṛtti* of *Bodhāyana*. His predecessor Yāmuna had evidently affiliations with Kashmir, for in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya* in which he attempts to establish the authority of Āgama as falling within the pale of the Vedic and being not anti-Vedic, he says at the end that the question of the *Ekāyana Śākhā* of the Pañcarātrins being, equally with Veda, an *apauruṣeya* revelation, has been demonstrated by him in his work *Kāśmirāgamaprāmāṇya*.<sup>1</sup> That there was wide-spread worship of Viṣṇu in Kashmir is borne out by the monuments here as well as the general literature produced here and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Obviously there were even among Kashmirian monists for whom the ultimate Reality was endowed with a personality<sup>2</sup>, those who were devoted to Viṣṇu even as there were the better known devoted to Śiva. This is seen in the name Utpala-Vaiṣṇava given to the author of the *Spanda-pradīpikā* etc., to distinguish him from Utpala the Śaiva, and in the large number of quotations from Pañcarātra texts which he makes in his *Spandapradīpikā*. In the field of Śaivism, the South is known for its Siddhānta Śaiva, in Tamil and Sanskrit, the Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha and Appayya and the Vīra-śaiva of the Kannada and Telugu areas; but it is not so well-known that the tradition of the Kashmirian Pratyabhijñā Śaiva was also preva-

1. यथा चैकायनशाखाया अपौरुषेयत्वं तथा काश्मीरागमप्रामाण्ये प्रपञ्चितमिति नेह प्रतन्यते । (Pp. 82-3, Pandit Reprint)

2. It stands to reason to suppose that this concept of an *advaita* of a qualified Supreme (*viśiṣṭa*) influenced Rāmānuja who is said to have obtained his source materials in Kashmir.



lent in the South, as attested by the work *Mahārthamañjarī* and *Parimala* of Maheśvarānanda, who lived at Chidambaram and wrote in the heydays of the *Colas*<sup>3</sup> about a dozen works on Pratyabhijñā. In the supplemental *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*s we are told of the periods of oppression and persecution, particularly under Dulca and Sikandar when Sanskrit Pandits are said to have left for different parts of the country, carrying their Sanskrit manuscripts<sup>4</sup>. From what has been said above, it should be clear that this trek of the Pandits of Kashmir from this land of Śāradā should have started some centuries earlier, even during the times of those periodic tyrannies described by Kalhaṇa. Śrīvara says that some of the great works became mere names in the land of their origin<sup>5</sup>, and this we know quite well indeed. For, today it is from the South, especially from Kerala, that the great contributions of the Kashmirian scholars referred to by Kalhaṇa, in the field of Alaṅkāra and Nāṭya Śāstras, including Abhinavagupta's *Abhinavabhāratī*, lost in their homeland, had to be discovered and edited. This is true, to a smaller extent, of Kashmir Śaivism too, in which some texts had been preserved in the South, including a hitherto unknown minor work of Abhinavagupta which I found in the Trivandrum Curator's Office collection<sup>6</sup> and edited. Kashmiri Pandits came down seeking patronage in the Southern kingdoms, e.g. the wellknown Bilhaṇa and the family of Śārṅga-deva who wrote his *Saṅgītaratnākara* and other works under the Yādavas of Devagiri. In a poetic biographical work called *Śivakai-valyacarita*<sup>7</sup>, the Sārasvat Brahmins who first came to Goa and at

3. चोलास्ते सततोत्सवा जनपदाः etc. कावेर्या इव माधुर्यं etc. *Mahārthamañjarī* with *Parimala*, TSS. 66, pp. 202-3.

4. See Jonarāja's R.T. and especially Śrīvarā's IIIrd R.T. śls. 75-79:

तस्मिन् काले बुधाः सर्वे मौसुलोपद्रवज्जवात् ।  
गृहीत्वा पुस्तकान् सर्वान् ययुर्दूरं दिगन्तरम् ॥

5. किमन्यद् द्विजवद्देशे सर्वे ग्रन्था मनोरमाः ।

कथावशेषतां याताः पद्मिनीव हिमागमे ॥ Ibid. 77.

6. *Paryantapañcāsikā*, Annals of Ori. Res., University of Madras VIII. i-ii, 1950-1.

7. By Dr. M. V. Kaikini, and dealing with an ancestor of their families.



the time of the Portuguese persecution came down further South to Karnataka, are traced to Kashmir. The later affiliations of the Nampūtiri Brahmans with Karnataka, Telugu and Tamil areas are there, and although so far no scholar has proposed any definite theory as to their ultimate origin, I may say, with due deference to any view that the Vice-Chancellor-historian coming from that part of the country may hold, that the remarkable concentration of outstanding early Sanskrit classics and of masterpieces written in Kashmir in the *illams* and *manas* of the Nampūtiris of Kerala and the way they have kept to early Smārtism not modified by later sectarian systems or devotional movements, would in my opinion point to their having had connections with the waves of Pandit-emigrants from Kashmir referred to earlier, who trickled down all along the west coast. It fact, others than Pandits too came to the South from Kashmir: In the Southernmost district of Tamilnad, in Śrīvaikunṭham, a celebrated centre in the history of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in the South, there is an old dwindling community confined to the area within a mud fort, keeping to their own customs and called locally *Koṭṭai Pillaimārs*, who, according to their family annals, came from Kashmir through some political relations with the Kings of the South.

Nor has this relation the other way about, from the South to Kashmir, been devoid of interesting data: In the latter half of the 8th century, during Jayāpīḍa's rule here, Kalhaṇa speaks of a powerful Drāviḍa māntrika who worked wonders with lakes and snakes (R. T. IV. 593 ff.). King Harṣa who ruled here towards the end of the 11th century was fond of Dākṣiṇātya fashions, Dākṣiṇātya bhāṅgis, and introduced coin-types from Kaṇṇāṭa (VII. 926, R. T.). In the former part of the 13th century Jayasīmha built a maṭha, endowed it as Simhapura after his own name and settled here numerous Drāviḍa Brahmāns (R. T. VIII. 2444). In the post-Kalhaṇa periods, when there was oppression, scholars had to leave Kashmir with their learning and books and several branches of studies became impoverished here; according to Jonarāja, *Atharvaveda* became extinct here and when the liberal patron Zainu-l-abdin (1420-70) wanted to revive Sanskrit learning, it was from Kaṇṇāṭaka that the tradition had to be brought and re-established here; one Yuddhabhaṭṭa went to Kaṇṇāṭa and pleased with his mastery of the Yajus, the Kaṇṇāṭas



taught him the *Atharvaveda* with its *rahasyas*, and he then returned to Kashmir and revived the study of this Veda in such a way that the *Karṇāṭas* themselves were highly pleased (IInd. R. T. śls. 1268-1274)<sup>8</sup>. Reference was made at the outset to our own traditions in the South about the visit to this place of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, and the part played by the South and South Indian scholars in modern times in the recovery of mss. of works of Kashmirian authors and the bringing to light of Kashmirian thought and contribution. In fact from early times to the last distinguished Dewan of this State and the present Vice-Chancellor, the South can claim a continuity of friendly ties and collaboration with Kashmir.

As one who has spent a great part of his time since the beginning of his life as a research scholar with the Kashmirian masterpieces, especially in the field of poetics and dramaturgy, I cannot help referring on this occasion to the outstanding contributions of Kashmir and the place Kashmir occupied in the growth and enrichment of Indian culture. Starting with Mātr̥gupta but more continuously from the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his two courtiers Udbhaṭa and Vāmana, there was a galaxy of Kashmirian critics who built up the twin disciplines of *Alaṅkāra* and *Nāṭya Śāstras*: Rudraṭa,

8. कुरुभिर्निहते द्रोणे तदाथर्वा निराश्रयः ।  
 शरणीकृतवान् वेदः कर्णाटान् पटुचेतनान् ॥  
 शास्त्रेष्वथर्ववेदस्य माहात्म्यं परिपश्यताम् ।  
 काश्मीरिकाणां तत्प्राप्त्यै चिरमासीन्मनोरथः ॥  
 कालेऽथ विपुले याते सूहृभट्टभयाकुलः ।  
 युद्धभट्टाभिधो मानी देशान्तरमगाद् गुणी ॥  
 यजुषः पठनात्प्रीतैः कर्णाटैः सोऽथ पाठितः ।  
 सरहस्यमथर्वाणि निजां प्रत्यागतो भुवम् ॥  
 श्रीजैनौल्लावदीनस्य गुणिनो गुणरागिणः ।  
 उपधीकृत्य तं वेदं परां तुष्टिमजीजनत् ॥  
 दत्तस्वकीयवस्त्राजः शिर्यभट्टेऽथ धर्मवित् ।  
 तेनैवाथर्ववेदं तं द्विजपुत्रानपाठयत् ॥  
 सा धर्मिष्ठा-नु शाला शिर्यभट्टस्य धीमतः ।  
 कर्णाटानामपि परमगमत्स्पृहणीयताम् ॥

Jonarāja, IInd R.T. 1268-74.



Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Ānandavardhana, Candrikākāra, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Tota, Bhaṭṭendurāja, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka, Mahima Bhaṭṭa, Kṣemendra, Mammaṭa, Allāṭa, Tilaka, Ruyyaka, Śobhākara, Jayaratha—who evolved original theories about the soul or the essence of the artistic expression and elucidated the different aspects of appeal in poetry and drama. There were some noteworthy writers in this field outside Kashmir like Dhan-añjaya and Bhoja in Malwa, but the *Dhvani* and *Rasa-dhvani* doctrine expounded by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta eclipsed by its brilliance all other theories; so much so, if there is a prominent Indian Aesthetics which could be applied to all fine arts, it is to Kashmir that we owe it. Not less magnificent is Kashmir's contribution to Indian Philosophy. The school of thought known as Kashmir Śaivism is a unique system in which the poet-philosopher-devotees of this region evolved an approach endowed at once with imaginative glow, intellectual subtlety and warmth of fervour. In this amalgam of *Pratyabhijñā* they hit a synthesis between the personal and impersonal and the monistic and the dualistic approaches, and the traditions and terms of thought and practices of the Bauddhas and the orthodox, of the Āgamas and the Vedas and Śāstras, and of Vedānta, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Vasugupta, Kallaṭa, Somānanda, Bhāskara, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Cakrapāṇi-nātha, Utpaladeva, Utpala Vaiṣṇava, Lakṣmaṇagupta, Ānanda-vardhana, Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Kṣemarāja, Anantaśakti, Śivopādhyāya, Śrīkaṇṭha,—a distinguished succession of writers who, appearing in a single area put forth a rich corpus of literature on a specific school of thought, even as, very much later, we have, in the history of logic, in Mithilā or Navadvīpa. The scholarly world cannot be too grateful to the former Government of Kashmir for giving them the splendid library of *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* in which most of the literature of this school of thought has appeared. May I on behalf of this Conference of ours, express before His Highness, the Prime Minister and the Vice-Chancellor, the hope that this *Series* will soon be revived and will offer us, as in the past, a continuous output of texts and studies bearing on Kashmir's contribution.

In the history of Buddhism, Kashmir played a great part from even pre-Aśokan times. First as part of Gāndhāra and then



by itself, this region has been continuously the venue of the activity of outstanding Buddhist scholars Vatsa Kātyāyanīputra, Aśvaghōṣa, Vasubandhu, Dharmatrāta, Saṅghabhadra, Guṇaprabha, Vimālaprabha, and later Sarvajñamitra, Śāntiprabha, Śākyamati, Śīlabhadra, Yaśomitra, to mention only the more noteworthy names. Kaniṣka's Council was held here and the Vibhāṣā-śāstra, which, according to Yuan-Chwang who stayed here two years copying numerous Buddhist manuscripts, forms a storehouse of Buddhistic and Brahmanic lore, was produced here being known in Chinese as *Kashmirshi*. Some significant facts are revealed in respect of the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. This place was not only the stronghold of certain non-extremist schools of Buddhistic thought like the *Sarvāstivāda* and *Ātma-vāda* or *Pudgalavāda* of the Vātsīputrīyas which believes in the persistence of a personality through different births, but was also probably responsible for giving Buddhism the metaphysical and philosophical dimension through the growth of Abhidharma literature. Reference to Kashmiris and their views is common in Abhidharma literature. For Mahāyāna and Sanskrit Buddhism we turn to this part of the country which served also as a spring-board for the spread of Buddhism beyond the frontiers of India, into Central Asia, Tibet and China. Among Indian Pandits who worked in China and translated there Sanskrit Buddhist texts were distinguished Kashmiris like Kumārajīva, Buddhayaśas, Dharmarakṣa and Guṇavarman, and among Buddhist scholars to work in Tibet could be mentioned the Kashmiris Śāntigarbha, Sarvajñadeva, Subhūtiśrī-śānti and Śākyāśrībhadrā. The Buddhist logician Dharmottara was highly respected in Jayāpīḍa's time, for Kalhaṇa refers to his advent into Kashmir as the rising of the sun in the West (IV. 498), and on his work Ānandavardhana wrote a commentary. Brāhman Śaivite writers like Ānandavardhana, Śaṅkarānanda and Kṣemendra contributed to Buddhism, illustrating what Yuan-Chwang observed during his visit: "This country from remote times was distinguished for learning" and "they (*i.e.* the scholars here) were fond of learning, both orthodox and heterodox." In modern times it is from a part of this country, Gilgit, that the only lot of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts ever discovered in India has come.

The reference to Sanskrit Buddhism would naturally remind us of the sustained cultivation of that language in this valley. The



*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* speaks of the revival of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and of grammatical studies under Abhimanyu and Jayāpīḍa. Students came to Kashmir from different parts of India to study Sanskrit as Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* show. In addition to the branches of learning already touched upon, and the production of notable Māhakāvyas and plays, Kashmir was responsible for certain genre of writings, *Muktakas* like the *Hṛdayavatī gāthās* in Prākṛt of the Śaṭprajñās referred to by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta<sup>9</sup> and *Śatakas* like the *Anyāpadeśa*<sup>10</sup>, works of worldly wisdom like the *Kuṭṭānimata* of Dāmodaragupta, and the satires of Kṣemendra; in fact Kṣemendra, a product of Kashmir, will stand out in all India as a unique literary figure of wide humanistic interest and practical wisdom, a modern mind, as it were, and an originator of new types of literary writings, and satirical *khaṇḍa-kāvyas*. Here in this linguistic area of Paiśācī was preserved the original *Brhatkathā* in that language and to this country again we owe the two Sanskrit versions of this storehouse of story, the *Brhatkathāmāñjarī* of Kṣemendra again and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. It was in Kashmir again, before the *Prabodhacandrodāya*, was the first philosophical play written by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa who in his *Āgamadambara* or *Śaṇmatanāṭaka* in four Acts introduces the different systems of philosophy, orthodox and heterodox and concludes with a noble message of understanding and unity voiced forth by his Naiyāyika-teacher. The play contains many interesting sidelights on the condition of sects and schools in Kashmir and has also some historical data for Śaṅkaravarman's reign e.g. the question of Śaṅkaravarman having had an *alias* Yaśovarman and the possibility of solving thereby some numismatic and other problems. The text of this play has been edited by me and Sri A. L. Thakur of the Mithila Institute of Sanskrit Studies and however much we tried to bring it out in time for the Conference as a homage to Kashmir, it was not possible owing to the heavy printing work of the Conference which I had to attend to. Surpas-

9. Dhva. Ā. & Locana, N. S. Press edn., 1928, pp. 222-3; pp. 370-1, *J. of G. Jha. Inst.*, my paper "Gleanings from Somadevasuri's YT. Campū.

10. See my paper on Bhallaṭa Śataka, *Annals of S.V.O. Inst.*, Tirupati Vol. I.



sing all these is the historical writings that we owe to Kashmir, to which Kṣemendra himself and some others before him made contributions, but of all of which the most shining example, embodying some principles of sound historiography, is the deservedly famous *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. This trend was kept up by Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa. This literature reveals also the measure to which Sanskrit was used as a medium of administration. That the *Lokaprakāśa*, again from the same polyhistor Kṣemendra, was continuously used as a handbook of administration, is seen in its gradual amplification and incorporation into it of fresh material including new Persian terms.<sup>11</sup> To quote Stein : "The continued popular use of Sanskrit even among Muhammadans is strikingly proved by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Bahau-d-din Sahib at Srinagar (A.D. 1484). Brief Sanskrit inscriptions, without dates, have been found by me on a number of old Muhammadan tombs in Srinagar, near Martand and elsewhere." (*R.T. Eng. Transl. Pt. 1, Intro. p. 131*). Maharaja Gulab Singh, says Sardar Panikkar in his book *The Founding of the Kashmir State*,<sup>12</sup> instead of copying English words of command, had the same coined in Sanskrit and gave the Regiments too names taken from Hindu tradition. Following in his footsteps, Maharajah Raṇavīrasimha arranged for a number of new Sanskrit works of practical nature and translations from Persian to be prepared, like the *Vīra-ratna-śekhara-sikhā*, otherwise called *Susīlasailī* and *Vīrahārakaṇṭhikā*, a translation of *Akṣaṇ-Mohini* by Pt. Sahebram, of which in addition to the five codices in the Raghunath Temple at Jammu, I came across a copy in a London library, which from the nature of its writing appears to have formed part of the translator's own original ms. By doing all this Ranbir Singh was keeping up the same continuity of the vogue of Sanskrit in this Śāradā-deśa, of which, in the words of Bilhaṇa<sup>13</sup>

11. Kṣemendra's *Nītikalpataru* also underwent a similar amplification up to Maharajah Ranbir Singh's time.

12. *A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-1858. 1930.*  
See page 140.

13. सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।  
न शारदीदेशमपास्य दृष्टः तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥

*Vikramāṅkadevacarita I, 21.*



the twin fragrant specialities had always been saffron and Sanskrit; or which according to Kalhaṇa, these specialities—of which he has a slightly longer list—Sanskrit learning, along with Saffron, ice-water and grapes, make a super-paradise (*R.T. I. 42*).<sup>14</sup> The Śāktas have their Jālandhara and Uddiyāna Pīṭhas in these parts of the country, and year after year devotees of Śiva from all over the country come on pilgrimage to Amarnath here. Indeed, every inch of this land called Ṛṣibhūmi is, as Kalhaṇa says (*I.38*), a Tīrtha. Kashmir with all this long and great record of contributions and with all these age-old historic ties, forms an integral part of India, a fact which no student of Indian thought and culture will fail to realise; and no amount of political controversy can avail against this truth.

Since we last met at Bhubaneswar we have had some serious losses in our ranks in India and abroad. A separate resolution will be placed before the Conference in honour of the memory of our colleagues who are no longer with us; to linger on them individually is painful. As the spokesman for the present of this premier organisation of Indology, I pay my homage to them and invoke their beneficent thoughts over our deliberations at this Session. In Poona, as you have all known from the Reports, the sudden floods had worked havoc with the files and materials of some of our colleagues engaged in research work and to them, our sincere sympathies are due in the setback that their work has suffered.

The customary review of work recently done and the progress made in the different fields of studies coming under the Conference will be done by the Presidents of the respective Sections. While they will apply subject-wise their microscopes, the General President may apply what may be called a 'macroscope' which will throw into view the larger aspects, and help generally to see the wood rather than the trees and direct the attention to questions of fundamental nature on which our work as such turns.

The greatest factor which has given the entire study of Indian history and culture a new turn and involved it in a maze of

14. विशावेशमानि तुङ्गानि कुङ्कुमं सहिमं पयः ।

द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम् ॥



controversy is the so-called Indus Valley civilization. Further excavations have shown that this culture extended over other areas from old Sarasvatī basin to Saurashtra, but nothing startling or revealing has been discovered which has taken us even a little forward in unravelling the mystery of the origin of this civilization, its epicentre, its identity, its script and its extinction. The artifacts discovered are themselves too meagre to build up all the edifice that has been raised with the liberal help of imagination. Unless we are going to land on bilingual tablets, the mystery of the signs is not going to be unlocked. The only apparently additional datum that has been brought out recently is said to be the indications in the inscriptions found in the recent Kalibangan excavations which would lead us to surmise that the Harappan script was written from right to left. The conclusions drawn as to how this civilization disappeared are of a very serious nature but the evidence used for such sweeping deductions is just twenty-nine skeletons found in a single spot in all the vast provenance of this culture. From this, we are asked to jump to sudden and violent death, to Vedic Indra the *Pura-bhit* as the destroyer, and the Aryans as the barbarians who destroyed this civilization! The Purāṇas also contain material going to great antiquity and the 'destroyer of cities' which the Purāṇas know of is not Indra but Śiva; could we then consider Śiva, the deity of the Indus Valley people, as the destroyer of their cities? After such destruction, did the destroyer occupy the land as victors do? If he did so, we should find Aryan vestiges also there. To what extent even eminent archaeologists could go as a result of their set prepossessions could be seen from Prof. R. C. Majumdar's address to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in which he has recorded<sup>15</sup> the battle he had to carry on with Woolley and his manuscript on ancient history prepared for the Unesco-sponsored Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind.<sup>16</sup> I do not know what symposia or major subjects of discussion have been thought of for the coming Asian archaeological meet at Delhi; it would be most appropriate if these interpretations of Mohenjo-

---

15. *ABORI*. XL. pp. 1-15.

16. For a successful exposure of the utter baselessness of this destruction theory, see George F. Dales, *The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjo-Daro*, in *Expedition (The Bull. of the Uni. Museum of Pennsylvania)* VI. iii. Spring 1964, pp. 36-43.



daró by Marshall, Mackay, Piggot, Wheeler and Woolley are discussed; for from Hrozny to Toynbee, archaeologists and historians of civilizations have expressed divergent views about the Indus Valley Culture, the latter mentioned historian saying that those who laid these cities came from outside and had contacts with the Sumerian<sup>17</sup>. There is, as Majumdar has pointed out, no literary evidence to support the descriptions of the height to which the Harappan civilization is said to have reached. On the other hand, a civilization such as has been set forth in the vast body of hymns in the R̥gveda and on which generations of historians, linguists and literary scholars have written extensively is dismissed as 'barbarous'. Of course some of these archaeologists take shelter under the explanation that by 'barbarous' they mean un-urban or pre-urban, but the latter terms may be used and not a word of offensive association. Every society has to pass to an urban culture from a 'barbarous' stage; and some of the outstanding achievements of the Indo-Aryan civilization have been in un-urban and even sylvan set-up. It has been pointed out that the R̥gvedic civilization has no archaeological finds to support it. It is really a serious matter to be pondered over by students of Indian history whether even in later historical times, a thing could be debunked because of absence of archaeological evidence. Epigraphy has a strange genius to steer clear of great names who have been makers of the culture of the country; is there a single inscription to prove that Kālidāsa or Śaṅkara existed?

Granting that there was this pre-Vedic civilization, we are faced with the problem of bridging the gap between it and the Vedic and unfortunately the spade has not yet been able to bring out anything in this respect.

The above problem itself would call forth intensified work in the Vedas and Vedic civilization. Vedic studies, philology, publication of texts and bibliographies and concordances have all been going on, and still it is not possible to say that the Vedic field, which is inexhaustible, has attracted an adequate

---

17. Samuel N. Kramer, of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, in the Museum Bulletin *Expedition*, VI. iii. 1964, pp. 44-52, argues that the Indus Valley people may be the Mesopotamian people called the Ubaidians.



number of the younger scholars in the country. There is further the need to enrich Vedic studies by a correlated pursuit of Iranian studies and for Sanskritists to become conversant with the *Avesta*. Vedic scholars possessing this kind of combined equipment today could be counted on one's fingers. The Devanagari edition of the *Avesta* that has been undertaken by the Vaidika Samsodhana Mandala of Poona will go a great way in creating this interest in Avestan studies among Sanskrit scholars. Outside the field of Vedic philology and mythology too, Iranian studies are useful. There are concepts having an Iranian character which we can trace in early Indian thought and in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* too we find interesting Iranian material.

In Itihāsa, the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is nearing completion and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is making steady progress. It has never been claimed that the edition evolved in this manner by the collation of all available manuscripts is the *ur-text*. The evidence of the manuscripts has its own drawbacks, as manuscripts are not old, and, having been copied in later ages when there had been further development in religion, philosophy and beliefs, revision of the text could not have been helped and consequently a hundred manuscripts could present only such a text. If an old authentic concept or element of story or history had been forgotten and its significance lost, manuscripts could offer only a corrupt form of the word or a later substitute for it. The external testimonia and the evidence of the cultural milieu could not only be not neglected but they would be of greater help in determining certain textual questions, with reference to episodes as well as readings. I may remind you of Sukthankar's reply to Winternitz and Meyer over the readings *Hamsarūpeṇa* and *Hāsyarūpeṇa* for Indra represented by the pole in the *Uparicara Vasu* story in the *Ādiparvan*. I shall try to make my point more clear as to where we could be misled by merely arguing on the basis of manuscripts and where a transcending, as it were, of this evidence is necessitated.

We may take a case from the *Mahābhārata* as critically edited. In the *Sabhāparvan* there is the episode of the game of dice which is pivotal to the further movement of the epic story. The dice-episode is composed of many incidents of which popularly the most widely known is the pulling off of the garments of Draupadī



when she is brought to the open gambling hall at the end of the complete defeat of Yudhiṣṭhira and the loss of liberty of all others on her side including herself. Edgerton, in his critical edition of this Parvan, has retained the *Vastrāpaharaṇa* and the miraculous multiplication of the sarees and has omitted only the prayer to Kṛṣṇa and the Lord's intervention being the cause of the multiplication. Edgerton even goes out to explain that this multiplication of sarees is a sort of cosmic justice. Discussing the whole episode Prof. Bhatt, later to become the General Editor of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in his paper on this (Draupadī-Vastraharaṇa Episode, an Interpolation in the Mahābhārata. *JOR.* Madras. XVIII. iii, pp. 170-178) says that the entire episode of pulling off of the garments is an interpolation. The two arguments used by him are the omission of this from several other contexts in the epic where resumes or recapitulations of the things done by the Dhārtarāṣṭras is given and the argument of morality and unlikelihood of such a depraved act being committed even by Duśśāsana. The discussion neglects completely to take note of the fact that 'Vastrāpaharaṇa' is fundamental to the whole episode. The *Vastrāpaharaṇa* is not a special insult offered to Draupadī, but it is part and parcel of a customary disgrace that has to be there as an *aṅga* of *dyūta*. There is no game of dice without the forcible snatching away of the clothes of the defeated or the defeated themselves casting off their *uttariyas* and sitting bare-bodied as an act of submission and as a completion of the idea of total deprivation of everything in their possession. Tamil preserves even a proverb to this effect that one rises shaking off one's upper garment or towel to show one has nothing more left on one's person.<sup>18</sup> If we see the text a little earlier, we would find Duryodhana asking Duśśāsana to snatch the clothes, i.e. the upper garments of all the five brothers and of Draupadī, and on hearing this the *brothers cast off their uttariyas* themselves; immediately after this, it is in further completion of this necessary final part of the defeat in dice that Duśśāsana starts pulling off the garment of Draupadī. Reference may also be made to the parallel context in Nalopākhyāna in *Vanaparvan*, the archetype of an illustrative story of *dyūta-vyasana*

18. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundara, 14, 15:

निक्षिप्तवस्त्राभरणा धूर्ता इव पराजिताः ।



where Nala, after complete defeat, leaves as an *eka-vastra* and later, the dice come again as birds and deprive him of even the remaining part of his garment, all of which are kept by Sukthan-kar in his critical edition of the *Āraṇyaparvan*. Sentiment in respect of what we feel today as the proper attitude to ladies is one thing and the judgment on episodes or passages in ancient literature is another thing. To take a parallel from the sister-epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, its General Editor again brings the same two arguments of absence from other contexts where there is a *viṣayānukramaṇī* of one sort or other and our notion of propriety of behaviour towards women. The case is the fire-ordeal of Sītā at the end of the battle which the Editor has decided to be an interpolation.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand the more primitive an idea, the more authentic is it likely to be to an ancient work. A fire-ordeal is, accordingly to law, part of the *divya* proofs which ancient law-givers such as Nārada, as shown by Kane<sup>20</sup>, have set forth. It cannot be an interpolation.

I shall refer to two other cases in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where the episodes or incidents which are naturalistic in the general ancient heroic tradition underwent modifications due to the religious orientation that came over the epic. According to the Southern Śrīvaiṣṇava school, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a text exemplifying the doctrine of taking refuge at the Lord's feet, *Śaraṇāgati sāstra*, through the act of Vibhīṣaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa declares :

सर्वलोकशरणाय राघवाय महात्मने ।

निवेदयत मां क्षिप्रं विभीषणमुपस्थितम् ॥ VI. 17.17 (Kumbh. edn.)

and Rāma responds :

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते ।

अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम ॥ *Ibid.* 18. 32.

affording protection and security. This grant of security by Rāma is not something which he *specialy* made because he was divinity incarnate. What is contained here is not a religious

19. *Journal of the O.I., MSU, Baroda*, I. 3, V. 3, and critical edn. *Bālakāṇḍa*.

20. *HDS*, III. p. 364.



doctrine but a general heroic act which all righteous and chivalrous warriors were enjoined upon to do as part of the Rājadharmā they should uphold on or off the battlefield. The words 'nivedayata' and 'nivedana' are used technically<sup>21</sup> in the sense of one declaring oneself to the opposite person or to anybody else as his own (*tavāsmi ca yācate*) and seeking his protection; such a person who has surrendered shall not be killed but taken under protection and given *abhaya*, security, under any circumstance. See for example what Manu, Yājñavalkya and the *Mahābhārata* say :

न च हन्यात् स्थलारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।

न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम् ॥ Manu VII. 91

Yājñavalkya I. 326 under the same Rājadharmā context :

तवाहंवादिनं क्लीबं \* \* \* न हन्याद्विनिवृत्तं च \* \* ॥

*Mahābhārata*, *Śānti*, *Rājadharmā*, 97.3. (Critical edn.)

विशीर्णकवचं चैव तवास्मीति च वादिनम् ।

कृताञ्जलिं न्यस्तशस्त्रं गृहीत्वा न विहिंसयेत् ॥

See also *Viduranīti*, Ud. Prajāgara, 33.75 (Kumbh. edn.) Critical edn. 33 Fn. 181. Thus what is a Sāmānya Rājadharmā has been made into a Viśeṣa Mokṣa dharmā for providing the religious doctrine of *Prapatti*. While taking on this new complexion, the declaration spoken by Rāma has undergone a revision which it was thought necessary for making its application universal; the foot 'abhayam sarvabhūtebhyah' making Rāma promise this to the whole world read originally with more contextual and syntactical propriety as *abhayam sarvathā tasmai* and this is attested by the quotation in this form in the *Bhāṣya* on the *Viṣṇusahasranāman* ascribed to Śaṅkara. And the word *sarvathā* 'under any circumstance' is necessary in the context. Most probably no mss. offer this reading; the Eastern and N. W. recensions do not preserve it.

The episode of Rāma killing Vālin has given rise to a lot of criticism of Rāma's behaviour and Vālin himself advances many

21. Cf. Yājñavalkya I. 166: यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् and Vijñāneśvara on this: यश्च वाङ्मनःकायकर्मभिः आत्मानं निवेदयति तवाहमिति ।



points to show that Rāma was un-righteous and wrong. In Rāma's reply there are two lines of argument, one taking Vālin as an animal fit to be hunted down and another taking him as a rational being expected to behave morally. Of the criticism of Rāma over this in the past and in the modern times, one is that Rāma hid himself behind a tree and shot at Vālin. Here again is an element of naturalist epic and the traditional method of royal hunting expeditions which has been forgotten. According to the rules of hunting set forth in ancient books, the royal hunter has to hide himself behind a tree.<sup>22</sup>

The largest single corpus of literature in Sanskrit, the Purāṇas, it is known, goes to great antiquity and in some of its myths and dynastic geneologies and wars, it seems even to go to Indo-Iranian times, and the race-memory and provenance of people and stories in them seem to cover an area from Anatolia and Egypt to the Far East. In the form in which we have them now they are practically the hold-all of Hinduism. Taking into account these facts, as well as the fact that no systematic work solely devoted to them had been undertaken by any organisation, the Maharajah of Banaras, as part of the All-India Kashiraja Trust, started a few years back, a project for the critical edition of the Purāṇas. The project which is being worked from Banaras and Madras has collected Mss. on the basis of the catalogues available with the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* and active work has been going on in Madras on the critical edition of the *Matsya* which has been taken first. 31 Mss. of the *Matsya* including those in Sarada and South Indian scripts have been collated. Help is taken from an old Tamil translation of the Purāṇa and Tamil Translations of the Purāṇas are sometimes older than the available mss. of the Sanskrit originals.<sup>23</sup> The Purāṇas are quoted profusely in Smṛti-nibandhas, some of which like the *Kṛtyakalpataru*

22. See *Mānasollāsa*, GOS. Pt. 2, closing section on *Mṛgayā*. For some other elements or motifs of the naturalistic epic, see my paper *Buddhological Texts and the Epics*, Adyar Library Bulletin XX. iii-iv. 349—359. I have dealt with these and other points in a further paper *Rāmāyaṇa Citations and Textual Criticism* read by me at the recent session of the American Oriental Society at New York in April 1964.

23. See my paper *Tamil Versions of the Purāṇas* in the Bulletin Purāṇa Vol. II. pp. 225-42 of the Kashiraja Trust.



are older than the extant mss. of the Purāṇas. In addition to all this, a cross-analysis of all the Purāṇas with reference to the *Matsya* has been prepared to bring out parallels or identical passages on ideas, expressions, subjects and stories in other Purāṇas. This analysis has shown that so far as the Purāṇas are concerned a new method of editing them has to be adopted. Regarding the five basic topics creation, primary and secondary, and accounts of periods, gods, sages and kings, the essential facts and names cannot vary from Purāṇa to Purāṇa; only scribal corruptions can occur. Similarly a good deal of matter on Vratas, Tīrthas, Māhātmyas, Bhuvana-kośa, is common to the different Purāṇas; here too substantial variations will be at a minimum. Then there are well-known myths of gods and stories of Rājaraṣis which form large chunks of the text and these could be traced in several Purāṇas in much the same words. When these portions are taken out, what remains of a Purāṇa as unique to it is comparatively small. The edition of these above-mentioned common portions cannot be based only on the mss. collation of one Purāṇa but has to be guided by the identical material in all the Purāṇas and it comes to this that the edition of one Purāṇa means virtually the edition of all of them. It is not surprising that all this examination has shown that the texts of all the Purāṇas had been to a greater or lesser extent rewritten, but what is really surprising is that from the midst of all this overlaying, there gleam many a name, concept or episode which is truly antique, as I have shown in the papers on 'Gleanings from the *Matsya*' in the special Bulletin called *Purāṇa* started for this work.

A glance at the volumes of summaries of papers submitted to this Conference at its different Sessions would show the great popularity of the Classical Sanskrit Section. The same popularity for Classical Sanskrit studies is also reflected in the number and nature of the subjects taken up for postgraduate research work or even in the work done by the more senior scholars or independent workers. Unfortunately as new discoveries of works of the early creative periods are slow in coming, work has tended to be repetitive, thin and insignificant. Several of the theses received are not upto the Ph.D. standard. It is for Senior Professors assembled here to consider whether it would not be useful to have a post-M. A. intermediate research degree like M. Litt., as neither could the enthusiasm of young workers be damped nor could they be



made Doctors on this kind of work. The exigencies of seeking employment and other difficulties of young scholars are there but it appears that one of the ways of improving the Ph. D. work would be not to set a time-limit by which the thesis is to be submitted, and allow time to the young research scholars to bask into some maturity. There is imperative need to diversify the subjects of research and turn the young aspirant from the hackneyed or soft Kāvya or Alankāra subjects taken by him to the more arduous and less attempted fields of Veda, Linguistics, Purāṇa etc. A more regrettable trend that is growing is the disinclination of the new young scholar to do more work, to read more or to pick up the additional equipment that may be necessary; impatience, anxiety for getting an early recognition and a secure berth—all these detrimental tendencies are to be carefully studied and redressed, and not merely decried. There are today more opportunities of employment for Sanskritists and other Indologists, thanks to the increase of Universities and Departments and projects of work, but with all this, the Senior Professors who are consulted by Universities or other Bodies to suggest suitable scholars for the post of Professor or Director or Head of a Department are unable to help. Employing young scholars, who are fresh or have done some work, on big projects like Dictionaries, Concordances and Catalogues for a long time produces a sense of frustration in them; but such work could be a good training ground and it is up to them to work more and grow wings and soar up or out. There is a tendency particularly among some younger scholars to count their importance by the number of papers written and so write up quick mechanical papers of extremely limited significance such as "here is a new manuscript, its beginning is as follows, its end is as follows" and so on. Instead, each one should, after his specialisation in a particular subject, take a second major subject or a few of importance but of smaller range, work on them in a sustained manner for a period and produce studies and monographs.

In Religion and Philosophy the most significant thing that has happened and has had tremendous effect on our studies is the recovery and edition of Buddhist and Jain works of logic and philosophy. Ancient Indian philosophical schools had a parallel development and in the history of prācīna-nyāya particularly, we



find this closely interlinked growth of literature, the work of one school being the criticism of a work of the other. Consequently the publication of Buddhist and Jain texts by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, and the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Banaras, along with the researches of foreign scholars like Prof. Frauwallner in the West and Prof. Nakamura in the East has recently enlarged considerably our knowledge of ancient Indian philosophers and logicians and clarified the identity and mutual chronology of many of these writers and their works. If I ask who knows Nyāya and Vedānta who knows only Nyāya and Vedānta, it may appear an exaggeration, but it is perfectly true; for a full and proper understanding of these systems, a study of the Buddhist and Jain works presupposed by them is absolutely necessary. In fact, the wealth of contributions in *prācīna-nyāya* which has suffered an eclipse because of, on one hand, the extinction of Buddhism in the land and on the other the rise of *navya-nyāya*, and the large number of ancient commentaries and *prakaraṇas* that we once had in the field are revealed by these Buddhist and Jain texts. When some years back I set forth the data bearing on little-known old works and authors in the different schools, including the orthodox śāstras, from the *Syādvādaratnākara*,<sup>24</sup> it appeared to be a rich harvest, but all that has been surpassed by the wealth of information that has been thrown up by the labours of Pt. Sukhalalji, Muni Jambuvijaya, Dalsukh Malavaniya, Mahendrakumar Jain and Anantlal Thakur, and the editions of the commentaries of Arcaṭa and Durveka, of works like the *Dvādaśāranayacakra* which I have seen in proofs, the *Nyāyavinīścayavivaraṇa* of Vādirājasūri and the collected tracts of Ratnakīrti and Jñānaśrīmitra. We have had glimpses of pre-Śāṅkara Advaita, fresh light on the date of Bhartṛhari, and information on early Sāṅkhya authors like Mādhava<sup>25</sup>. Ancient Vaiśeṣika literature of which our knowledge was so far very meagre looms large in these Buddhistic and Jain citations and we know of a *Vṛtti* or *Vākya* on the *Sūtras*, a real *Bhāṣya* different from the so-called one of Praśastapāda,

24. See J. of the Kalinga Hist. Res. Soc., Balangir, I. 3., 1946, pp. 255-284; also Premi Abhinandan Granth, Allahabad, 1946, pp. 429-438.

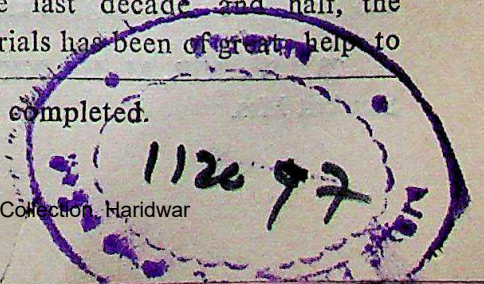
25. See my 'Mādhava, An Early Unfaithful Exponent of the Sāṅkhya', *Sarupa-Bharati*, Dr. L. Sarup Com. Vol., 1954, pp. 162-4.



further citations from Rāvaṇa's *Bhāṣya* called *Kaṭandī* and a later *Ātreya Bhāṣya*. In Nyāya, we come to know of a much-quoted Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkara, and of Vācaspati's guru Trilocana. It is from these citations, more than from Vācaspati's own words, that we learn that Vācaspati's guru wrote a *ṭīkā*, as Durveka says, on *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, that one of his works had the same name as Jayanta's and that, according to Durveka again, he is a *Karṇāṭaka*. A recovery therefore of the entire Buddhistic philosophical literature is called for. The effort to restore Sanskrit Buddhistic texts from Chinese and Tibetan is now going on in a sporadic manner; with the establishment of Buddhistic Departments in some Universities and schemes of publications under the auspices of some Governments and learned bodies—all of which has happened in the wake of the recent celebrations of 25 centuries of Buddhism—some undertakings in this direction may be expected, but a comprehensive project should be planned and systematic work prosecuted by a body of scholars appointed for this restoration from Chinese and Tibetan. The new Varanasiya Samskrita University presented a proposal in this behalf to the University Grants Commission and the proposal deserves help from the Commission. The Commission's help, which is bound to come, is not the only thing. The more important thing, a desideratum, is the training of a band of Indian Scholars, both Pandits and Graduates, in Chinese and Tibetan and this type of restoration work. Here is a fresh, vast and fruitful field for young scholars, most interesting material which can engage them endlessly.

This takes us on to the general question of manuscripts. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit and allied Manuscripts of the Madras University, with which work I have been associated, has been making steady, though apparently slow, progress. The second volume comprising works and authors under the remaining vowels *Ā* to *Āu* is getting ready for the Press.<sup>26</sup> The delay in the publication of the further parts has however not prevented the service expected of this work being given to scholars; for, as may be seen from many of the important editions of texts brought out in the last decade and half, the information supplied from its materials has been of great help to

26. Its printing is now almost completed.





these editions. It is really after the publication of Vol. I that the importance of the work was realised and further assistance came both from the University and outside—the Rockefeller Foundation—and the work of primary indexing of all the catalogues and handlists, printed and unprinted, was taken on hand systematically; this work has been almost completed now. As the foreign assistance has now ceased, we are now looking forward to the University Grants Commission for aid. After the publication of the first volume, I had visited European Libraries and prepared an inventory of about 20,000 mss. for which no printed catalogues were available and this inventory will be published under the auspices of the Government of India.<sup>27</sup> During the Sanskrit Commission's tour I located several fresh collections, and noted also further large and small accesses to the older collections, on which I read a paper at our Delhi Session.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently, on a proposal made by me, the University Grants Commission appointed a Committee for examining mss. collections—Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian, and modern Indian languages,—in Universities and University centres and to report on how to improve the work of collection, preservation and utilization. Our recommendations were accepted by the U.G.C. and as probably many of you know, already the U.G.C. has circularised the Universities and offered aid for mss. work, including microfilming equipment on a regional basis. It is upto University Departments and Libraries to take up the work. Acquisition should be done by field work and survey but not by merely taking over or amalgamating already existing collections which are wellknown. In the proposed Central or National Institute of Indology or Indic Studies to be started by the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, provision has been made for a Central Mss. Survey. Recently myself, Dr. Katre, Dr. Dandekar and Mr. Samtani had been to Kathmandu to look into the Mss. collections there at the Bir Library (formerly the Darbar Library) and the National Library (formerly the personal collec-

---

27. Quite recently I visited U.S. and Japan and have prepared similar lists of uncatalogued mss. there.

28. See JOR, Madras XXVI, 1958, Some New Collections of Sanskrit Mss.



tion of Rajaguru Hemaraj Pandit).<sup>29</sup> It may interest scholars to know that the former Library's holdings now number 20,000, and the latter has 7431 mss. On the lines laid down by us, detailed examination and cataloguing of these two collections, as also microfilming of select important mss., are being done under the general supervision of the Indian Aid Mission there.

Kashmir, Nepal, Kerala,—countries on the periphery,—are of utmost importance for mss. These peripheral areas, as well as some deep interior areas or places not yet visited by modern developments, have by historical reasons been asylums for mss. Also centres of concentrated religious activity like Banaras for Hindus and Ahmedabad for Jains. When the full-fledged Mss. Survey with its regional branches is set up, we may be sure to discover many a classic hitherto known only from references and considered lost. I have myself discovered the rare old play *Udāttarāghava* of Anaṅgahaṛṣa Māyurāja and recently I came across a second copy of the precious commentary on the *Sāmkhya-kārikās* called *Yuktidīpikā*; though unfortunately incomplete, this new ms. has not only offered useful variants, sometimes confirming the reconstructions I had already offered in my papers on the *Yuktidīpikā*,<sup>30</sup> but what is more important, filled up the gaps in the Calcutta edition some of which are now shown to be quite long. I may add also the rare Nyāya work *Mānamanohara* of Vādivāgīśvara,<sup>31</sup> the target of sustained bitter attack in later Advaitic dialectic works of *Citsukha*, *Ānandānubhava* and others, of which I have found three manuscripts for my edition of it in the Government Indology Series. The President of the Vedic section at this Session has been lucky enough to land on a

---

29. A subsequent visit was also made by myself, Dr. Dandekar and Dr. V. V. Gokhale. A certain number of selected Kathmandu mss. have also been microfilmed for the benefit of scholars outside.

30. Four instalments in the *Annals of Oriental Research* of the University of Madras, XII (1954-5), XIV ('57-'58), XV ('58-'59, two instalments).

31. See my '*The Works of Vādivāgīśvara*', *Adyar Lib. Bull.* VI. i. Feb. 1942.



*Paippalāda Atharvaveda* manuscript in Orissa. These create an enthusiasm that diligent search could still bring forth precious discoveries of the order of Bhāsa and Kautālya and offer materials to enlarge the field of our investigations and to infuse freshness, substance and value to our researches.

A seasoned worker in manuscripts will be rather wary and guard himself against the psuedo-stuff that certain energetic Pandits, middle-men and commercial dealers are likely to pass on to him. Without knowing the crime, and impelled by a pious urge or misguided enthusiasm, some scribes or Pandits write up whole texts or missing portions of texts. Buhler in his Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India Report <sup>32</sup> refers to an incident which happened to him in this very place where a Pandit offered to bring a complete manuscript of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and actually brought one which he had completed by filling in his own composition. I am afraid the archetype of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* manuscripts, of which I have examined copies in India, Nepal and Europe, suffers from this defect, and it is because of this that portions of the *Citrāsūtra* are meaningless and unvouched by other literary testimonia on the subject in authentic works like *Mānasollāsa* and *Śilparatna*. In this connection, I would like to refer to the text *Śukranītisāra* which was edited in Calcutta and Madras and has been widely used by historians, students of polity and public administration, art-critics and others. I had been quoted as holding this as a spurious text and many queries from Indian and foreign scholars have come to me on this matter. Some are glad that I have made bold to say this but some do yet believe in the authenticity of the text. I am not the first to call the text spurious. There are just a few mss. of the work, all written in the third quarter of the last century, and Mitra and Keith in their notices of the mss. had pronounced the work or at least parts of it spurious. Scholars may remember the sensation and controversies it once caused by reason of its description of gunpowder, cannons and guns. But this is not the only speciality of *Śukranītisāra*; it speaks of transfer of officers, gives very detailed salary schedules, details of leave, pension and gratuity, one sixth or one fourth State contribution to Provident Fund built up by holding

---

32. *JBBRAS*, 1887, Extra Number, pp. 32-3.



back a bit of the salary, and last but not least schedule of fees that lawyers might take, all of which naturally show that this text was written up in the last century. The lawyer and his fees are particularly revealing; for one thing, ancient Indian legal procedure knew no lawyer, and for another, the fees schedule in *Śukranīti* follows that of Bombay Regulation Act of 1827, as Kane has pointed out.<sup>33</sup> If we leave out the verses borrowed from reputed ancient works, the *Śukranīti* text shows verses most of which are vitiated in one way or other, with profusion of useless particles like *hi* and ungrammatical forms, wrong and bad *sandhis* and lame *anuṣṭubhs*, some of which are hardly in that metre though octosyllabic. It would be unfair to fasten these on Śukra who is also known as *Kavi*<sup>34</sup>. The suspect-character of this text is strengthened by a regular group of such texts which were palmed off on poor credulous Gustav Oppert. I would invite your attention to the strictures on Oppert and his two-volume list of Mss. in the South Indian Libraries made by Aufrecht in the Preface to Volume I of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The *Vaiśampāyana Nīti*, which Oppert edited from Madras in 1882 and which was recently re-edited from the same place with a commentary written in absurd language by a suspicious writer named Sītārāma, is of the same type as *Śukranīti*, exhibiting kinship of material and linguistic aberrations. When I was examining the mss. in the Hamburg University Library in its improvised half-arranged premises sometime after the war, I came across a steel trunk in a corner, which I could easily identify as a Madras-made trunk. When I opened it, I found to my surprise some papers relating to Oppert belonging to the period of his Professorship in Madras and a collection of mss. made by him. In the box were found in addition to the *Vaiśampāyananīti* noted above, copies on modern paper of different short *Nīti* texts ascribed to Ṛṣabha, Nārada and Kṛṣṇārjuna all of which, on examination, turned out to be extracts made from the *Samyādas* associated with these names in the different parts of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus

33. HDS. III. 290.

34. Lallanji Gopal has followed up my tips and has made a further analysis in his 'The Śukra-nīti a nineteenth century text', in BSOAS. XXV. iii. See also my further article *Śukra-nīti* in the new journal *Rājavidyā*, Madras, inaugural number, April 1964, pp. 5-14.



*Rājanīti-navaśloki* is the same as the *Navaratna* printed in *Kāvyaśaṅgraha*; *Nāradanīti* is just the *Kaccitsarga* from the *Sabhāparvan*, and *Kṛṣṇārjunanīti*, copied from the *Karṇa-parvan*. Much more startling than these was a palmleaf Grantha ms. in 45 leaves in the same Oppert collection which bore the title of *Nairukta Gālava*! The difference in the leaves, the attempt to keep close to the writing and the appearance of the first set of leaves, and above all some familiar passages roused my suspicion and after two and a half hours' scrutiny, I found that here was an attempt to palm off Yāska's *Nirukta* under an arresting title, *Nāirukta Gālava*; I prepared a concordance with Yāska's text for the greater part of this ms. and perhaps on a further scrutiny of the remaining part too, *Gālava's Nirukta* will vanish into thin air. But the problem of the spurious manuscripts is just like that of the spurious inscriptions known to historians; it is mentioned for caution and it does not affect the need to pursue the search and survey of the manuscripts. Mss. come in a lot and unless everything is collected, it is not possible to sift the valuable ones. Before taking leave of the subject of mss. I would make three appeals. Libraries which have a large concentration of mss. should consider it as their first duty towards the scholarly world to examine and publish Catalogues of their collections. Secondly in some Libraries those in charge are not helpful to scholars or institutions in loaning their mss. or supplying copies; this unfortunate state of affairs should be completely changed. Some of the former Indian States have large collections e.g., Jaipur, Bikaner, Alwar; these should be made easily accessible to scholars.

The field of Sanskrit mss. is not exhausted by what is found in Indian collections, public or private, including those of Nepal. There are those in Europe and America taken from the above-mentioned Indian and Nepalese collections. In addition to these, there are the mss. and translations in Tibet and also the Chinese translations. A third important category of mss. is represented by the fragments which have been unearthed in Central Asia and have been taken by missions organised by European countries. Of these, in addition to the big hoard in the State Library, Berlin, there is in Leningrad<sup>35</sup> a big storage, most of which, I

35. There is also a small collection in Kyōto, in the Ryōkyō University which came to my knowledge when I was there recently.



understood during my visit there, remained to be opened up from their boxes. A proposal made to the Ministry through the Indology Board for deputing young Indian scholars, well grounded in Sanskrit, to stay in European centres with experts in this field, and train themselves in Central Asian scripts and the examining and editing of these fragments, has been accepted but it is a pity that for one reason or other this has been kept in abeyance. Apart from Buddhistic Mahāyāna texts, we have also those of literary interest like the well-known fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's play. Recently we have had an edition from the German Academy, Berlin, of a Sanskrit text on prosody from the Turfan fragments, the *Chandoviciti* (1958). Much nearer to us, here in Swat valley, the old Uḍḍiyāna, the expedition conducted by Prof. Tucci and his pupil Dr. Gnoli in 1959 has brought out a most surprising set of fragments in partly burnt-out birch-leaves, in the local Sarada script of about the 11th or 12th centuries. These fragments, photos, transcriptions and print-proofs of which have been seen by me, contain Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* together with a commentary. This is the only commentary on Bhāmaha found anywhere and from our available Alaṅkāra-literature we know there was only one commentary on Bhāmaha and that by Udbhaṭa of Kashmir. One is therefore inclined to take this commentary as Udbhaṭa's and Gnoli claims that this is 'without any doubt the lost *vivarāṇa* of Udbhaṭa'. If it is so, this would be perhaps one of the foremost discoveries of our times. But having examined all the fragments, I find it is not possible to assert that it is Udbhaṭa's. There are some clear tests to identify Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmahavivarāṇa*, and as these fragments are meagre, we can apply only one of these tests. In one of the fragments, numbered 4 by Gnoli, we have Bhāmaha I. 9 :

*śabdas chandobhidhānārthaḥ itihāsāśrayāḥ kathāḥ  
loko yuktiḥ kalās ceti mantavyāḥ kāvyahetavaḥ*

This is a crucial verse so far as Udbhaṭa's commentary is concerned. Students of the *Dhvanyāloka* know that when elucidating at the beginning of the work the text *bhāktam āhus tam anye* and its *vṛtti*, Abhinavagupta quotes from Udbhaṭa's *Vivarāṇa* on the verse given above and Abhinavagupta says here that to explain why Bhāmaha after saying *śabdaḥ* first, said again *abhidhāna* in *abhidhānārthaḥ*, Udbhaṭa interprets the second word *abhidhāna*



not as 'word' but *abhidhā-vyāpāra*, the significatory capacity of a word, which, Udbhaṭa adds, is of two kinds *Mukhya* and *Guṇa-vṛtti*. This is a very vital context as Udbhaṭa shows here his acceptance in *Kāvya* of a *Vṛtti* other than the *Mukhya*. Unfortunately in the fragments discovered in the Swat valley, the gloss on this verse does not offer this well-known comment of Udbhaṭa. Instead, the commentary in the fragment says the opposite, i.e. taking *abhidhāna* normally as *śabda* "*abhidhānārthaḥ śabdānām arthaḥ*" which is a serious obstacle to Gnoli's proposed identification. But if Udbhaṭa had first given the straight meaning and then given as an alternative or better interpretation what Abhinavagupta has quoted, and if in the broken-up portion of the leaf we have lost this second interpretation, we may then, atleast tentatively, take this as the *Bhāmahavivarāṇa* of Udbhaṭa. The discovery of these fragments again holds forth the hope that the field of mss. survey and study has still many surprises in store for us.<sup>36</sup>

Archaeological work has now increased owing to the increased participation of Institutes and University departments in excavation and survey. Of work done by Universities, may be mentioned the excavations by the Allahabad University, with which the President of the Archaeology Section of this Conference has been associated at the site of Kauśāmbī of King Udayana, so well-known to students of Sanskrit literature, where the royal palace has been exposed and structures have been unearthed indicating a date going up to 700 B.C. Of the many that the Government department has done, attention may be drawn to the further excavations at Nagarjunakonda for a special lesson they have. At this site, considered Buddhistic, have been brought to light a Vedic sacrificial site, Sanskrit inscriptions, and several Brahminical deities which show concretely the fact, often missed, that ancient Indian kings patronised truly all faiths, and the prevailing tendency to label dynasties or sites as Buddhistic should be modified. In the Department's project of architectural survey of Temples, progress has been maintained in both the southern and northern sections; the scholar

36. These fragments have since been published in book-form by Gnoli for the ISMEO, Rome, 1962, as Udbhaṭa's commentary on the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* of Bhāmaha.



in charge of the latter, we are happy to have as President of our Fine Arts and Technical Sciences Section. The Department has also organised a School of Archaeology. This and the different University Departments of Archaeology, the latest of which is the one opened in the Madras University, could be expected to produce a sufficient number of trained archaeologists to tackle the wealth of material of pre-historic and historic times lying all over this far-flung country. After independence and integration, there was the taking over by the Central Government of State Archaeological Departments. But the amount of work to be done is so much, so numerous are the monuments to be surveyed and almost endless the inscriptions collected but not yet edited and those yet to be collected, that only the cumulative efforts of the Centre and the States, Universities and Institutes could be able to tackle the work. That the States feel the need to revive or start their own Departments for Archaeology, which is on the concurrent list, is a thing to be encouraged. Madras has recently appointed a Special Officer for this. I find that the Central Archaeological Survey has recently taken over Jammu and Kashmir and constituted a new North-Western Circle. In Nepal, where I had been recently, there is a precious amount of architectural, epigraphical and iconographic material, as also murals and exquisite woodwork, all of which not only need attention, but would be of great value for comparative study. It may be suggested that through the Indian Aid Mission in Kathmandu, the Indian Archaeological Department should plan some work in Nepal, which foreign scholars visit and from where they collect a good deal of material for their work.

In Linguistics, it is a matter for gratification that the UGC has come forward to support the programme begun originally with the help of the Rockefeller grants. Considerable interest has been roused all over the country, among younger scholars, in linguistic study; while this widespread interest in modern Indian linguistics, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, is to be welcomed, it appears adequate steps are not taken to improve and enrich the study of Indo-European. There are the more recently known branches like the Hittite on which little is known and no work seems to be done here. Some of our younger scholars who have flair for linguistic study should be deputed to work under experts in these branches in the West, so that we could build up in our country too linguistic



work as diversified as possible. In Dravidian linguistics, the Madras University has brought out the first volume of *Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary*, the joint work of the heads of the Dravidian departments of that University, including the President of the Dravidic Studies Section at this Session. In a subject-wise classified order, this work makes a tabular list of 2,000 cognates in the four main Dravidian languages and Tulu. Burrow and Emeneau who have already done much work in the Dravidian have brought out, almost on the eve of this Conference, their joint work *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. It is a pity the Preface here does not mention the work on the *Comparative Dravidian Vocabulary* of the Madras University. As my colleague in charge of the Dravidic Section will be examining this work in his address, I do not want to make any detailed reference to it. But I would like to say something on the general question of deriving old Indo-Aryan words from Dravidian words. In the long history of the co-existence of Munda, Dravidian and Sanskrit, there is bound to have been influences and borrowings; no serious historically minded scholar could deny this general question. But it is only when, on the basis of this, sweeping statements are made, —e.g. that after the deduction of the Munda and Dravidian elements, little will be left of Indo-Aryan, and also when particular Dravidian derivations of particular Sanskrit words are proposed, that one is not able to see eye to eye with the authors of such statements. The words shown by Kuiper, Burrow who completely disagrees with the former, and Emeneau are almost a drop in the ocean of Sanskrit lexicography. When *pūjā* is derived, from *pū-cai*, 'flower-do', and *śārdūla* from *śāra-tol*, 'variegated skin', one should consider whether such expressions or compounds are likely or could be shown in literary usage. Otherwise such an etymologist, who is out to find some Dravidian parallel expression, real or synthetic, could be compared only to Yāska with his dictum *Apyakṣara-varṇa-sāmānyād nirbrūyāt* and his examples like Kāmbhojas from Kambala-bhojas. Vocabulary grows organically also and unless such an internal growth is completely ruled out, suggestions of extraneous borrowing could not be made. In addition to what Thieme has said of *pūiā*<sup>37</sup> and its phonetic development from

---

37. ZDMG. 93, 1939, pp. 105-23; JOR. XXVII. 1957-58, pp. 1-16.



*park*, Prof. H.W. Bailey has shown in his paper on 'Cognates of Pūjā' in a Special Volume to be published shortly by the Adyar Library<sup>38</sup> that any serious analysis of Indo-Aryan vocabulary could not be undertaken without consulting the closely related Iranian, "the new material in the ancient Anatolian languages, the two Hittite languages, Luwian with later Lycian, and Palā and the Tocharian languages, equally important witnesses to Indo-European vocabulary." Taking all this into account, Bailey explains *pūjā*, on the analogy of forms like *kūjati* and *kauti*, as an enlargement of Sanskrit *pū* and cites copious examples from IE languages. Apart from this, the earliest form in which this word occurs in Tamil should also be canvassed and I am afraid this evidence will not help the 'flower-do' or 'smear' derivation proposed. On the general question of borrowing, I should like to draw your attention to a caution which Jespersen uttered.<sup>39</sup> He says: "The distinguished German linguist H. Schuchart has in recent years strongly insisted that similarities between different languages need not always depend on the languages being related to one another as French to Italian; but in some cases to some element common to all mankind; in other words, some phenomena instead of being historically related may be primordially related." ".....there is again so much that is common to all mankind in mental basis, in psychological structure that we cannot be surprised to find a number of correspondences between languages widely apart."

In Dravidic studies, two more points may be mentioned. In studying words and even syntax, the comparison of the Dravidian with Prākṛt and Pāli forms rather than pure Sanskrit ones would appear to yield striking results; and the prevalence of Pāli Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Dravidian areas makes such a relation quite natural. From this point of view, I think students of Dravidian linguistics stand to gain much by the study of Prākṛts and Pāli. Secondly, when we met in the Annamalai University, we recommended to the authorities of that University to bring out a complete corpus of English translations of the Sangam classics. I

38. This has since been published, vol. XXV, Jubilee volume, 1961. See pp. 1-12.

39. Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View, pp. 205, 212.



would like to reiterate this suggestion, for the production of this set of translations is of urgent importance today when there is wide-spread interest in Dravidian languages, literatures and culture and efforts are also being made to introduce the study of South Indian languages and literatures in North Indian Universities.

In the field of Fine Arts, many Sanskrit texts on music and dance have recently been published from Baroda, Jaipur-Jodhpur, Calcutta, Madras and Tanjore, some of these with aid from the Central Sangeet Natak Akademi. It would have been better if in the case of many of these texts, greater care had been taken to prepare scientific editions based on collation of available mss. of the work, and in some cases where the mss. were fragmentary and had just been printed, further examination had been done and the texts identified. In my address to the Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section of this Conference at the Delhi Session, I mentioned the *Encyclopaedia of Technical Terms in Music, Dance and Drama* undertaken by the Central Sangeet Natak Akademi; recently regular work on the North Indian side of this work has been started by Prof. G.H. Ranade of Poona, to bring up the Hindustani material abreast of the Karnatic that had been compiled. The most interesting material that I have recently come across is in the field of Śilpa and Temple-architecture. Orissa, where ruling Chiefs had been patronising traditional Śilpins till recent times, has preserved mss. of Śilpa works, which are not only valuable as rare texts on the subject, but are also unique for the illustrations they provide with drawings etched by the stylus on the palm-leaves. In a subject like Śilpa, where architectural terminology is obscure, such drawings are most useful. Miss Alice Boner of Banaras who has been trying to organise a Conference of Śilpins in Orissa, possesses some of these Śilpa texts from Orissa and proposes also to publish two of them. One of them is called *Śilpaprakāśa* and the other *Saudha-āgama* on which the former is based. A rather early age is claimed for these texts, both of which are on palm-leaf and in Oriya script, the first written in incorrect Sanskrit such as is common in Śilpa texts, and the second in better language. The most remarkable feature of the *Śilpaprakāśa* lies in the fact that instead of dealing with temples in general, this text describes a particular Tantric Vārāhī temple, which has been identified, and its measurements and carvings; in measurements, it does not give



absolute measurements but proportionate measurements of the different parts into which it analyses the structure; and in images, it gives the geometrical diagrams as the basis of the figures. The *Saudha-āgama* is cast as a dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavī and deals with Śilpa in general, twelve types of temples, four types of towns, two types of forts, the temples based on square *garbhagrhas* and those based on rectangular *garbhagrhas*, measurements of the structures and the iconography and diagrams for composing images, of which 108 are given. There are other works too of similar nature and value in Orissa and it is to be hoped that the Museum and Archaeological Department and the Sahitya Akademi of Orissa, who have taken up the edition and publication of old works, will include in their programme these illustrated Śilpa texts too. Regarding Painting, I desire to emphasise one point which I placed before the Archaeological Society of South India in a lecture on 'Indian Antiquities in Europe'.<sup>40</sup> In several Libraries, Museums and private collections in the West, there are accumulations of Indian paintings. Even in Museums, only a very small part is exhibited, the bulk being in the magazine for lack of space for exhibition. There is thus in the storage of the Museums and Libraries, as also in private collections, difficult of access, a very large number of Indian paintings. Stray notices of a few of these, with reproductions, have no doubt appeared in some art-journals or books, but I would suggest that a complete descriptive inventory of these should be taken and Government should depute one or more scholars to do this work. Perhaps a corresponding inventory could also be attempted of the paintings in private collections in India.

In the field of Technical Sciences, there is just one aspect which I desire to touch upon, and that is the branch of *gaṇita*. India has today taken great strides in every branch of modern science and some of our scientists have also interested themselves in the history of science in ancient India. When some Indian scholars refer to ancient Indian achievements in science, it should not be mistaken as something said out of patriotism; on the other hand, the realisation that the scientific spirit and enquiry were not alien to the Indian would provide a solid basis for modern Indian

---

40. Transactions of the Arch. Soc. of S.I., Vol. I, 1955, pp. 58-69.



scientific advancement. No doubt India has today taken science from the West but Western science is not a pure product of Western civilization as it has been contended by some; on the other hand history shows that it grew out of Eastern science and it is in an effort to re-establish our own continuity in this respect that we should explore the history of scientific thought in ancient India. When we pass on to a scientific phase, we should also avoid the experience which Europe had to undergo; for a long time there was conflict between science and Christianity. It is not proper to devaluate ancient science, Greek or Indian, because it lacked the qualities of experimentation and the notion of progress as developed by modern science.<sup>41</sup> Orientalists engaged in writing the history of ancient India had also directed their attention to ancient Indian science. But while some have conceded certain scientific ideas as having been discovered by ancient India, others have disputed India's claims. The example of the decimal system, the place value and zero may be cited, particularly in view of our adoption now of the Decimal coinage. It is well-known that from the *Rgveda* onwards we have the numerals ten and thousand mentioned and in the *Taittirīya*, *Kāthaka* and *Vājasaneyya Yajurveda Samhitās*, the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad* and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtras*, long lists of numerals reaching upto *parārdha* and *samudra* (10,000,000,000) are given. How can these powers be possible without a knowledge of place-value? Yet it is understood that recently some researches have been made in the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, under the distinguished scientist Dr. Oppenheimer, trying to disprove the theory of the Indian origin of the decimal notation. Here is a subject which merits the attention of those in this conference who are both interested and qualified to explore this problem further. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, has sent an appeal in this behalf and has offered to give an honorarium for a monograph on the subject.

Greater Indian studies for which we have opened a separate section is a subject in which, as I have already said, we have for long left the primary initiatives to European scholars and have,

---

41. Cf. 'Recent trends in the interpretation of Ancient Science', Ludwig Edelstein, *J. of the History of Ideas*, XIII, 1952, pp. 573 ff.



more or less, contented ourselves with working on their original materials in French and Dutch. The study of this subject dealing with the cultural sway of ancient India, which produced for several centuries a lasting unity in the spheres of emotional, artistic, religious and intellectual activities among the peoples of Asia, more particularly of S.E. Asia, is of special significance today when Free India has come forward to play a similar role of peace and amity, as the leading modern democracy of the East. The long sweep of ancient Indian history makes this role of India a natural development of her past. The Government has therefore a special duty in this respect to help the growth of Indian studies relating to the countries which were culturally linked with India in the past. It has been proposed that this work should receive priority in the Central Indological Institute we have been asking for. One of the things which should strike scholars who see museums in the West and those in India is that while the former have collected antiquities of all ancient civilizations, Indian museums are strictly 'Indian' museums. You may mention the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, but one swallow does not make a summer. The antiquities from centres of different ancient civilizations found in museums in the different countries of the West were collected by special missions or expeditions sponsored by the Governments of those countries to Central Asia, Middle East, and other regions. One of the recent expeditions, on a smaller scale, was that of Prof. Tucci to Nepal and the Swat valley here both of which have given him a vast amount of fresh epigraphic, historical and literary finds. It is the organisation of such missions which, with the help of our authorities, we should attempt; and in view of the many political relations involved, this work cannot be carried out without Government help. Nor does history show that Government should have no part to play in this respect. Political work and cultural work had always gone together hand in hand. The opening up of Ancient Egypt was the result of 175 civilian scholars who were in the retinue of Napoleon's Nile expedition and some of the important Indological work and discoveries were due to British administrators in India and the Residents in Nepal, the North-West etc. There are Indian Consulates all over the world today; global tours of politicians are a regular feature of Indian affairs today. All this has been attended with very little by cultural contributions of any substantial nature. There have been numerous



cultural delegations, chiefly of musicians and dancers; comparatively only a few delegations of Indological scholars have gone out, but the purpose we have in view is not served by such conducted tours of brief duration. So far only two purely cultural explorative missions have gone out, the Archaeological Department's survey-tour of Afganistan which has produced a *Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Reconnaissance* (1956) by T. N. Ramachandran and Y.D. Sharma and the arduous but fruitful work in Mongolia and other areas by Dr. Raghuvira, who has happily agreed to preside over the Greater Indian Section of this Session<sup>42</sup>. Although much yet remains to be excavated and collected from Indian sites, we may say that, in what we have already collected, there are for some periods and schools and styles, a surplus of monuments which, I suggest may be, on a carefully planned basis, exchanged with antiquities of Middle-East, Egypt, S.E. Asia etc. in Museums elsewhere which could spare for our Museums some typical specimens. If the Government take the initiative, Unesco which is interesting itself in the work of the Museums may be able to assist.

In this connection I would like to make a special plea: By foreign visits or study tours, we mostly mean westward journeys, and considering the great historical relations that bind us to the countries of the Far East and S.E. Asia, we have not been given opportunities enough to develop our firsthand contacts with these latter countries. At one time we were mostly pre-occupied with the writings and interpretations of British Orientalists; of late our contacts with other Western Orientalists have grown to a great extent; the third dimension in which our contacts have to grow now is towards the East. In Japan particularly, the French who have a genius to organise schools of research in countries of cultural importance, have done good work. In Japan there are over hundred important Indological scholars, working not only on Buddhism, but also on Sanskrit Kāvya and Nāṭaka, Smṛtis, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vedānta, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Vedic exegesis, Śrauta, Pāṇinian grammar, Alankāra Śāstra,

---

42. We are indeed very sorry that Dr. Raghuvira is no more in our midst.



Kālidāsa and Kauṭalya<sup>43</sup>. They have Journals of Indian and Buddhistic studies and the Bibliographies published by them show the great volume of work that is being done there. Not only for Buddhism but for the earlier *shinto* also, there are interesting Indian contacts<sup>44</sup> and members of the representative organisation of this persuasion who had proposed to attend this Conference could not unfortunately come. In general literary matters too there is surprisingly interesting material in which Indian parallel, if not influence, is clear in literary practice as well as literary criticism. The use of *double entendre* or *śleṣa*, particularly of the *sabhaṅga* variety is common in Japanese, and more than that, there are in Japanese, as in Sanskrit, sustained *śliṣṭa-Kāvya*s with two themes running continuously. In the following quotations<sup>45</sup> that I have culled, you can see the *Dhvani*-theory of our Alaṅkāra Śāstra clearly reflected: "Japanese critics, however, have generally been less concerned with the effects of ambiguity in the language than with the more deliberate effects of suggestion." "In Japanese literature the un-expressed is as carefully considered as the expressed." When the dramatist Chikamatsu (C. 1920) said "..... when one says of something which is sad that it is sad, one loses the implications.....It is essential one not say of a thing that 'it is sad,' but that it should be sad of itself," the Japanese dramatist was speaking here clearly of *Rasa-dhvani* and the flaw of *Sva-sabda-vācya* of *Rasa*. 'The attempt to represent larger entities by small details and the resultant 'concrete images' which they speak of refer to the portrayal of *Rasa* through *Vibhāvas*, *Anubhāvas* and *Saṁcāri Bhāvas*. They emphasise 'delicate emotional responses' in their poems and plays, 'without the necessity of a

43. For a full picture of Japanese output of Indological work, reference may be made to the Comprehensive Bibliography by Prof. Hajime Nakamura entitled 'A critical survey of Indian Religions and Philosophy chiefly based upon Japanese studies' in *Acta Asiatica; Bulletin of the Institute of Culture* No. 5, The Toho Gakkai, Tokyo 1963.

44. See *Asia (France Asie) XVII* No. 164, Nov.-Dec. 1960: F. Schuon, *Studies in shinto*. Recently I had an opportunity to visit a number of Shinto shrines in Tokyo and discuss with its representatives and scholars.

45. See Donald Keene, *Japanese Literature*, Introduction.



formal plot'. 'The virtuoso approach to literature and to art as well, where the artist attempts to do essentially the same thing as his predecessors, but in a slightly different way, is a characteristic of Japan'. All this is exactly parallel to our cultivation of the art of Mahākāvya and Nāṭaka. Nor did the Japanese critic differ from the Indian in his view of the purpose of poetry and drama which he considered 'as a means of encouraging virtue and chastising vice'. The echoes of Indian Alāṅkāra śāstra are clear in all these. Indian studies, I believe, therefore, stand much to gain in the future, in the direction of freshness and growth of material by these contacts with our Japanese colleagues.

This Session of the Conference is also significant for the revival, as part of our Sections, of the *Paṇḍita Pariṣad* which we were not able to organise after our Darbhanga Session. In Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, as you may see from the Constitution, the Oriental Conference is to foster traditional learning also. It is therefore a matter of satisfaction to all of us that at this place where the word 'Pandit' is a common prefix to the names of persons born the learned tradition, be they now engaged on learned pursuits or not, and which in later times was a cradle of Persian literature, the *Paṇḍita Pariṣad* and the *Majlis Ulema* are being held as part of our Conference. For the latter, we are thankful to the local authorities and for the former I should express thanks to the Central Sanskrit Board which accepted the proposal and came forward to support the holding of the Pariṣad. It is but fit that the Central Sanskrit Board should support this at all the Sessions of our Conference, for traditional Sanskrit education and study are the special charge of this Board. While the advanced Sanskrit studies on modern lines in Universities and Research Institutions come under the purview of the U.G.C. and the Indology Committee, the Sanskrit Board is to take adequate care of traditional education as preserved in Pāṭhaśālās and *Guruśiṣyaparamparā*. The evidence collected by the Sanskrit Commission was predominantly in favour of preserving this type of traditional erudition. It is true that Pandit erudition today is not what it was in its palmy days; also the requirements of life today are such that a mere isolated study of Sanskrit alone divorced from general



education, is becoming increasingly a misfit; and naturally, owing to the persistent ignoring of this fact, the Sanskrit Colleges are getting depleted of students and even the few who come are not the right type of students. The Sanskrit Commission has therefore recommended the reorganisation of the Pandit curriculum of studies by the introduction of modern subjects, and also its invigoration by introducing, at its higher stages, comparative studies in the respective branches of knowledge as cultivated in Buddhism and Jainism and in Western thought. A standard scheme embodying these ideas has also been circulated and on this occasion I make an appeal to the Pandits for their co-operation. I have requested the enlightened Pandit-Member of our Board to preside over the deliberations of the *Paṇḍita Pariṣad* and I hope under his guidance, the *Pariṣad* will, besides conducting useful Śāstraic discussions, come forward with their support to the ideals and programmes set forth by the Central Sanskrit Board. There are some efforts afoot to solve the problem by abolishing the Pandit-courses and introducing whatever is possible of this study into the graduate courses in Arts Colleges. I want to reiterate what we have stressed in the Commission Report that it is premature to take this step and integration for the present should be done at the higher levels for which some practical suggestions have been set forth in our Report. Otherwise instead of preserving the best elements of both, the new synthetic product will catch the defects or the more obvious superficial elements of both and the progeny will, as Bernard Shaw told the beautiful lady who proposed to marry him and bring up children endowed with *her* beauty and *his* intellect, inherit the features of the two the other way about.

The Central Sanskrit Board of the Education Ministry has, in the last two years, begun to function regularly and has started giving effect to several of the recommendations of the Sanskrit Commission, out of whose Report it was itself born. Unfortunately the Board itself is rather a shadow of the type of Central statutory body which the Commission had set forth and in the remaining part of the last plan there was only an extremely small sum available for it. For the third plan, we asked for a crore which first came down to three fourths of it and eventually we understand that our working limit will be a little less than half of



it. I am reminded of the Tamil proverb which says that when one was asked how many were the Pāṇḍavas, he said by word of mouth five, showed four on the fingers, wrote three on the board and rubbed off one.<sup>46</sup> Well, within this, aid is given to Pāṭhaśālās Sanskrit publications and journals and voluntary organisations in the field. A scheme has been prepared and circulated for making uniform the diverse diplomas and varying standards and stages of Pāṭhaśālā courses in the country and to reorganise these courses with the needed quantum of study of modern subjects. A scheme of research scholarships for products of traditional Pāṭhaśālās was taken up and the first set of awards under this has been made and the second is shortly to be made. Proposals are also being worked out to bring forth reprints of outstanding classics and tools of research, which are out of print and to publish in Devanagari important Sanskrit works which have been printed only in local scripts, Grantha, Telugu, Bengali, etc. Steps have also been taken to establish at a South Indian centre, a Central Sanskrit Institute. A fullfledged plan has been drawn up for this Institute of advanced studies and research but to begin with the Institute will have only two departments. There has been difference of opinion on the selection of the venue,<sup>47</sup> but Sanskritists may be glad that a beginning has been made and they may hope that in course of time this Institute will not only grow to the full size planned for it, but will also develop into a Central Sanskrit University for the Southern areas as has been recommended by the Sanskrit Commission. There is however one serious matter over which the members of the Board have reason to be depressed with the attitude of the Ministry. The Commission itself has spoken of this matter in its Report and the Board has more than once tried to raise it at its meetings. It is the position of Sanskrit in the Secondary Education curriculum which is fast deteriorating as a result of the Three-language formula resolved upon by the Central Advisory Board of Education. The Sanskrit Commission without taking any one-sided view of the matter has proposed several alternatives for finding a secure place for Sanskrit among the languages. It is not

---

46. Things have since improved very much.

47. This has been established at Tirupati and I have the honour to be its present chairman.



necessary to repeat what has been set forth in our Report, but it is necessary to reiterate that the Central Sanskrit Board may extend different kinds of aid to higher Sanskrit studies, but if it does not do anything to save the roots of Sanskrit study in the schools it will not be long before they have no leaves and flowers to tend. By way of implementing the Government's three language formula, some States have dealt the final fatal blow to Sanskrit and those assembled at a Conference like this, many of whose subjects depend ultimately on Sanskrit, can easily realise what serious loss this policy will entail. The problem is much larger than Sanskrit and is a pointer to a serious educational malady that is fast growing. There is a craze for science subjects and commerce; and even subjects of Humanities comparatively more popular, Philosophy, History etc., have come to be neglected. The process of admissions to science courses of men and women without plan is a serious loss to the Governments, for science education is costly and hundreds of boys after the B.Sc. become clerks and girls marry and their science-education is not put to any use. Are we going to end up with complete evacuation of Humanities classes, and then awake to the situation and make a fresh effort to redress this imbalance in education?

In the Indology Committee of the Ministry of S.R. & C.A., we have during this plan almost the same amount of money as in the Sanskrit Board, about 45 lakhs. This Committee has undertaken the publication of an *Indology Series* comprising editions of rare Sanskrit and Prakrit and Persian and Arabic Texts. More important than this is the assistance which this Committee is giving to voluntary Indological organisations in the country, and the most commendable part of this assistance is its cent per cent aid for the preparation and publication of Manuscripts Catalogues.<sup>48</sup> The Ministry has also made arrangements through the National Library to make microfilms of the more valuable Mss. in the Woolner Collection in Lahore. Arrangements are well under way now for the coming into being in the immediate future of an Institute for Indian and Islamic studies in the name of Maulana Azad. Time and again, we have been urging the Ministry to start the Central Indological Institute and the chances of this also

---

48. Several Mss. Catalogues have since been published with this aid.



being started soon are bright now. This is indeed a matter for gratification for all of us, for it is through this Central Institute of Indology that we hope to broadbase our future studies and take our own initiative in the investigation of fields of work neglected by us so far, such as the cultures of countries outside India, near and far, which have had connections with India in the past and in which we have been dependent mostly on the original work done by foreign scholars. A Central Manuscripts Survey such as has been recommended by the Sanskrit Commission will also form part of this Institute of Indology. If this Central Institute could get the India Office Library, it would be an excellent beginning and it is hoped that Government will succeed in their negotiations with U.K. for the transfer of the India Office Library.

The same Ministries have under separate schemes been encouraging work in modern Indian languages. The sending by this Ministry of Cultural Affairs delegations to foreign countries has been of some use but as one who has some experience of this, I should say that better and more lasting results could be gained if they give effect to the other proposal made by the Indology Committee of selecting and sending individually young scholars of equipment and aptitude to go for an adequate length of time to well-known centres for specific kinds of specialised work for which adequate facilities are not available in this country. The three Akademies established by Government have been supplementing the work which Universities, learned bodies and other Research organisations are doing. Among other things the Sahitya Akademi is to publish histories of literatures of all the languages and make known through translations the literature in one language to the votaries of other languages. In Sanskrit, the Akademi is bringing out editions of Kālidāsa's works and anthologies of Sanskrit literature. The Sangeet Natak Akademi has assisted the publication of many works on music and dance and the Lalit Kala Akademi has itself been bringing out art publications. The National Book Trust is also engaged in similar literary programmes and one of their latest projects is to bring out Kālidāsa's works with translations in all the regional languages.<sup>49</sup>

49. It is highly regrettable that this project which had been prepared with much effort has since been shelved by the Trust.



Perhaps the greatest factor in post-Independence development of advance studies in Humanities in the country is the University Grants Commission, which has helped the nascent Universities to grow rapidly and in the older ones has been responsible for vast expansion and organisation of new departments of studies. As one who has taken some part in the processing of these schemes of assistance by the U.G.C. I might say that after a period of a forward policy of assistance a stage has been reached when this Body should pay more attention to co-ordination, review the quality and quantity of the work done with its assistance, and adopt a policy of helping projects already going to complete their work, rather than fresh floatations. This *Kāmadhenu* has induced many an institution to put forth all sorts of research and literary projects, necessary and unnecessary, good, bad and indifferent. Indeed some bodies seem to specialise in applying and getting grants rather than in work.

The work of all the Government Committees, Boards and other Bodies are necessarily being carried on with the help of scholars of Universities and other learned bodies. Since Independence cultural activities have increased tremendously. Conferences, Indian and International, Unesco, National bodies and Committees, Commissions, Surveys, Festivals, Cultural Delegations etc. have been many and scholars have in recent years been called upon to do not only a lot of Committee work involving travel but also to produce works of a secondary scholarly nature like surveys, special volumes, handbooks, memoranda, reports etc. By all this there is a danger of senior scholarship deteriorating and real learning and painstaking scholarly work suffering in the long run. In the modern set up itself, there is this inherent danger of men of real knowledge and leisurely wisdom being displaced by those busy with cultural and organisational activities. There is an increasing anxiety among scholars to get into committees. However as men of experience alone can help in organisational work, the official Agencies should help minimise the mechanism, meetings and procedure and devise quicker and less cumbrous methods so that the very act of promoting scholarship does not carry with it seeds of its decay. In this connection I am tempted to refer, though it may be somewhat premature, to a proposal of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to have during the third plan an Institute



of Humanities.<sup>50</sup> The idea is very inspiring but I hope it will have a unique character and not be patterned on the model of other Institutes. If it is just a body of the pick of the best minds in the scholarly world of this country who can devote their time quietly and leisurely to the pursuit of thought and produce works of real creative and constructive character, it will be a real gain in the direction of the intellectual regeneration of the country. I may also express here a desire that I have been cherishing for some time, namely the need for a Journal for the History of Ideas; we have a large number of journals where historical, archaeological, literary, linguistic and philosophical research pertaining to specific periods, discoveries and authors and scholars are discussed, but in an Indian Journal for the History of Ideas, writers could concentrate on pure ideas and reflect on the nature and significance of concepts. Literature and Philosophy could not be pursued only for collecting historical, linguistic and other data of research. Crushed too much like this for extraction of references, our classics, famed for their humanistic and spiritual culture, have, I am afraid, lost their aroma. Recently I read a Press report that as a result of too much culturing, the British Rose had lost its fragrance and British Botanists are now going to search among continental varieties to re-capture the fragrance. Let not such a fate overtake the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kālidāsa*, or the *Upaniṣad* and *Śaṅkara*!

There is a great mania for Kośas of all sorts, particularly in one of our celebrated centres of research. Not only are compilations of this type not useful in all subjects, but after a time, it all becomes a mechanical work of re-arranging the material of one into another. All Kośas, Concordances and Catalogues are but tools of research and they can take their place only next to scientific expositions, works of thought and inspiration and interpretative and evocative studies.

I shall have now, with your leave, to make what would appear to be a departure and speak about certain vital matters relating to our Conference as an organisation. I have heard from senior scholars associated as Presidents or other Office

---

50. This has since been decided upon as an Institute of Advanced Studies, to function from Simla.



bearers with this Conference that the standard of the Conference has gone down. These are also the scholars who have followed the general prevailing tendency of stopping from attending the Conference, or at least attending regularly and taking active part in it, after their high offices were over. I have pleaded with them that the continued participation of the *jñāna-vṛddhas* and *sthaviras* like them was necessary for maintaining the traditions and standards of the Conference; and I may say, my appeal this time has met with some response. In their beginning and formative stages, all organisations have a force and pull which they do not have in the same form when they settle down. Also, we have given birth to other daughter-conferences of History, Philosophy etc. so that there are today too many venues of Indological activity. However we retain the Sections devoted to these specialities, and our desire is that more and more historians, archaeologists, and philosophers must attend our Conference, so that in the whole field of Humanities, the Oriental Conference may stand out prominently as the counterpart of the Indian Science Congress. We should not, like some lower organisms of the animal world, go out of existence after producing our offspring. We should not therefore reduce our Sections with any idea of making our Conference more compact; on the other hand we should, following up our recent decision to have a new section for Greater Indian Studies, broaden our Conference even more. For our further developments a permanent office with staff is necessary and apart from electing a distinguished scholar as General President at each Session, the continuity and development of the work of the Conference requires an elected Executive President, who will work in collaboration with a core body comprising the Vice-President, Treasurer and the General Secretaries. Though much enthusiasm is evinced at the Sessions for the election to the Executive Committee, as a Member has recently written to me, there is hardly any work for the Members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee itself should be on a far more representative basis of regions, subjects and scholarship. In what ways the Section-Presidents too could take a more active part may also be considered by you. The submission of papers and the preparation of the volume of summaries and their advance supply to members have recently been improved somewhat. The most important thing I have noted in the Sessions in the recent



past is that there is not an adequate appreciation of what a paper for the All-India Oriental Conference should be. I am sorry to say that some send very large surveys, general appreciations and pure literary essays; some unfortunately take out sections from their theses or books under print or printed and not yet issued, all of which is, I must say, unfair to the Conference. This time I wrote to a number of members on this point and I should here mention that in almost all cases, the response was splendid and revised papers or fresh papers were received. The papers should be recommended by the Head of a Department, a recognised scholar or a learned institution and an effective machinery should be set up to screen and finally accept papers. I hope you will agree when I say, in a non-controversial way, that all the members should cooperate in the improvement in general of the quality and form of the papers. I have been trying from our Delhi Session onwards, at which some proposals of mine were accepted, to enforce on ourselves the condition that all members shall, as a rule, submit papers and I request you again to consider this suggestion on its merits. Recently the Ministries have been launching upon their programmes of Oriental activities which fall within our sphere and though some of us are, at one stage or other, consulted by the Ministries or taken on their Committees, it would be proper that this Body which is the oldest and premier forum of Indology in the country is given its due place and is taken into greater consideration by the authorities in representation abroad or in any activity organised in this country.

I desire to say a few words about publication of research work. From personal contact as well as the knowledge gained during the Sanskrit Commission's tour, I find a considerable number of University Theses remain unpublished in this country. It is not only a discouraging circumstance for rising scholars but it is a national loss that the work continuously being done in this country is not known outside. The U.G.C. came forward to publish Doctoral Theses and other research work but this welcome offer was beset with too long and involved a process. Sometimes we evolve rules and principles and like spiders get caught up in our own web. It is desirable that some quick processing is done. A committee of experts in different disciplines may be asked to go into the whole lot of unpublished University Theses and select and



draw up a priority-list instead of each Thesis being referred to an expert. I would also appeal to some of our enterprising publishers like Motilal Banarsidass, Chowkhamba, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Susil Gupta and others to interest themselves more systematically in bringing to light the works of young scholars as well as others who have otherwise little facility to publish their researches. Another category of material available for these firms for publication may also be suggested. Active workers like V. K. Rajwade of Poona and M. R. Telang of Karwar, who have passed away, left a considerable amount of work in mss. and research scrap books containing precious data noted through a lifetime of research. The salvaging, editing and publishing of these will be of great service to research. All these firms have recently launched on an extensive scheme of reprinting out of print research works of the by-gone ages, particularly by foreign scholars. Some of these are boons to the workers of the present, but of some the usefulness is doubtful, as today the volume of facts that have been discovered has made them out of date; if at all they should be published, they should be revised by a contemporary authority on the subject. Indian publishers have also difficulties in complying with their foreign orders. While on publication, I cannot refrain from referring to the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, which will in three years be reaching its centenary. Sometime back an appeal of theirs for help supported by me was submitted to the Sahitya Akademi and the National Book Trust who were however unable to do anything owing to their Constitution and Rules. It is no exaggeration to say that Sanskrit studies have grown with the Nirnaya Sagar Press, and I appeal to the Conference and its Sanskrit Members to exercise their thought, as to how best this organisation could be salvaged and put on active production.

I am sure I am voicing the opinion of one and all in this gathering when I say that we are all most pleased at having been able to meet in this beautiful country and at this historic city whose antiquity goes to the times of Aśoka. While meeting in well-established University centres has one kind of advantage, there is a different kind of benefit in meeting in such places which may, comparatively speaking, be somewhat distant. I have always been pleading with my colleagues in the Conference that we must have some of our Sessions at centres which are, from the point



of view of our cultural history, most significant. Kashmir is one such place. As the Vice-Chancellor and some other colleagues here might recall, at the last General Council meeting of the Sahitya Akademi, Prof. Kabir spoke about organising a '*Bhārata-darsana*' for scholars and literary men, by arranging for their visits to other parts of the country and gaining firsthand knowledge of the place and men and things there. Supporting the Minister, I pointed out how some of us were more inclined to go abroad but had not seen well our own country and instanced the inadequate personal acquaintance of many Indian scholars with South India and its important cultural heritage. Well, our Conference is providing a periodic '*Bhārat-darsan*' as it were. This coming together is most significant at this juncture when several centrifugal forces are having a disintegrating influence. With the declaration of adult franchise among the masses mostly backward in education and, with due deference to the Vice-chancellor, one of its architects, with the linguistic reorganisation of the States, there has been a flare up of regionalism and linguism whose ghastly manifestations have undermined our reputation for hospitality, accommodativeness and tolerance. If the history of this country shows one thing more than another, it is the frequent movement of peoples and the rule of one part of the country by rulers from other parts and consequently a great and constant mingling. Toponymic duplication and the history of dynasties and religious sects and saints bear this out amply. Kashmir itself is a leading illustration; from the most ancient times people from different directions, Śāka, Yue-chi, Hun, Gurjar, Tibetan and Muhammadan, not to mention the ancient indigenous Nāgas and Piśācas and the stocks that came from other parts of India itself, Madhyadeśa, Gauda etc., had entered this valley, and even among the Pandits and Sanskrit scholars who contributed to the reputation of Kashmir there were outsiders: Jayanta and Abhinanda were Gaudas; Abhinavagupta himself was a Kānyakubja. In the heydays of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and probably to a lesser extent as a result of the Gaṅgā-vijaya of Rājendra Cola Gangaikondān, a number of Karṇāṭaka or southern ruling lines were established in different parts of North India, particularly in Mithila and Bengal. South Indian history offers many revealing examples. The Pallavas were ruling in more northern areas before they became prominent in Kāñci. The Colas call themselves *Śibis*,—Daṇḍin



refers to Tamilnad as the *Śibis*<sup>51</sup>,—from which the Tamil form *Sembian* is derived, and the ancient habitat of the Śibis is here in the North-West. During the periods when their power waxed, Tamil chiefs and Tamil peoples were spread over the Telugu country, and the Telugu Coḍas and the Ārāma or Koṇasīma and Pudūr Drāviḍas had been in the fore-front of Telugu cultural and literary activity. This process repeated itself the other way about during the Vijayanagar and post-Vijayanagar times when Telugu chiefs and peoples spread themselves all over Tamilnad upto the southernmost districts; in the cultural activities and public movements in Tamilnad upto contemporary times, a leading part had been played by domiciled Telugus, some of the Chief Ministers themselves of the State having been drawn from them. Cola epigraphy shows that from Parāntaka's time, bands of Kerala warriors were in the personal service of the Cola kings.<sup>52</sup> The studies so far made by South Indian scholars,<sup>53</sup> the latest being those by Dr. M. Arokiaswami, Reader in History, University of Madras,<sup>54</sup> on the *Vels*, a community that played a conspicuous part in the development of Tamilnad, show that the *Vels* came from the Gangetic valley and Gujarat. It is also recorded that Karikāla Cola brought a large body of cultivators of the fourth caste from the same Gangetic area and settled them in the twentyfour Koṭṭams of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The temple annals of a shrine near Kulittalai on the Cauvery speak of an *Ārya-turyajāti* family there. Equally informing is the history of the Vellālas, who have been related to the *Vels* and who form to this day an influential community of Tamil-

51. एकदा तु शिविषु कावेरीतीरपत्तने etc. (*Daśakumāracarita* VI, Gominī story). See also my 'Notes on Some Ancient Political Geographical Names,' *Annals of Ori. Res.*, *University of Madras*, VI. ii.

52. See *Epi. Ind.* XXVII. vii. July 1948. pp. 292-303, my edn. of a Tiruvorriyūr Inscription of 959 A.D.

53. Eg. M. Raghava Iyengar, *Velir Varalāru*, Sen Tamil Publications 34, 1913.

54. *The Early History of Vellār Basin : A Study in Vellāla Origin and Early History*, Madras 1954.



nad. Aryan associations have been recorded in their customs. In the later Cola times the Hoysala Ballālas of Karnāṭaka had occupied portions of the Kanchipuram and Tiruchi areas, and it is perhaps in their train that the Tamil community called *Tulu Vellālas* of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* came. As Vijayanagar epigraphy showed, from *Vārendra-agrahāra* in Bengal came the *Aruṇagiri* family of *Mullaṇḍram* village in *Tiruvannāmalai* region, a family which for some generations made distinguished contribution to Sanskrit literature and to which belonged also the renowned Tamil hymnist *Aruṇagirinātha*, author of the *Tiruppuhazh* songs on God *Kumāra*. Needless to mention the almost pan-Indian distribution of Maharashtrian people during the times of *Śivaji* and his successors. The process has continued and the exigencies of education and service in modern times have taken the peoples of this country from one part to another.

This is true of the higher affluent and intellectual classes, as well as the lower labouring classes. There are e.g. large numbers of working class Tamils in many North Indian industrial cities. The linguistic reorganization should therefore be looked at from the point of view of administrative convenience rather than from the possessive zest of having come into one's own. There are other important economic factors like supplies and river systems which bind the States and, with the lessons of history and culture which we study here, we, the scholarly, should give a clear lead to the country towards a sense of unity and of one India. Such a unity was there down the ages despite dynastic battles. Whoever came to rule, even though he was a foreigner, strengthened this cultural unity which was first built up by the *Veda*, the *Upaniṣad* and the *Itihāsa-purāṇa*, then reinforced by the work of the poets like *Kālidāsa* and *Bhavabhūti* and *Ācāryas* like *Śaṅkara* and *Rāmānuja*, and further established among the masses by the Saint-singers of the medieval devotional movements. Some of these Saints like *Lallādevī* here and *Kabīr* elsewhere breathed the air of a further unity of *Vedānta* and *Sufism* and rulers like *Qutub-ud-din* and *Zain-ul-abdin* of this country and *Akbar* and *Dara Shikuh* were great apostles of concord and harmony between the sections of the people. This catholicism of outlook is a prominent lesson which the history of *Kashmir* and its intellectual contributions point out to us. *Buddhism* and *Śaivism*, each of which had a



glorious development here, adjusted themselves to each other; as in Nepal and the South-East Asian countries, there was a blend of these two religions in Kashmir and leading Brahman Saivite scholars, as already pointed out, took pleasure in writing Buddhistic works. Features of a similar synthesis are to be seen in Kashmirian Islam too, in the preservation of old Hindu customs and names, in the images of Islamic saints in old Hindu shrines, in Sanskrit inscriptions on Muslim monuments and in the name *Ṛṣi* given to Muslim Saints of Brahmanic or Buddhistic descent.

A recurrence to this key of harmony and synthesis is particularly appropriate at the present juncture when leaders have taken on hand the task of integration and have also been considering various practical suggestions for emotional integration. It would sound banal to recount before a gathering such as this the factors that have built up the fundamental unity of this country down the centuries. It may be more in point to refer to the suggestions made by the leaders but I do not like thereby to bestir or create allergy of any kind among scholars. Among suggestions accepted as well as those finally turned down are some which I would like to touch upon. There is a strong case for University education at least being put on the Central list; otherwise uniformity of standards all over the country and the exchange of examiners etc. are going to become difficult in the coming years. Similarly a cadre of an all India Education Service in the field of higher education should be set up which would not only help integration but be a mark of distinction for the highest among the Professors. The Universities should have more active programmes of visiting or endowment lectures by those from other areas. There should be more quick and active implementation of the plan to provide for South Indian Studies in North Indian Universities. Leaders either in the public affairs or in scholarship, particularly linguists and literary men, should shed their Janus-policy of one kind of attitude towards this question in public and another when they discuss privately with their own regional or linguistic compatriots. The *Mahābhārata* says that there is no *Satya* or *Dharma* which is against the welfare of the many; similarly let us realise that there is no scholarly ideal which cuts at the very basis of our common being. In his paper on the Delimitation of Civilizations,<sup>55</sup> A. L. Kroeber

---

55. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIV. 1953. p. 273. ,



observes : "Danilevsky considered it an advantage for a civilization if it could grow up in a society of moderate speech diversity, languages diversified into distinctions but not to the point of their having lost the sense of their underlying connectedness." I think this point of view which applies to our situation should be emphasised more and more by our scholars. The question of a common script has also been brought to the fore in the recent deliberations on integration. There is no need to be fanatic about this and the question should be solved from the points of view of what is most practical and the sectors of activity in which the Regional, Devanāgarī and Roman scripts should be used. As Indologists, we shall always use for our research purposes Roman with all the diacritical dots and strokes ; for use within our own language areas, the Regional scripts are to be used not only for the respective mother-tongues but also for Sanskrit ; but for all-India use and for putting across the literature of one area to other language areas, Devanāgarī should be used. The publication of a library of basic and outstanding specimens of all regional literatures in Devanāgarī, in which line initiative has already been taken by the Sahitya Akademi and individual enthusiasts like the speaker,<sup>56</sup> is bound to bear fruitful results. The integration of the country is not a new activity ; ancient India had a genius for achieving it ; using fully the medium of culture, it had forged tools which had stood the test of time and these should not be thrown away now. As a primary forum of votaries of this culture, which had bound this country into one, this Conference and its Members have a part to play in consolidating this emotional integration. We have an advantage over the Government ; while their decisions would involve compulsion, scholars could carry on their work of culture in such a way that the needed atmosphere is slowly created and the healthy trends are allowed to evolve gradually.

The Unesco is making efforts and has floated some projects for East-West understanding, in the form of seminars and publications. Unfortunately, side by side with such efforts, there is a

---

56. *The Spiritual Heritage of Tyāgarāja* (R. K. Mission, Madras) in which about six hundred Tēlugu songs of the composer are published in Devanāgarī.



slow, perceptible rise of an anti-Indian trend manifesting itself in general literary writings coming now from the West ; sometimes, through the scholars themselves participating in Unesco work, this tendency shows itself in the expression of drastic opinions on Indian Culture, Indian Unity, the Indus Valley civilization, etc. In the Indo-American discussions on fundamental values of civilization and their endurance in present day life, the opinion has been expressed that Tolerance to which we attach such over-riding importance is not a value or a thing of basic importance. The resistance to this Indian value may be analysed to the background of an American mind which may not appreciate the Indian policy of non-alignment and the natural inability of a Christian mind to subscribe to the doctrine of tolerance towards other beliefs. The opinion is now being freely expressed by an increasing number of writers in the West, including Indologists, that the claim or characterisation of Indian Culture as spiritual is not correct. Well, it is the Orientalists themselves who started expounding the East-West antithesis, who formulated this and other features of distinction between the two. From time to time, different theories are evolved, and recently we had from the West a visiting lecturer who expounded the thesis that the polarity is not so much between East and West, as between North and South and some here were only too ready to repeat this in the background of certain North-South tensions being fostered in this country. One of the latest manifestations of the tendencies I referred to earlier, intended to deflate the value of certain Indian concepts, ways etc., which have obviously been gaining vogue in the West, is the book by Arthur Kostler, the *Lotus and the Robot*, in which one sees the revival to some extent of old Miss Mayo. That there are reputed writers who could write such books is a serious matter which Unesco with its avowed programme of promoting East-West understanding should tackle, and at our own national level, a body like the Book Trust should keep vigil over such books getting circulated in this country.

All this raises the question as to the nature and aim of historiography, particularly as practised by western writers with reference to India. We have also been preparing histories of India written by our own scholars and one such history has been completed and of the other, undertaken by the History Congress, we have had one volume. Therefore we too, by self-examination, may see



whether we Indian Indologists have a common aim or some guiding principles of historiography in the work we are doing. Frequently one would hear that the historical inquiry or account should be objective; but what are the limits of this objectivity and how far is it followed in actual practice? History, it is said, is all and anything that has happened in the past, but this again is only an ideal, for in actual practice one kind of selection or other has to be done of facts, and when such selection is made there is already a notion or mental background which guides the writer. While Descartes called this selection arbitrary and partial, Voltaire made a virtue of it. G. J. Renier says in his *History its Purpose and Methodology*: "No historian approaches his task without certain preconceived and systematic generalisations. He may owe these notions to his membership of a Church, to his approval of the doctrines of a political party. The essential factor is that his philosophy is *a prioristic*, held before he set out upon his task of historical research and it provides him with a ready made system for serializing into a story the events detected by research." These besetting circumstances were all there,—Church, political interest, and the nature of the particular type of intellectual upbringing,—in the study of Indology at its origins as well as in its further development at the hands of Christian missionaries, British administrators and Western savants brought up on Hellenic culture. One of the most reputed Sanskrit chairs in Western Universities, the Boden Professorship at Oxford, was founded by Lt. Col. Boden "to promote the translation of the scripture into Sanskrit, so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion," and though it may sound ridiculous to us now, the object of the Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit Dictionaries of both Wilson and Monier-Williams, the first two incumbents, was to promote the above-mentioned aim of this Chair. The British civilian became an Orientalist under the requirements of colonial administration and his interpretations and theories were not free from orientation to this purpose. And all these writers were nurtured on Greek thought and, proceeding from the known to the unknown, they saw Indian things that they came upon in Greek light. Toynbee frankly admits in his *Reconsiderations* (p. 548): "At the same time my procedure was, I agree, subjective in some other respects. The model that I used was the history of Hellenic civilization and of the Western civilization's affiliation to



the Hellenic through the Christian Church." To what extent one could go in denying the originality of an Indian contribution is shown by Renou<sup>57</sup> by the example of Kaye who "to prove the Indian indebtedness to Greece did not hesitate to invent the contents of lost Greek works. And Renou goes on to say,<sup>58</sup> "What the Western Indologist needs to do is to renounce his Aristotelian forms of thought. He must resolutely unlearn...the heritage of the Mediterranean world which he vaingloriously translated into universal terms." A further vitiating factor is that a member of a modern economically advanced Western nation studies Indian Culture as something purely archaeological and it is too much to expect us, Indians, to have such an objective look at our past. Croce's<sup>59</sup> theory that to each nation was assigned a special function, which once fulfilled, it disappeared or fell to pieces, having passed on the lamp of life, is not completely valid. To quote again from Renou:<sup>60</sup> "Indology stands out from other Orientalist disciplines such as Egyptology and Assyriology, in that it deals with a living subject-matter. An uninterrupted tradition of language and thought, probably the longest which history records, links archaic India with the India of today. *This fact gives, or should give Indology its own line of approach.*" It is this last mentioned point that I want to stress, viz., that the so-called objectivity of a historian being what it is as shown above, Indian Indology should develop its own line of approach on the background of the fundamental ideas and lines of development of Indian civilization, as understood, valued and cherished by us, without slavishly repeating the theories, opinions, distinctions, periodizations, polarities etc., which Western Indologists, in general, have, by sheer repetition, made into axioms. To take one example, a distinction is being made, which many of our scholars repeat, between Vedism or Brahmanism and Hinduism. In his *Reconsiderations* Toynbee says that he has discarded this distinction and the chronological caesura which he had put forth earlier. The tracing of a thing to its original form, such inquiries not sparing even the highest divinities that millions of the people

---

57. *Diogenes*, No. 2, Spring 1953, p. 65.

58. *Ibid.* p. 68.

59. *Theory and History of Historiography*, p. 255.

60. *Diogenes, ibid.* p. 57.



here cherish, is a recurrent modus of research. That such an inquiry contributed to understanding is questioned by Jespersen<sup>61</sup> who calls it "a learned form of superstitious belief." He goes on to say: "We get no further at all towards understanding what a tragedy is when we are informed that the word must once have meant 'goat-song'." Sometimes, we have a tendency to out-herod Herod and in our own works, we are apt to pursue without a sense of proportion or intrinsic value, the question of date, identity, distinctions, mutual borrowings etc. etc. Like the Munis of old of whom it is said *nāsau munir yasya mate na bhedaḥ*, each Orientalist, particularly of the early generation, had his own theory, for example, of the origin of Sanskrit Drama or Purāṇa or the date of Kālidāsa, and we go on making an anthology of these theories in books and make the students mug these up as if these could be substitute for the works themselves. By repeating that Advaita is borrowed from Mādhyamikas, one deludes oneself into a belief that one has known the whole thing. Max Muller asked,<sup>62</sup> "Would it make Christianity less true, if Buddhism contained many things which are taught in the Bible also?"

It was observed that perforce a historian is obliged to make a selection of his material and a certain pre-conceived pattern of thought guides him. From this we may pass on to consider whether history has lessons, whether we should profit by them and if so, on what should our emphasis be. It is a common saying that histories make men wise; Leibniz wrote<sup>63</sup> that the main goal of history was to teach wisdom and virtue by example and conversely by example to inspire an abhorrence of wickedness. But a history that can make one wise is only an interpretative history, *i.e.*, a presentation of historical facts with that purpose in view. A definition in the *Dictionary of the French Academy*<sup>64</sup> says: "History is the story of things worthy of being remembered." On the other hand a badly written history, which had proceeded on the theory of conflict,

61. *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic point of view*, p. 217.

62. *Essay on Christianity and Buddhism*.

63. *Theodice* II §. 148.

64. Quoted by Renier in *History, Its Purpose and Methodology*.



“keeps the old sores running”, and where by the long processes of ages, adjustments and assimilation, a mosaic had been achieved, and historical oppositions had been sublimated into ethical concepts, *i.e.*, into actual lessons, its dissections leave the whole tapestry in tatters and shreds. We know where the continued harping on certain differences led this country to some years back and where again we are now by reason of our linguistic and other kinds of chauvinism. I think even expressions like the ‘Indian subcontinent’ should be discouraged. The ‘Indian peoples’ are not more composite than those of America. The bones of facts apart, it is the cultural values that live and give a personality to a civilization. Kroeber says <sup>65</sup> that civilizations may be distinguished by geography, history, language, religion, technology, but they are most clearly distinguished by purely cultural creative activity, by activities concerning values and qualities of style. In *Man Rises to Parnassus*, J. F. Osborne says: “Every race has a different kind of soul,—by soul is meant the spiritual, intellectual and moral reaction to environment and daily experience,—and the soul of the race is reflected in the soul of the individual who belongs to it. This racial soul is the product of thousands or hundreds of thousands of years of past experience and reaction—it is the essence and distillation of the spiritual and moral life of the race.” It is such a soul that sustains and maintains the continuity through change of the Indian civilization. Of this Indian soul, the vital facets are basic unity in the midst of diversity, assimilation as opposed to destruction, an all-inclusive power, universality, notion of *Dharma*, spiritual orientation, peacefulness and tolerance. These values are enduring ones as even in the present age, the techniques of the freedom struggle and the policies of the free democracy reflect these soul-values of the nation. Let the ideals of historiography which we set for ourselves be guided by these underlying principles, not because they are called for at the present phase of our history, but because they are true. Let many things flow in and let the Gaṅgā, growing ever more, flow on; let us *acquire* and let us *conserve* :

योग-क्षेमो नः कल्पताम् ।

---

65. The Delimitation of Civilization, *Op. cit.*



## SECTION I : VEDIC

Dr. DURGAMOHAN<sup>3</sup> BHATTACHARYA

I am thankful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for asking me to preside over the Vedic Section of its 21st Session. In spite of my various limitations, I have accepted the offer in the hope that generous co-operation of the fellow workers will enable me to discharge my duties here.

The general convention observed by the Presidents on such occasions is to undertake a special survey of the progress of Vedic study made during the period of two years preceding the Session. I do not propose to follow the convention because of the fact that there is very little to add to the well arranged information recorded in R. N. Dandekar's second volume of Vedic Bibliography recently published from Poona. That excellent record gives an idea of the enterprising, and in many cases, fruitful research work that is being carried on in the Vedic field. The strenuous and sustained efforts of the institutions like the Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute of Hoshiarpur, the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona and the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala of Wai are producing publications particularly useful for Vedic research.

It is more than a century and a half that the Veda had received serious attention of modern scholars. Since then most of the Vedic Saṁhitās with their Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras have appeared in print and various discourses, translations, concordances, and indices have been published. The output of research pertaining to Vedic subjects is growing ceaselessly. Even in the last few days, I came across at least two new works—one a critical study of the Nivids by Surendra Prasad Niyogi and the other the Vedamīmāṁsā in Bengali by Anirvan. The former deals with various aspects of the Nivid formulas of the Ṛgveda, and the latter is a learned review of Vedic literature. Thus the longing for Vedic knowledge goes on unabated. That the commendable enterprise of the scholars has not waned is evidenced by the large number of papers of varied interest that have been sent to the Vedic section in this Session.



In spite of so much work done on the Vedas for more than 150 years both in India and abroad, numerous problems relating to them still await solution. I would not refer here to the big question as to whether all the stanzas of the Ṛgveda were uttered for the first time on the soil of India, or a part of them at least had originated in the plains of Iran or elsewhere. I would not also start discussions on the gigantic task of ascertaining the nature of the relationship that might have existed between the Vedic culture and the Indus Valley civilization. I feel it however very difficult on this occasion not to register my humble protest against the amazing description of the Ṛgveda as "the epic of destruction of one of the great cultures of the ancient world" as given in an authoritative book of history. The Ṛgveda has been described in these words, as reports Dr. R. C. Majumdar, by the eminent historian Sir Leonard Woolley in a volume of the History of Humanity to be published under the auspices of the UNESCO. Woolley's statement must have come from some misunderstanding. Because, even if the overthrow of the Indus Valley civilization be ascribed to an attack by the Aryan invaders resulting in the wholesale massacre of the Indus people, the Ṛgveda can in no way be taken to be a record of that awful event. In order to remove any misunderstanding of this nature nurtured in the minds of the cultured but uninformed people of the world, we may immediately prepare two annotated volumes of the Ṛgvedic stanzas, one volume containing a selection of philosophical hymns, sublime poetry and earnest prayers of the ancient Ṛṣis, the other volume embodying matters which may be regarded particularly ritualistic or may be construed as having a special factual reference. For this purpose, an analytical study of the Ṛgveda for dividing the whole of its contents into separate topics has become a necessity. A fresh English translation of the Ṛgveda more or less on Geldner's German model is considered in this context a worthy undertaking that claims prompt execution. H. D. Velankar and S. S. Bhawe are presently working on particular types of the Ṛgvedic hymns. The whole of the Ṛgveda deserves to be treated in the same manner. The advice tendered by a great scholar more than 45 years ago should however be kept in mind by the workers on the Ṛgveda. Thus said R. G. Bhandarkar in 1915 : "There is no wide and impassable clift between the Ṛgveda and the later literature, and therefore all the help we can



derive from this last we must avail ourselves of." This is a sound advice.

A comparative study of the exegetical speculations scattered in the Brāhmaṇas together with the etymological materials found in the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta has not yet been completed in a systematic way with adequate care for finding out the clues that may unfold the implications of various Vedic passages. The vast body of the Purāṇic and ritualistic texts has not been thoroughly searched for gleaning together the hints for understanding the Vedic Mantras. It is true that the Mantras that are recited in rituals are generally interpreted in these texts from the point of view of their applicability to the particular rites. In spite of the tradition recorded in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, the *Nirukta* and the works of Dharmaśāstra as also noticed by a number of scholiasts that there are three varieties of Vedic Mantras—*adhiyajña* (ritualistic), *adhidaiva* (naturalistic) and *adhyātma* (spiritualistic), most of the later exegetists have put forward only the *adhiyajña* explanations. There are, no doubt, a large number of Vedic verses which allude clearly to things connected with the performance of rituals, but there are also many verses in the Vedic Saṃhitās whose contents would in no way admit of any interpretation that may establish their connection with ritualistic procedures. They are prescribed however in the Sūtra texts for use in the particular rites merely because words occurring in them may be made to give some indications of the ritual acts concerned. Standing on this principle, the Purāṇic works like the Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyupurāṇa and the Vidhāna texts like the Ṛgvidhāna and Atharva-Vidhāna have extended the *vinīyoga* of Vedic Mantras to a wider circle of rites and ceremonies. The Mīmāṃsakas have declared outright that the Veda has no other purpose than the performance of *yajña*. The Yogiyājñavalkya-smṛti has stated that the Mantras originated in ancient times only for the performance of rituals :

पुराकल्पे समुद्दिष्टा मन्त्राः कर्मार्थसिद्धये ॥

But this very Smṛti work appears to have hinted occasionally at the real significance of particular Vedic hymns or individual Mantras. The well known Aghamarṣaṇa Sūkta contains, according to Yogiyājñavalkya, a reference to the speculation about the creation, stabilization and dissolution of the world :



तत्त्वभूताण्डपिण्डस्य स्थित्युत्पत्ती लयस्तथा ।  
सूक्तेऽस्मिन् व्याहृतं सर्वं तत्त्वं मन्त्रार्थ एव वै ॥

The Brhaddevatā also affirms that the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn is concerned with the “evolution of becoming” (bhāvavṛtta). These works have clearly pointed out the true object of the hymn.

Some of the little known Vedic commentators, preceding and following Sāyanācārya, interpreted a large number of Vedic Mantras considered to be of ritualistic nature. Haradatta's Ekāgnikāṇḍavyākhyā, Guṇaviṣṇu's Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya, Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva, Murārīmiśra's Pāraskara-grhyamantravyākhyā, Cākrapāṇi Haradatta's Āśvalāyana-grhyamantravyākhyā, Kālanātha's Yajurmanījari, Rāmanātha's Sāmagamantravyākhyāna, Rāmakṛṣṇa's Mantrakaumudī and Vāsudeva's Ātharvaṇapramitākṣarā are some of the commentaries which contain those interpretations. The practice of commenting upon a chosen set of Vedic Mantras had its beginning at an early period, and continued to be in vogue till late in the 17th century. Out of the above mentioned commentaries, the works of Haradatta, Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha have been published. Explanations of Vedic Mantras found in these commentaries, which are all pre-Sāyaṇa in date, show that some of them at least are based on genuine traditions giving the true senses of the words as intended originally. An instance taken from Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva will elucidate my point.

Halāyudha's unique exposition of a Mantra of the Atharva-veda, rubricated in the Pāraskaragrhyasūtra to be used for successful child-birth (avarāvapatana), specially indicates his precise knowledge of Vedic vocabulary which he acquired evidently from tradition handed down to him. In a case where the child comes out of the mother's womb, but the placenta delays to descend, it is to be requested to come down with this Mantra which says “come down, o placenta, loosely like *pr̥sni* and *sevala*”

(अवैतु पृश्नि शेवलम् अव जरायु पद्यताम्)

The placenta is a spongy vascular organ floating in the fluid of the uterus. It is attached very loosely to the foetus



by the umbilical cord. The placenta resembles, as the Mantra appropriately suggests, *pr̥ṣni* and *śeṣala*, the two common aquatic plants floating in the water of the ponds with their thin roots remaining loose. It can therefore be easily dislodged. The explanation of *pr̥ṣni* as *par̥ṇī*, a leafy water plant growing on the surface of the waters, without being firmly attached to anything at the bottom (*mūlena kvacid apy asamlagnam jalopari sthitam*) is a brilliant interpretation not found anywhere else. The description accurately represents the placenta. The Mantra occurs in the Atharvavedasamhitā, where the commentary going in the name of Sāyana has paraphrased *pr̥ṣni* as *śubhravarṇa* (white). As far as the second word *śeṣala* is concerned, Sāyana, or who-so-ever the commentator may be, has grasped the true significance of the word in the context of the placenta, and has described it as remaining on the surface of the waters unconnected with the internal parts (*āntarāvayavā-sambaddha*).

Whitney in his English translation of the Atharvaveda renders *pr̥ṣni śeṣala* as 'spotted slimy' with a query mark after the word slimy. He condemns the commentator's description of *śeṣala* as 'worthless'. He is even inclined to emend the word *śeṣala* to *keṣala* ! It is apparent that the true meanings of the words in the pair *pr̥ṣni śeṣala*, which had been fully understood by Halāyudha and partly by a later commentator, could not at all be comprehended by Whitney. The sensible and correct interpretation of the words as given by Halāyudha gets corroboration from some early Pali texts Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vinaya Piṭaka, Jātaka, and Milinda Panha, where the synonyms of the two aquatic plants *pr̥ṣni* and *śeṣala* are often found in the combinations like *paṇṇaka-śeṣāla* and *paṇaka-śeṣāla*. The Sanskrit words *par̥ṇī*, *par̥ṇikā* and *par̥ṇakā*, the Pali words *paṇṇaka* and *paṇaka* and the Bengali word *pāṇā* are synonyms of the word *pr̥ṣni*. It is noteworthy that Halāyudha living at the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal in the 12th century knew the right import of this uncommon word used in the verse of the Atharvaveda. Some later lexicographers also enumerated *pr̥ṣnikā* as a synonym of *par̥ṇikā*.



पृश्निका पर्णिका वारिपर्यायेभ्यः परा स्त्रियाम् ।

मूलिका पर्णिका चाथास्त्रियां शैवालशेवले ॥

(See Kalpadrukoṣa, Vācaspatya and Sabdakalpadruma)

I have discussed the meaning of a particular word at some length only to emphasize the point that Halāyudha inherited an unbroken tradition of interpretation at least in this instance. Many other similar instances may be cited from the neglected commentaries on select Vedic Mantras. These commentaries are therefore to be studied with care.

An eminent scholar had once observed : "Like all scientific inquires Vedic research has advanced by a process of trial and error. Inquiries into problems have been started for which we have not the means of solution." The observation represents to a great extent the true state of things.

The scope for scientific research on Vedic subjects appears still to be limitless. Without an intelligent understanding among the workers in respect of a proper distribution of subjects according to the individual tastes, the progress of work cannot be up to the mark. All men cannot have equal devotion and equal equipment for every item of work. Different indeed are our inclinations, various are men's professions. A carpenter is interested in wood work, a medicine man in diseases, and a priest in rituals:

नानानं वा उ नो धियो वि व्रतानि जनानाम् ।

तक्षां रिष्टं रुतं भिषग्ब्रह्मा सुन्वंन्तमिच्छति ॥

With these remarks quoted from the Rgveda, I would now urge upon scholars the necessity of taking up a solid piece of work that awaits instant operation by competent hands.

It is well known that A. Weber, W. Caland and a few other did useful work on the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyā Yajurveda. But a critical edition of the Saṁhitā text with Sāyana's commentary in full is still a desideratum. Out of the forty Adhyāyas of the Saṁhitā, the first twenty were published rather shabbily from Banaras long ago. Scholars are naturally under the impression that Sāyana had not commented upon the rest of the work.



But I had the rare privilege and good fortune of discovering and examining a complete manuscript of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Kāṇva version of the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā deposited in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. As the majority of the Brāhmaṇas in Orissa belong to the Kāṇva Śākhā of the Yajurveda, a search for manuscripts in the State may yield good results leading to the discovery of many more manuscripts of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Saṁhitā. A critical edition of this important work should be taken in hand without delay.

Talking about the important Vedic manuscript found in Orissa, I cannot but observe that there was a belief current amongst Vedic scholars that the people in the State of Orissa had never evinced much enthusiasm in the matter of preserving Vedic manuscripts. My experience has however proved this theory to be not founded on facts. I have been able to collect from the State a number of old and important Vedic manuscripts preserved in the villages in good condition. Some of these records had been written in the early 17th century. All lovers of Vedavidyā will be interested in my account of these rare finds, all of which belong to the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda.

It is generally held that the Vedic culture which developed in Northern India had taken a long time to reach the eastern part of the country. Its languid influence, which extended slowly upon the people of the eastern region, is believed to have lacked incentive to a serious study of the Veda. In view of the results of recent investigations in this regard, the belief may however need modification. Important exegetical Vedic works produced by scholiasts born in the eastern region long before Sāyaṇa began to write his famous Vedārthaprakāśa Bhāṣyas have now seen the light of day. Further, the facts and materials now brought to light from the discoveries in Orissa show that the eastern part of India has preserved from destruction an entire branch of an important Vedic culture.

The culture of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda considered so long to have been solely associated with Kashmir but totally extinct from our midst at the present time, is still a living force in the countryside of Kalinga, Utkala and Tāmralipta of the ancient times. Thousands of Paippalādins residing in Orissa and the adjacent



parts of West Bengal and Bihar have survived unnoticed by the scholarly world. These people still follow their traditional rites and customs. Valuable works of the Paippalāda literature, which could not up to this time be traced anywhere in the country, have been found in their village homes carefully guarded by them.

The Atharvaveda is known to have existed at one time in nine versions, each one of them having an exclusive group of adherents forming the nine Ātharvaṇa schools called Paippalāda, Tauda, Mauda, Śaunaka, Jājala, Jalada, Brahmapada, Devadarśa and Cāraṇavaidya. Out of these, only two versions bearing the school names of Śaunaka and Paippalāda have come down to us.

The Śaunaka version was published in Berlin in 1856 by Rudolf Roth and W. D. Whitney. The translations of the Atharvaveda-saṁhitā and its later editions with Sāyaṇa's commentary are all related to the Śaunaka version.

The credit of unearthing the second version of the Atharvaveda goes to Rudolf Roth, one of the editors of the Śaunakīya Atharvaveda. Deeply unsatisfied with the defective nature of the Śaunaka text, he began to search for a better version. From his high position as one of the foremost exponents of Vedic philology in Europe at the time, Roth was able to move the British Government in India to start an enquiry for better manuscripts of the Atharvaveda. The efforts made in this connection resulted in the discovery in Kashmir of a mutilated birch-bark manuscript of the Atharvaveda saṁhitā pertaining to the Paippalāda school.

The new version of the Atharvaveda was acclaimed at the time as an epoch-making document in the field of Vedic studies. In view of the extra-ordinary importance of the manuscript, it was reproduced by chromophotography in 1901. On a careful scrutiny, however, it proved defective in the extreme. The incorrect text contained in the unique manuscript, in very many cases, yielded no sense at all. The initial stanzas of the Saṁhitā were missing, and some leaves were lost or mutilated beyond remedy. The birch-bark record, containing perhaps the earliest and the best version of the Atharvaveda, though recognised to be the most important for various reasons, was condemned finally as "useless for philological purposes". As the manuscript was found in Kashmir, the Paippalāda text contained in it was thought "to have been at home



only in Kashmir itself". Hence it was designated 'Kashmirian Atharvaveda'. In the absence of any other evidence, C. R. Lanman lamented in the following words: "since the birch-bark manuscript has thus far maintained its character as a unique document, we shall perhaps never know how truly it represents the best Kashmirian tradition of this Veda." Paul Theime put forward additional arguments to prove that the Paippalāda school of the Atharvaveda hailed from the extreme North, and that it was popular specially among the residents of the North Western part of India. Trying to procure a second manuscript of the Saṁhitā, Bloomfield expressed hopes that it might be found some time in some out-of-the-way corner of Kashmir. Several manuscripts of the Paippalāda saṁhitā have however been acquired by me not from any corner of Kashmir, but from the villages of Orissa situated far away from Kashmir and the North. I met a number of Paippalādins there who were still able to recite from memory the important hymns of their own Saṁhitā with ease. Several priests assembled at Baripada in the district of Mayurbhanj in Orissa held a demonstration before me, showing as to how they still recite the Paippalāda Mantras transmitted to them orally by their teachers. At my request they recited the text of a Mantra from the Ātharvaṇic Śrīsūkta uttering therein the expression *viśām īśānaḥ* in the third pāda. The corresponding reading of the pāda in the birch-bark however is *yaśām īśānaḥ* which gives no sense. L. C. Barret had suggested an emendation of the readings in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, but that did not improve the sense in any way. In these circumstances, it was a pleasant surprise for me to come across the true readings in the recitations at Baripada. There can be no doubt that the reciters have given the correct text which means 'the lord of the people'. The entire stanza reads thus:

श्रियं घातुर्मयि घेहि श्रिया माऽधिपतिं कृणु ।

विशामीशानो मघवानिन्द्रो मा यशसा नयत् ॥

"Bestow on me the splendour of the creator; through wealth make me the master. May Indra the bounteous lord of the people, conduct me up through fame."

The authenticity of the text has since been corroborated from the evidence of the newly acquired palm-leaf manuscripts now in my possession. The Vedic tradition in Orissa is fast dying out.



But my experience at Baripada has shown demonstrably that in the absence of any help from manuscripts, the original text of a Vedic Mantra can be reconstructed even today from the oral tradition which the village reciters still carry with them unimpaired. I have got some of their recitations tape-recorded and broadcast them from the All India Radio. I have been fortunate to receive help from some of these people in collecting not only the valuable manuscripts of the Paippalāda saṁhitā but also a number of hitherto unknown manuals of the special Paippalāda rites, which give an insight into the social, religious and cultural traditions of the Paippalādins. Persons interested in the history of religion and culture of ancient India will remain ever grateful to the unassuming Atharvavedins of Orissa for preserving the priceless treasure of the Paippalāda texts from total destruction.

These Orissa manuscripts, which are all in Oriya script inscribed on palm-leaves with the help of iron styles, are in a fairly good condition. The initial portion of the Saṁhitā, which was missing in the birch-bark, is found in the palm-leaf manuscripts in its entirety showing the much discussed *śam no devīr abhiṣṭaye* as the first Mantra of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda. This sets at rest all doubts, speculations and controversies in regard to the initial Mantra of this recension of the Atharvaveda. Further, the Palm-leaf manuscripts not only fill up all the lacunae of the birch-bark but also supply a large number of new Mantras not found anywhere else in Vedic literature. The Mantra-texts in the palm-leaves help us in the correction of numerous nonsensical readings in the birch-bark.

The Paippalāda Śākhā appears to have enjoyed much popularity in ancient times. Paippalāda, whose name the Śākhā bears, is said in the Purāṇic literature to have been commissioned to remould the original Atharvaveda of one hundred Śākhās and one hundred Kalpas into a simpler Veda of nine Śākhās and five Kalpas:

अथर्ववेदो यश्चैष शतशाखो विनिर्मितः ।

शतकल्पश्च गूढार्थो भूतानां कार्यसिद्धये ।

नवशाखः पञ्चकल्पस्त्वया कार्यः सुखावहः ॥

The Purāṇic story hints at the prominent part which Pippalāda may have played in the matter of moulding the Atharvaveda.



Pāṇini and Patañjali both had probably known the Paippalādasamhitā. As shown by Paul Thieme, Mantras cited under the Sūtras on Vedic grammar in the Mahābhāṣya seem to have been taken from this Samhitā. A citation from the Atharvaveda which could not be traced in the birch-bark, and therefore raised some doubts in Thieme's mind, occurs in the palm-leaves. It can be concluded therefore that in the second century B. C., literary giants like Patañjali used to take the Paippalāda and not the Śaunakīya, as the representative version of the Atharvaveda.

Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Brahmasūtra, expressly quoted a part of a Paippalāda verse as from 'some' śākhā: दाशकितवादित्वमधीयत एके । ii. 3. 43.

Śaṅkara has explained the particular Sūtra as referring to a Mantra belonging to the Brahmasūkta of an Āthārvaṇa Śākhā. एके शाखिनो दाशकितवादिभावं ब्रह्मण आमनन्त्याथर्वणिका ब्रह्मसूक्ते ।

There are many more Sūtras in Bādarāyaṇa's work which also appear to have been written with particular reference to some verses of the Paippalādasamhitā. A careful comparison of such Sūtras with the Paippalāda texts may even reveal that Bādarāyaṇa had taken the Paippalāda Atharvaveda as one of the source books of the Brahmayidyā expounded in the Brahmasūtra.

It is sometimes claimed in the Atharvaṇic quarters that the Atharvaveda has received the appellation of Brahmaveda because the number of the theosophical Upaniṣads attached to this Veda is very large in comparison with the Upaniṣads of any other Veda, and also because the Mantras in this Veda impart the knowledge of Brahman in a greater degree. In view of the preponderance of philosophical hymns in the Paippalādasamhitā which explicitly characterize Brahman as the underlying principle covering every object of the world, the claim mentioned above does not appear to be too fantastic. Whatever it may be, for his philosophical thoughts Bādarāyaṇa is certainly indebted to the Paippalāda Atharvaveda.

As the Palm-leaf manuscripts have definitely shown that *saṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye* is the first Mantra of the Paippalādasamhitā, references in old literature to this Samhitā can now be recognised easily.



The references indicate that the Paippalāda version was considered in earlier times as the standard Atharvaveda. It is well known that the four initial Mantras of the four Vedas are found prescribed in various Sūtras for everyday recitation in the rite of *Brahmayajña* or *Svādhyāya* enjoined as an obligatory practice for a *dvija*. *Śaṁ no devīḥ* is enumerated in this connection as the first Mantra of the Atharvaveda. In addition to the traditional evidence already adduced in this respect by Roth, Haug, Bhandarkar and others, the statements from the Gr̥hyasūtras of Bodhāyana, Bhāradvāja and Vaikhānasa may be cited as further evidence in the matter. These Sūtras expressly mention that *śaṁ no devīḥ* is the initial Mantra of the Atharvaveda, implying thereby that they took the Paippalāda version alone as the representative Atharvaveda. The Mantra is actually recited even today by the Svādhyāyins in the Brahmayajña all over India. The universal respect and acknowledgment accorded to this Paippalāda Mantra in the daily Svādhyāya probably indicates the antiquity and popularity of the Paippalāda Śākhā. The Mantra was held in such esteem that even the scribes of the Śāunaka manuscripts used to put the Mantra at the beginning of their Śāunaka saṁhitā as the Maṅgala verse.

The texts in the Paippalādasamhitā were regarded to be better and more authoritative in ancient days than the Mantras in the Śāunakasamhitā. Naturally, the two versions of the Atharvaveda, the Paippalāda and the Śāunakīya, have a large amount of materials in common. An analysis of these materials will show that the corresponding texts in the Paippalāda version are generally better and probably more genuine. One or two instances will clear the point.

A number of stanzas in each of the two versions of the Atharvaveda relate to the game of dice and gambling. One such stanza in the Śāunakīya runs thus:

आदिनवं प्रतिदीप्ते वृतेनास्माँ अभिक्षर ।  
वृक्षमिवाशन्या जहि यो अस्मान् प्रतिदीव्यति ॥

Whitney has translated it:

"Ill luck to the opposing player; do thou shed upon us with *ghee*; smite then him who plays against us as a tree with thunderbolt".



Agni is invoked here for help in the matter of victory over the opponent at the play of dice. He is requested to sprinkle the player with *ghee*. No cogent reason is however imaginable as to why *ghee* should be dropped upon the player for his success. The commentary attributed to Sāyaṇa explains most unconvincingly that a win itself has been called *ghee* because strength-giving like *ghee*.

In another stanza of the same hymn of the Śaunakīya (7. 109. 3) the aid of the Apsarasas is invoked by a dicer in his adventure of gambling against a rival:

ता मे हस्तौ सं सृजन्तु घृतेन सपत्नं मे कितवन् रन्धयन्तु ।

In this case also Whitney accepts the reading *ghṛtena* and translates:

“Let them unite my hands with *ghee*; let them make the rival gambler subject to me”.

Here too the part intended to be played by *ghee* in the game of dice is not at all clear.

The Paippalādasamhitā however reads *kṛtena* instead of *ghṛtena* in both the stanzas just discussed.

*kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* are technical names for the different throws of the dice. *Kṛta* brings in a total win for the thrower, while *Tretā* and *Dvāpara* give him success respectively in a lesser and still lesser degrees. *Kali* causes him nothing but loss. A gambler is therefore always eager for having *kṛta* on his side. His wishful thought is reflected in the following utterance in the Paippalāda:

आ भद्रं द्वापरं भरमुत त्रेतां परा कलिम् ।

कृतं मे हस्त आहितम् .... .. ॥

“I have brought in (*ābharam*) the favourable *Dvāpara* and *Tretā*. I have avoided (*Parābharam*) *Kali*, *Kṛta* is placed in my hands.”

The word *Kṛta* occurs at different places in Vedic literature in the sense of the winning throw. It also means perhaps secondarily ‘excellent wealth’ and ‘largest booty’. In the famous Akṣa hymn of the R̥gveda *Kṛtāni* stands for the lucky throws at dice:

अक्षासो अस्य वि तिरन्ति कामं प्रतिदीप्ति दधत आ कृतानि ।



'The dice increase (*it may mean also disappoint*) the gambler's ambition by conceding the winning throws to the opponent at play'.

The appropriateness of the reading *Kṛtena* in the context of dice is very clear. This reading, being now supported by the independent evidence of the Paippalāda text, leaves no room for doubting its genuineness. The wrong word *ghṛtena* (for *kṛtena*) had first crept into the Śaunaka text probably through errors on the part of the scribes. The erroneous reading remained undetected by the old commentator as also by the modern editors and translators. The imagery of plunging the gambler with the winnings as conceived in the Paippalāda verse *Kṛtenāsmā abhikṣara* is not at all unusual in the Atharvaveda. The Śaunaka version itself has an exactly similar idea at another place (7.50.9), where the dice are appealed to for flooding the gambler with the streams of winning throws :

अक्षाः फलवतीं द्युवं दत्त गां क्षीरिणीमिव ।

सं मा कृतस्य धारया घनुः स्नात्रेव नद्यत ॥

'O ye dice, give (me) fruitful play, like a milking cow ; fasten me together with a stream of winnings, as bow with sinew.'

Unaware of the correct reading *Kṛtenāsmān* etc., Whitney criticizes the comparison in *kṛtasya dhārayā*.

In view of the unquestionable evidence of the readings in the Paippalāda texts, the reading *ghṛta* occurring at several places in the Śaunakīya in the contexts of the gambling should be substituted by the term *kṛta*. Even the Ṛgvedic texts containing the same word should be interpreted in the light of the Paippalāda suggestions.

I shall now compare the readings of another stanza that has been found in both the versions of the Atharvaveda. In this case too, the Paippalāda version of the text proves definitely that the Atharvaṇic tradition preserved in this school is far better and perhaps more faithful to the original.

In the *editio princeps* of the Śaunakīya Atharvaveda, R. Roth and W. D. Whitney printed the stanza concerned as



ये देवामासृत्विजो ये च यज्ञिया येभ्यो हव्यं क्रियते भागधेयम् ।

इमं यज्ञं सह पत्नीभिरेत्य यावन्तो देवाः समिषा मादयन्ताम् ॥

Shankar Pandurang Pandit, following the commentary, adopted the reading *taviṣā* for *sam iṣā* in the fourth pāda. Later on, Whitney himself translated the stanza taking arbitrarily *haviṣā* to be the suitable word in place of his earlier reading *sam iṣā*. Whitney explained it by saying: "In the fourth pāda all the manuscripts have *taviṣā*, the translation implies *haviṣā* instead of our earlier emendation *sam iṣā*. The verse has two more syllables than a regular *triṣṭubh*". C. R. Lanman added in his note "the last pāda with 12 syllables has a *triṣṭubh* cadence; this casts still further suspicion on *taviṣā*, in place of which we should expect only two syllables".

As expected by Lanman, the original word in the place of *taviṣā* was actually in two syllables as is found in the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Paippalādasamhitā. In these records the fourth pāda of the stanza contains 11 syllables:

यावन्तो देवास्तति मादयन्ताम् ।

This fulfils the demand of the metre, and at the same time, makes a good sense, the word *tati* meaning "so many" put as complementary to the word *yāvantah* "as many". In the printed Śaunaka version of the stanza, the expression *taviṣā* is obviously a misreading for the term *tati*.

There are numerous cases of this nature in which the Paippalāda appears to have been a more authentic version of the Atharvaveda.

The literary contents of the Paippalādasamhitā though predominating with spells and charms for curing diseases, for driving away pests or for securing some selfish personal ends, possess sublime cosmic hymns, grand philosophical enquiries, beautiful poetry and usual prayers. It also contains here and there charming dialogues, one of which in two stanzas of a question and a reply may be of interest to all here. An imaginary person asks the waters:

'Who has moved you from behind, and who has dug you a path in front that you are flowing swiftly, O Waters, sprung from Varuṇa :



को वः पश्चात् प्राविच्छायत् कः पुरः प्राखनत् पथः ।  
यदैत त्वरमाणा वरुणप्रसूता आपः ॥

The reply comes from the waters :

‘Prajāpati has created us. He has dug a path in front of us. He indeed has released us. Being let loose by him we flow’ :

प्रजापतिरसृजत स पुरः प्राखनत् पथः ।  
स उ नो अन्ववासृजतेन सृष्टाः क्षरामसि ॥

The contents of the newly found manuscripts are being now scrutinized. The result will, as is expected, prove to be of far-reaching importance in the field of Vedic studies.

Along with the manuscripts of the Paippalādasamhitā, several ritualistic documents also have come to my hands. One of them dealing elaborately with the Ātharvāṇic rites is entitled Āṅgirasakalpa. The classes of rites enumerated in a couplet found at the introductory part of the work are ten in number:

शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं चैव वशः स्तम्भनमोहने ।  
द्वेषणोच्चाटने चैव मारणाकर्षणे तथा ।  
विद्रावणमितीमानि दश कर्मण्यथर्वणाम् ॥

The Āṅgirasakalpa is one of the five Kalpas affiliated to the Atharvaveda. M. Bloomfield, who had once searched for the work, remarked in his Introduction to the Kauśikasūtra :

“The fifth Kalpa of the Atharvaveda, which is called variously Āṅgirasa-kalpa, Ābhicārika-kalpa or Vidhāna-kalpa, was not at the disposal of the editor; no manuscript of the text, as far as is known, is to be found in the European libraries.....When found, it may elucidate some points in Adhyāya VI of Kauśika.”

The Āṅgirasakalpa is mentioned in the Nāradiya-mahāpurāṇa (51) as dealing with the six rites of *abhicāra*. Our manuscript however seems to have augmented its bulk by adding many other rites of later origin. Like all other Kalpas of the Atharvaveda,



the Āṅgirasakalpa is written in the Purāṇic style embodying matters which are purely Tāntric in character. Pippalāda is introduced in the work as an inquisitive son asking his father Āṅgiras to explain the power of the Ātharvaṇic formulas. Āṅgiras's reply in this connection, forming a large number of independent discourses, is the Āṅgirasakalpa, which is praised as the best of all the Kalpas :

भगवन् सर्वधर्मज्ञ ब्रह्मवेदप्रवर्तक ।

आथर्वणमहामन्त्रमहिमानं वदस्व मे ॥

इति पुत्रेण संपृष्टः प्रोवाच मुनिरङ्गिराः ।

कल्पमाङ्गिरसं नाम पञ्चकल्पेषु चोत्तमम् ॥

The work is really the repository of the so-called magical rites. It gives an account of the legendary promulgation of the Atharvaveda jointly by the two sages Atharvan and Āṅgiras. The hymns of the Atharvaveda are therefore said to have got their nomenclatures as Ātharvaṇa and Āṅgirasa :

अथर्वा चाङ्गिराश्च द्वौ तद्वेदस्य प्रवर्तकौ ।

मन्त्राश्चाथर्वणाः केचित् केचिदाङ्गिरसास्तथा ॥

The account seems to have been a reflection of the statement of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, where the two Ṛṣis Atharvan and Āṅgiras are credited with the creation of twenty Ātharvaṇic and twenty Āṅgirasic descendants, perhaps alluding thereby to the twenty Kāṇḍas of the Atharvaveda. The Āṅgirasakalpa not only describes the interesting rites specially meant for the followers of the Paippalāda school, but also contains accounts of various myths and legends connected with Pippalāda.

The importance of the work lies also in another direction. Hundreds of *Kalpaja* verses not registered in the Vedic Concordance are found rubricated in this Kalpa. *Kalpaja* verses are also mentioned in other ritualistic works as has been pointed out by Raghu Vira and V. M. Apte. All these verses along with the new Mantras of the Paippalāda saṁhitā may furnish us with a large number of Mantra Pratīkas sufficient for a new Vedic Concordance.



I have placed before this assembly of scholars an account of the new materials of Vedic importance.

Besides the Āṅgirasakalpa described by me, there are many other Kalpa works of a similar nature preserved in different manuscript libraries all over the country. Their contents require to be analysed for sifting all important data for a new history of religious rites and customs.

On account of the abundance of non-sacrificial magical matters in the Atharvaveda, a general belief has developed that a considerable admixture of aboriginal religion has been preserved in the Atharvaveda. But it is worthy of further investigation as to whether the non-sacrificial matters cannot be taken as coming from the older beliefs and practices of the early Āryans themselves.

Another matter is mentionable in this connection. The time has come for ascertaining the exact position of the Tantra or Mantraśāstra in relation to the Atharvaveda. The Śāktisaṅgama-tantra categorically asserts that the Ātharvaṇa practices cannot be observed without Kālī or Tārā :

विना कालीं विना तारां नाथर्वणो विधिः कश्चित् ।

On the other hand, the Āṅgirasakalpa too identifies the Ātharvaṇic deity Pratyāṅgirā with the Purāṇic and the Tāntric goddesses Durgā and Bhadrakālī :

या दुर्गा सा भद्रकाली सेयं प्रत्यङ्गिरा मता ।

The matter requires a thorough investigation.

Eminent scholars have discussed various aspects of the Ātharvaṇic religion and culture. But regarding the nature of the Atharvaveda and its position in the scheme of life of our people, conflicting statements are found in old Indian literature, and confusing conclusions have been arrived at by modern scholars. The truth is to be discovered.

I end my talk with a Paippalāda verse :

सं वः सृजामि हृदयं संसृष्टं मनो अस्तु वः ।

संसृष्टा वस्तन्वः सन्तु संसृष्टः प्राणो अस्तु वः ॥

ओं तत् सत् ॥

The sense is : With our body, mind and soul put together, let us work in co-ordination.



## SECTION II : IRANIAN SECTION

PROF. M. F. KANGA

President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Presidentship of the Iranian Section of the All-India Oriental Conference is a high academic honour. I have no words adequate enough to express my heartfelt thanks to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference in general and to Dr. V. Raghavan in particular, who have honoured me by appointing me President of the Iranian section and have considered me worthy of a place in succession to distinguished scholars like Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, Dr. J. M. Unwala, Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Mr. S. J. Bulsara who have adorned the President's Chair of the Iranian Section of the Conference. The Iranian studies have so much fascinated me that not a single day has been passed by me without the study of the Iranian languages and literature and other allied subjects such as Sogdian, Manichean, Turfan, and Khotanese in my leisure hours out of mere love for these subjects. I feel overwhelmed by the burden of responsibility which this office has thrown upon me. The Iranian Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, as you all are aware does not restrict itself only to the Ancient Iranian Languages but also includes within its scope, history, culture and civilization of Iran based on the researches in the various dialects, Inscriptions, Numismatics and Archaeological findings and data. I hope and am confident that with the hearty co-operation and guidance of you all, I may be able to carry out perfectly the responsibilities of my office and the work of this Session will maintain the high level attained by its predecessors.

We are greatly indebted to the organisers of the First Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 A. C. to incorporate in its various Sections, the Iranian Section, with due deference to the wishes and aspirations of the renowned scholar late Shams-ul-Ullema Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, who represented along with other Parsi Scholars of the time, the microscopic community of the Parsis, although the Conference by its very appellation "All-India" might have comprised the sections of Indian languages and Literature, Religion and Philosophy and Culture and Civilization of India.



Since we met last at Bhubaneswar two years ago, the icy hand of death has been rather heavy in snatching away from amongst us eminent Iranists in India and abroad. I shall make special reference to these scholars not only because their work in their respective spheres, was of outstanding merit but also because they were personally known to me. Iranian studies have suffered a great loss by the sad demise of Dr. J. M. Unwala, Principal of Sir J.J.Z. Madressa and Mullan Feroze Madressa, Bombay, and Prof. Oldrich Fris of University of Prague, Czechoslovakia.

#### DR. J. M. UNWALA

The Parsi Community and the Iranists have lost an erudite and learned person by the sad death of Dr. J. M. Unwala. This eminent Iranist has rendered invaluable services to the Iranian studies. He passed away at Bombay on 9th April 1961 at the age of 73. He possessed a deep and vast knowledge of Oriental languages and had a good command over Avesta, Pahlavi, Old Persian, Arabic, Modern Persian, Sanskrit, Gujarati, French, German and Italian languages. Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi took a liking for him and sent him to Germany for higher studies in Iranian under Prof. Ch. Bartholomae after he passed his M. A. Examination. He studied under Prof. Ch. Bartholomae, the giant of Zoroastrian scholarship and got his Ph. D. for the doctorate dissertation on the Pahlavi Text *Husravi Kavātān ut Rītak-e*. He was appointed a Lecturer in Iranian Studies at the School of Oriental Studies, London on the recommendation of Sir Jivanji Modi. Then he turned his inclination towards Numismatics and Archaeology. In 1945, he was appointed Principal of Sir J. J. Z. Madressa and Mullan-Feroze Madressa as the Colleges of Bombay have no chair for these Iranian Studies. He attended many sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference and presided over the Iranian Section at Benares in 1943 and at Annamalai in 1955 respectively. In 1957 he left for Munich to attend the XXIV International Congress of Orientalists. Dr. Unwala had dedicated his whole life to the cause of the advancement of learning and of the Iranian Studies. He was a Fellow of the University of Bombay. Dr. Unwala has to his credit the following important works which I enumerate as under :—

- (1) Pahlavi Text *Hūsravi Kavātān u Retak*.
- (2) *Draxti Asūrik*, a Pahlavi Text.



- (3) Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yašt (Yasna Haṣ IX-XI).
- (4) Coins of Tabaristan and some Sassanian Coins from Susa.
- (5) Salman Pak and the Spiritual Beginnings of Iranian Islam, translated into English from French by Louis Massignon 1956.
- (6) Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology - The Luri and Dizfuli Dialects 1957.
- (7) Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe : 1940.

Besides he has contributed learned papers to almost all the Memorial and Commemoration Volumes in honour of the great Iranists in India and abroad.

#### PROF. OLDRICH FRIS

It was with deep regret that Orientalists learnt the sad news of the death of Prof. Oldrich Fris, Professor of Indology at the Charles University on Jan. 14, 1955 after a short illness at the age of 51. He was born on May 7, 1903 in Boskovice in Moravia. He completed his secondary school studies in Boskovice where he passed his Matriculation Examination with honours. Then he enlisted himself as a student of the Philosophical Faculty in the Charles University in Prague. Further he studied in Berlin under Prof. Heinrich Luders, Prof. Helmuth Glasenapp and Johannes Noble and in Prague under Prof. Vincenc Lesny. During the gloom and terror of Nazi occupation he sought to escape from its horrors in the studies of Indian literature. He got his Ph. D. degree in 1946. He placed his wide knowledge and experience at the service of the reorganisation of places of higher education and of Scientific Institutes. After taking his Ph. D. degree, Fris continued his Indological studies and on the submission of his thesis on the Recensions of Amaruṣataka, the Board of the Philosophical Faculty at the Charles University approved his appointment in 1948 as "Privatdozent" in Indian and Iranian Studies. In 1951, he was appointed Asst. Professor of Indology there. In 1954, he became the Dean of the Philological Faculty of the Charles University. I met him at the 23rd International Congress of



Orientalists held at Cambridge, England in 1954, where I had the pleasure of discussing about the Indological and Iranian Studies at the University of Prague. Prof. Fris was the editor of the Oriental Journal "Archiv Orientalni" (Oriental Archives) after Prof. Hrozny's death, in which he published numerous papers on Oriental studies. In 1950, Fris was co-opted to the Executive Committee of the Oriental Institute and thereafter became a member of the Research Council of the same Institute.

I may mention here a few of his monographs which are important for Iranian Studies. Noteworthy are his two Papers dealing with the problem of I. E. Linguistics "The Indo-European Comparative" (Ar. Or. 18. 1-2, 1950, 170-188) and "The I.E. Comparative Suffix- ZOS and the neuter Suffix-os" (Ar. Or. 1953, 101-113). His article on "Etymologische Forschungen" (Ar. Or. 21, 1953, 175-181) where Prof. Fris treats of the Indo-European *du-*—the Vedic *Yantūr* and the Avestan *akōyā*. In his paper "Indo-Iranica" (Ar. Or. 18. 3, 1950, 73-79) he discusses the Av. word *rayō-nā manā*, while the first part deals with a new and conclusive explanation of the riddle of the two birds on the Tree of Life. (RV. I. 164, 20-22). The paper entitled "The Avestan Studies" (Ar. Or. 19. 1951, 492-513) treats of the exact method of interpreting obscure passages in the Avesta and gives a number of examples illustrating his method. In another study "Ein mi Bverstandener Vers des Avesta" (Ar. Or. 20. 1952, 598-600), Fris presents a new interpretation of Yašt X. 38. In his treatise on "Die Stamme auf-an im Avesta" (Ar. Or. 22. 1954, 38-62) Fris classifies and gives a re-valuation of the entire existing material on roots ending in *-an*. His most important scientific work was his "Sanskrtka Citanka" (Sanskrit Reader) and the Vocabulary Sanskrit-Czech-English-Russian forms Part II of the Reader.

Orientalists in general and Czechoslovak Oriental studies in particular have lost by the death of O. Fris an outstanding scholar, translator, adviser and teacher and above all a fine and lovable man. (Archiv Orientalni XXIII. 1955, pp. 497-509).

It is the usual practice of the Sectional President in his Presidential Address to make an appraisalment of all the recent researches that have been carried out in the field of Iranian Studies, not only in our country but also abroad, and to refer to the activities



of the scholars in this field. It must be acknowledged that no great activity on our part marks the period that has elapsed since we met last at Bhubaneswar. The output of research work by Parsee scholars has not consequently been large. I shall attempt to give an account of the progress made by [European and Parsee scholars in Iranian studies in recent years.

A work of great use and immense importance to Iranian scholars is the publication of "*The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*" by Prof. R. C. Zaehner, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics, University of Oxford. This young scholar was a pupil of Prof. Sir Harold Bailey and is a genius in Iranian Studies and has acquired a very sound and thorough knowledge of Avesta, Pahlavi and the Manichaen Texts and has been acquainted with Hellenistic philosophy and the Aristotelian jargon. He published in 1955, a monumental work on "Zürvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma." In the book under survey the author has tried to concentrate on what seems to him to be the essential features of Zoroastrianism, both in the history of its early development and in the final forms it crystallized into during its Silver Age in the third to the seventh centuries A. C. namely, the gradual adaptation of a prophetic religion to a still predominantly pagan society in the first instance, and the working out of theological positions the object of which was always to preserve intact the absolute goodness of God, in the second instance. The author has not devoted chapters to the study of the nature and functions of the various Yazatas as most books on Zoroastrianism do, since these Yazatas are prominent in only one transient phase of Zoroastrianism. However an exception has been made by Prof. Zaehner for the great Yazata Miora for the following reasons:—

- (1) He was originally intimately associated with Ahura the prototype of Zoroaster's own Ahura Mazdāh—the wise Lord, who was the one true God for the Prophet.
- (2) The holy of holies of the Zoroastrian temple is called "Darē Mihr the court of Mithra" upto the present day, where the sacred fire unfailingly burns.
- (3) The cult of Mithras in the Roman Empire which derived from the Iranian Mithra was for long a rival to Christianity in its early centuries.



The author has devoted more space in this book to the relationship between the Iranian Mithra and the Roman Mithras and the conclusion that has been deduced on pp. 143-144 will be severely contested. Vide Chs. IV and V. These chapters are really interesting and deal with the subjects such as Iranian Mithra and Roman Mithras; the Pre-Zoroastrian Mithra; Mithra, compact and Warlord; Mithra and Indra; the separation of Mithra from Ahura; Mithra as contract and King; Mithra as Light; Mithra's relations with Sraosha and Rashnu; Mithra and the Holy Spirit. For this purpose he has given a full analysis of Mithra Yasht (pp. 107-108). The author remarks on p. 99: "Mithra alone, of the Iranian deities, made a direct impact on the West, for it is this god who, in his migration outside the strictly Iranian lands, became the centre of a mystery cult widely practised by the Roman Soldiery throughout the Roman Empire, and whose religion seemed for a time to offer attractions no less powerful than those of a nascent Christianity." Reader's attention may be drawn to the monumental book by Prof. Ilya Gershevitch entitled "The Avestan Hymn to Mithra" published in 1959, which can be read with great advantage. In this book Prof. Zaehner has omitted all account of the elaborate system of taboo worked out in the *Vidēvdāt*, which is concerned largely with ritual purification and which is fully dualist, the *Lie* (Druj) being in all cases the ultimate source of impurity.

This book is divided into two Parts: Part one—Dawn and Part two—Twilight. The author has devoted seven chapters to Part I and eight chapters to Part II. The principal sources for the study of Zoroastrianism are the Avesta and the Pahlavi books on the literary side and the Achaemenid and Sassanian inscriptions on the epigraphical and the fairly extensive accounts of the religion of the Western Iranians preserved in Greek sources. It will be observed from the brief account of the sources that the history of Zoroastrianism falls into two distinct periods: first from the advent of the Prophet upto the fall of the Achaemenian Empire and secondly the period from the third to the seventh century A. C. covered by the Sassanian Empire.

In the first part of the book, the author has dealt with the Prophet himself, the nature of his Message and the kind of religious milieu in which he can be presumed to have grown up,



secondly the remaining writings of the Avesta, thirdly the Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Kings and fourthly the Principal Greek accounts of the religions of the Iranians. In the second part, the author has delineated the developments during the Sassanian period together with the conflicts that appear to have resulted between the strict dualists and the so-called Zervanites, who raised the principle of Infinite Time above the two principles of Good and Evil. The author's aim has been to interpret Zoroastrianism from the texts themselves as he understands them and the author has attempted to treat Zoroastrianism not so much as a problem to be solved as a faith by which a great nation once lived.

In the first chapter Prof. Zaehner has described the Prophet and the salient doctrines taught in the Gāthās. On p. 60 he summarises these main doctrines preached by the Prophet of Ancient Iran as under:—

- (1) There is a supreme God who is creator of all things, both spiritual and material.
- (2) The world is divided between Truth and the Lie. This dualism between these two opposite poles is basic to Zoroaster's thought so uniquely emphasised.
- (3) The creatures of the Wise Lord are created free—free to choose between Truth and the Lie.
- (4) Since the will of man is entirely free, he is responsible for his ultimate fate.
- (5) The outward symbol of Truth is the fire and it is the fire-altar that becomes the centre of Zoroastrian cult. Characteristic for the whole teaching is the word Savah 'benefit' or 'increase'.

In the second chapter Prof. Zaehner deals with "the Gāthā of the Seven chapters (Yasna Hās 35-42), which is unique in that it is written in the same archaic dialect as the genuine Gāthās themselves and which must have been composed not long after the death of the Prophet. The author remarks that in the Gāthā of the Seven Chapters two things seem to be happening. First there seems to be some attempt to systematize ideas of Zarathustra—the Bounteous Immortals, for instance, are mentioned as a group for



the first time-and secondly, there is an obvious tendency to adapt the teachings of the Prophet to a form of religion far closer to Nature. In this text, the Avesta word *ydnā* is interpreted by Zaehner and other European scholars as "wives" but it correctly means 'the feminine powers' according to my opinion. Prof. Zaehner rightly explains the phrase *mazdā-vara* as "whose choice is Mazda" i.e., "whose choice is wisdom" and differs from Prof. Bartholomae's meaning "pleasing to the Mazdāh" (Air WB). Chapters three, four and five deal with the cultus of Haoma, Yazata Mithra and the part played by him in the Religion of Zarathustra and Fravaši, Vayu and Khwārdnah respectively. The seventh chapter deals with the religion of the Achaemenian Kings and the part played by the Magi in the development of Zoroastrianism. These two problems are rather difficult and Prof. Zaehner expounds them with ease and reason. He remarks "during the reign of Artaxerxes I, round about 441 B.C. the calendar of the Persian Empire was reformed and in this reformed calendar the months were named after the leading deities of 'Catholic' Zoroastrianism. Hence it would seem reasonably certain that from Artaxerxes I (465-25 B.C.) onwards the official religion of the Empire was 'Catholic' Zoroastrianism of the later Avesta." Duchesne-Guillemin was also of the same opinion, vide *The Western Response to Zoroaster* p. 52/f. Against this view Prof. Kuiper puts forward his well-balanced arguments to prove that the Achaemenids were not Zoroastrians. Vide *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. IV. 1960, Nr. 2-3, pp. 183—189. This chapter is really thought-provoking.

In the second part, Prof. Zaehner treats of the revival of Zoroastrianism by the Sassanians, Zuryān and Zuryānism, Ōhrmazd and Ahriman, Man and his constituent parts, the Religion and the King, and Eschatology. As regards the chapter on Man and his constituent parts readers' attention may be invited to Prof. Sir Bailey's monumental book "Zoroastrian Problems in the IX Century Books". The Author's treatment of the Eschatology is truly illuminative and interesting and is based upon quotations from the Pahlavi texts. To all these chapters are added notes which are important. Then the author gives a Bibliography, which is exhaustive and informative. At the end of the book, Prof. Zaehner has reproduced in an Appendix a long section of Prof. Henning's 'Zoroaster, Politician or witch-doctor', wherein he



criticises the works of Prof. Herzfeld's 'Zoroaster and his World' and Nyberg's 'Religionen des Alten Iran,' since the author regards these views as radical perversion both of Zoroaster's own teaching and of historical truth.

The utility and importance of his book is enhanced by the list of illustrations which give a glimpse of the culture and civilisation of the Ancient Iranians to the reader. The author is to be congratulated for the apt and appropriate choice of illustrations.

*Cītak Handarz i Pōryōtkēšān-A Pahlavi Text*

edited, transcribed and translated into English with Introduction and a Critical Glossary by Ervad M.F. Kanga, Bombay 1960. pp. xiii+118.

"The small Pahlavi Text "Admonitions of the Ancient Sages" or as it is also called "Book of Counsel of Zartusht", can be styled as a Zoroastrian Catechism. It contains in a nut-shell the doctrines and the view of life of Zoroastrianism in Sassanian times. Although the text is written in a simple and straightforward style, a number of phrases have defied the efforts of the interpreters up to now, as it is the case with all Pahlavi writings. Ervad Kanga, well-known as an erudite and competent scholar of Iranian, has successfully attempted to give a new edition, transcription and translation, in which many a crucial point has been elucidated. The book also comprises an elaborate glossary, where many difficult words are discussed in great detail and special attention is given to modern research. Ervad Kanga's work can be recommended as a reliable primer of Pahlavi, and fellow-workers as well as novices in the field are indebted to the author. Sir Harold W. Bailey, Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, has written a Foreword to this book." (Reviewed by Dr. Hans-Peter Schmidt).

Further my paper on "Dātistān i Denīk-Pūrsiśn XL" has been published by Linguistic Society of India in Prof. Sir Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume II, 1959-60. In it I have transcribed and translated the chapter into English with notes and comments, wherever necessary. The text and transcription are followed by Introductory Remarks. This Chapter in question treats of the decision given by Dastur Manus cīhr Gošnjam, the Chief of the



priestly class of Pārs and Kermān, about one who goes over to "an-srīh"-non-Iranianism, alien faith. The most appealing sentence in the whole Pursišn is the last sentence which I quote as under:—

"Vinās ne kart <an>vēh hac tōzišn ut patētīkīh" i.e. to commit no sin is better than retribution and renunciation of sin.

Prof. Zaehner has edited in 1959 '*The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*' published by Hutchinson & Co Ltd., London. This is the book in which an attempt is made to describe in brief these faiths which have withstood the test of time and which must correspond to some fundamental need in man. The living faiths of the world fall into two well-defined groups, "Prophetic" and "Mystical or Immanentist". In Part One the Editor has presented the prophetic tradition as represented by Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism. In Part Two entitled "Wisdom" are described Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism: the Theravada, Buddhism: The Mahayana, Buddhism in China and Japan, Shinto, Confucianism, Taoism. Renowned scholars have dealt with these above mentioned Faiths uniquely. In this brief survey we may deal with Zoroastrianism as delineated by Prof. Zaehner. He says: "The importance of Zoroastrianism, however, like that of Judaism, lies not in the number of those who profess it, but rather in the influence it has exerted on other religions, and particularly on Christianity, through the medium of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia who seem to have been thoroughly impregnated with Zoroastrian ideas. Christianity claims to be the heir of the prophets of Israel. If there is any truth in this claim it is no less heir to the Prophet of Ancient Iran, little though most Christians are aware of this fact". Zoroastrianism is a prophetic religion. According to tradition, Zarathushtra is said to have lived seventy seven years, his date would be 628-551 B.C. The region in which he proclaimed his message was probably ancient Chorasmia—an area comprising what is now Persian Khorosan, Western Afghanistan and the Turkmen Republic of the U.S.S.R. The sacred book of the Zoroastrians is called Avesta, of which only a fraction survives to-day. Zaehner says: "These Gāthās are our principal source of the doctrines actually proclaimed by the Prophet." In this monograph Zaehner treats of in a scholarly way the teaching of Zarathushtra concerning



God, and other teachings quoting chapter and verse from the Gāthās. He also deals in a nut-shell Zoroastrian Theology and Eschatology vividly and lucidly. The illustrations have been chosen with special care to symbolize the characteristic elements which each living faith typifies. Professor Zaehner has rendered great service by depicting faithfully and scholarly the religion of Zarathushtra. I think that this book is very useful for the study of the comparative religion. At the end of the book Prof. Zaehner has given a Bibliography for further reading on each faith for the general reader which is really useful.

Prof. Sir Harold Bailey is an indefatigable scholar in the field of Iranian Studies and constantly contributes learned and erudite papers to the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, to the Transactions of the Philological Society, London, and to various Oriental Journals. Her Majesty's Government has been pleased to confer on him Knighthood in 1960 in appreciation of his services to the cause of Oriental Studies in England. To Prof. Sir Harold Bailey the Iranists and the Indologists owe a deep debt of gratitude for bringing to light the Khotanese Texts. He has published *Indo-Scythian Studies being Khotanese Texts Vol. IV*, in 1961. This volume contains the Śaka Texts from the Hedin collection. They are partly written on paper (nos. 1-30) and partly on wood (nos. 31-75). These documents were found by Prof. Dr. Sven Hedin and his colleagues in Khotan, which is known by Khotana in Kharoshi script, Hvatāna in Brahmi writing and Hvam Kṣīra "the land of Khotan" respectively. The contents of this volume are literary texts, business letters and military orders. Prof. Sir Bailey assigned the date of these texts to eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.C. In this volume Prof. Bailey has prepared the usual Roman transliteration, translation into English and commentary on all the documents and has added an Introduction. The aim of these brief notes of Introduction has been "to sketch in however faintly, the back ground to the texts edited and translated." This forms a very important part of the book. Translation is really lucid and thoroughly intelligible, which will give impetus to other scholars to examine the material further. Prof. Bailey has added to this translation a commentary, which is very useful to the Iranists and Indologists. On P. 56, the author deals with the various meanings of the root par-in Iranian :



- (1) par-: puda 'present, offer', Mid Pers. 'pārak' gift, Turfan Mid Pers. p'rg.
- (2) pār - : pāda-to pay, make pay in Khotanese. The noun in Khotan. pāra-"to be paid, debt", Tunshuq para-, Avestan pāra-, Sogd-p'r \*pāra-, pāsto pōr.
- (3) Par-: puda-to remove, free from. Cf. Mid Pers. appurtan-"take away, to rob off" and apār, booty.
- (4) par-and par-t-'Combat' in Khotan purr-: purrda, Av-par-and part Mid Pers. nipart.
- (5) par-to nourish from which Avesta Pārndi-and Rigveda puramdhi are derived. Cf. Mid Pers. pēs-pārak ihā in Gr. Bd. 117.13.
- (6) par-'go' in Sogd. 3rd sing, past pyr from \*prya-The Av. pdrdto in Yas. 51. 12 is translated "on circuit".

On P. 64 he treats of the familiar Mid Pers. y 'yr, hyr, \*er or \*hēr "possessions". Pāzand haēr, hīr, xīr with prothetic h.

On p. 90 he refers to Av. yāmō. pačika (vend 8.85) which is translated into Pahl. Version by dōsēn - karān "potters" with dōsēn used for the adhesive stuff "clay". The same word dōsēn occurs in the Gr. Bd. 118.8 and Dēnkart 521. 9 yāmak i dōsēn "Clay vessel" and ibid. 11-12. dōsēn yāmak. This Mid-pers. word is left untranslated by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria in his "Pahlāvi Vendidad" P. 221 published by the Cama Oriental Institute in 1949. Mr. Kapadia in "Glossary of Pahlavi Vendidād" 1953, has also omitted this word. On P. 96-97, he gives the numerous meaning of Ir. base sar. In the Appendix are given the Chinese Texts translated by prof. G. Haloun and a note on the dates of these Chinese-Khotanese texts by Prof. E. Pulleyblank. The book will prove of immense use to the Iranists and Indologists alike as well as to the historians.

Prof. Sir Harold Bailey has contributed a paper entitled "Indagatio Indo-Iranica" in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1960, wherein he has discussed the following words:

- (1) Iranian Vazdah- (2) vat- (3) arzah (4) urvarā
- (5) par.



(1) The Iranian base vazd-expressing 'nourish' and in nominal form "fat" with various suffixes can be traced from OI. to the present. In New Iranian occur Early New Persian vazd, Chorasmian 'zd-, pašto wāzda 'fat', Yidya Munjāni wāzd, yazgulāmi, wūzp' Ormuri gwēzd, Parāci yāzd, Sarikolī, wāst, Sanglēci wāst, wōst, Ossetic vazdan. Prof. Bailey quotes the connected words found in Avesta. Av. vazdavar rendered in Mid. Pers. Vazdvar-vazdvarih, nēvākīh, Neryosang Skt. Pīvaratā- 'fatness' applies to the well-nourished body; cf. yašt 14. 29: Tanvō vīspayā vazdvard "good state of the whole body"; yasna 68. 11 tanvō vazdvard and yasna 31. 21 vadhdus Vazvard manazhō "the flourishing state of the good mind". He further remarks that the sense of "fat", well-nourished can be seen in Av. Proper name Keresavazda (h), brother of Frayasyan -bound by Haosravah -and this name survives in Gr. Bd. 231. 11 Klswp and DKM. 598. 22 Kylysywzd. This name means "fattening or nourishing the thin ones". The Av. name Vohvazdah-in yt 13.114 and Asavazdah in yt. 13.112 could be explained well nourished 'nourishing the (*Potency of*) truth", respectively. He adds that in the older meaning "nourishing food" vazdah occurs in Avestan script in the Niragastān written vazdñg for \*vazdang in the passage "𐬨𐬀 noit 𐬨𐬀 anazdya-nē ān i nizār kē kāh nē vazdñg nēst, meaning "not unnourished, not that which is emaciated, which has not straw, hast not food" (*Folio 111r 10; A. Waag's edition P. 71*).

(2) Av. api-aut, api-vat-, fra-vat-Pres. vata and causative vātaya- This verb is explained by Mid. Pers. andar-dānistān' and ākāsēnītan, to know and to make know". With pref. ham a base vat is attested in Mid. Parth. hmwd-: 'mwst' 'have faith', Armenian loan-word hauat "faith, fidelity, proof, evidence". A direct equivalent of Av. fra-vat is found in Mid-Parth. frwd. 'be instructed. know, understand" Vide A. Chlain, Essai sur la langue Parthe P. 53. with the praeverb vi occurs Mid. Parth. wywd-, pret. wywd'd \*vivadād in the sense of "separate", "to force apart."

(3) The av. word arzah-, Mid Pers. arzah, is the name of the Western continent (*Kiśvar*) among the seven Kiśvar vide Mēnōk i xrat ed. by Anklesaria p. 43, 12-14. He says that the location of arzah - in the west is known in Parsi Persian tradition-arzah dar gōśah i mayrib; savah dar gōśah i xāvar arzah in the western angle,



savah in the Eastern angle. The shorter Indian Bundahišn has xvarvarān kisvar arzah (ed. Justi: pp. 15. 5 ff.), whereas the greater Bundahišn has by scribal error inverted these directions (56.11; 57) (3 and 56.15; 57.4). To this evidence that arzah- is the western region the Vidēvdāt 21.3 lends support in the series of names of parts of the day, in loc. pl. uzīrōhva arōzahva, xsapōhva, ūsahva. The sentence is: yezi uzīrōhva merencaitē arōzahva bisazyāt 'if one injure in the afternoon, one heals in the evening.' The etymological connection of savah- is with Av. sūrēm 'in the morning' Khotan svī 'to-morrow' Ossetie DI sau 'morning'. The meaning of arez-ah, arzah-is the "dark region" and the dark time of evening. Old Indian has rájas- which refers originally to "dark space" and receives the corroborative epithet kṛṣṇa-black. He remarks that New Persian has arzah "liquid pitch", "Pitch pine" in which an adj. for dark, black may be conjectured. Iranian has two words arzah- 'dark' and razah- 'secret place' corresponding to Old Ind. rájas- and ráhas.

(4) The Avestan urvarā "plant" and Old Ind. urvárā "seed-field" have long been identified as to form in spite of the difference in meaning. Mid. Pers. has rwrk \*rurak, meaning medicinal herb, cf. Sogd. 'rwrh \*arwarā.

(5) Par is already explained above. Moreover, Prof. Sir Bailey has ingeniously discussed "Iranian Arya and Daha" in the Transactions of the Philological Society. 1960, pp. 71-115.

The book on "*The Excavations at Dura Europos*" conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters was published through the generosity of Louis M. Rabindnitz in 1956. In this volume we are concerned with the Middle Iranian inscriptions of the Synagogue of Dura Europos. This subject has been dealt with by Prof. Bernhard Geiger. The present edition of the Middle Iranian Inscriptions of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos, i. e. of a group of 12 dipinti in Pārsik (Middle Persian) and of 3 graffiti in Parthian (Pahlavik) script and language is not complete. It contains only the transliterations, readings and translations of the inscriptions, preceded by short Introductory remarks and accompanied by brief explanations and by the available photographs. Prof.



Geiger read the last word of the Inscr. No 42 as p̄cyt against the apparent p̄scyt of photographs and pointed out that possibly p̄cyt might be composed of the preposition pat-and the preterite of the Old Indic and Avestan root ci-(kay) to discern and translated "it was observed" rejecting his earlier interpretation "it was copied". It is striking that in Inscr. No. 44 the Synagogue is called "the edifice of the God of the Gods of the Jews" and that Middle Persian word 'patrastak' was used as a designation of the Synagogue instead of the Aramaic BYT'. The script of these inscriptions, which represent some of the oldest extant examples of cursive Pārsīk and Pahlavīk writing, shows interesting ligatures and a number of peculiar forms of letters.

Prof. Geiger gives his criticism on the previous edition entitled "Le Iscrizioni Pahlavichi della Sinagoga di Dura-Europo" by Prof. Antonino Pagliaro in 1941. His criticism is constructive and illuminating. He ascribes Pagliaro's failure in deciphering the inscriptions to his strange and improper approach to an epigraphical study. He also criticised vehemently Prof. Franz Altheim's book "Asien und Rom, Neue Urkunden aus Sassanischer Frühzeit", published in 1952. He remarks that "Altheim's interpretations and the conclusions which he bases on them are entirely wrong in every respect, arbitrary and fantastic". After criticising the above mentioned two works, he refers to the visitors to the Synagogue. Prof. Geiger says: "In my opinion the names of the dipīrs and of their companions were for the most part persons of a higher social rank and in all likelihood "members of the retinues of ambassadors sent by Shapur to Dura before and during his great invasion of the Syrian provinces of the Roman Empire." He explains the phrase dipīwar Š Zahmē as the scribe of the building, taking Zahmē equal to Mod. Pers.. zaxm, structure, edifice. This inscription is also important in that it provides us with a better insight into the circumstances under which these incriptions were written so prominently and strangely on the paintings of the Synagogue.

The name of Prof. A. Pagliaro, Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Rome, is well-known to all the Orientalists. He is an indefatigable scholar who has made valuable contributions in the field of Middle-Persian Studies. Prof. Antonino Pagliaro and Prof. Alessandro Bausani have



published a monumental work "*Storia Della Letteratura Persiana*" 1960. This book is divided into two parts. First part entitled "Letteratura Della Persia Preislamica" has been dealt with by Prof. Pagliaro and the second part "Letteratura Neopersiana" has been treated of by Prof. A. Bausani. We are concerned with the First part as it deals with Iranian Studies. This work is similar to "Die Mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur Der Zarathustrier" by J. C. Tavadia, 1956. In the book under survey, Prof. Pagliaro treats of the Ancient Iranian literature. He at the outset describes the Achaemenian Period and the Cuneiform Inscriptions found in Persia, at Persepolis and the nearby Naq̄s-i-Rustam and Murghab (Pasargadae), in Elam at Susa, in Media at Hamadan and the not too distant Behistan and Elvend. They are mainly inscriptions of Darius the Great (521-486 B. C.) and Xerxes (486-65 B. C.) but others, mostly in a corrupted form of the language, carry the line down to Artaxerxes III (359-38 B.C.) For a complete study of these Inscriptions attention is invited to Prof. R. G. Kent's monumental work "Old Persian Grammar, Texts and Lexicon" 1953. On pp. 33-39 he quotes an account by the Zoroastrian priests themselves of the rehabilitation of their Religion found in the Fourth Book of Dēnkart, a great corpus of religious learning. On pp. 50-53 Prof. Pagliaro gives in a nutshell the growth and development of Iranian Studies in the West beginning from Anquetil Duperron. From pp. 53 onwards he deals with the Avesta literature consisting of the older Avesta, the Gāthās, Yasna, Vīdēvdāt, Vīsparao and Xartak Avistāk and Yasts and describes briefly but vividly the contents and language of these texts. He then proceeds to deal with the Middle-Persian literature. On pp. 73-75 the author describes the monument and inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire. In the following pages the author describes the importance and value of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta and the Extant Pahlavi texts such as Dēnkart, Bundahišn, Dātistāni Dēnik, Viçitakīhā i Zātsparam, Nāmakihā i Manuščīhr, Škand Gūmānik Viçār, Mēnō ki xrat and Eschatological Texts such as Artāy Virāf Nāmak, Zand i Vohuman Yasn, and Ayātkār i Jāmāspīk. Prof. Pagliaro takes the Pahlavi text Šāyist-Nē-Šāyast and Pahlavi Rivayāt accompanying Dātistān i Dēnik as texts describing the customs and rituals. On pp. 120-125 Prof. Pagliaro enumerates the Handarž texts published in the Pahlavi texts ed. by Jamasp Asana, The legal



text *Mātikān i Hazār Dāristān* is discussed by the author on pp. 126-128 and this is a favourite text of Prof. Pagliaro as he frequently quotes passages from this text in his books and papers. A separate chapter is devoted by the author to the study of Pahlavi Text *Draxt i Asūrīk*. He then describes the historical texts such as *Ayātkār i Zārērān* and *Kārnāmak i Artaxsēr Pāpakān* pp. 133-143. And lastly he discusses an important Pahlavi Text "*vicārišn i Šatrang ut nihišn i Nēv-artaxsēr*" on the game of chess which he has published separately in a brochure in 1951. In this book, Prof. Pagliaro has quoted in the foot-notes, books and papers published by Parsi and European scholars on different Pahlavi texts as a sort of a bibliography. This book will be useful to the scholars and general public alike as it gives a succinct account of the ancient Iranian literature.

Prof. I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits have published an interesting book in Russian entitled "*Documents from Nisā, Ist Century B. C. - Preliminary stages of Research*", printed by the Eastern Literature Publication House, Moscow 1960. This was presented and read by these scholars before the Iranian Section of the XXV International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow in 1960. I am grateful to Madam Anahit Perikhanian who has kindly sent to me from Leningrad, this important book along with her article on a Pahlavi text *Patmānak i Katak-xtāyīh*. I may suggest that this book should be translated into English from Russian so that it will prove of immense use to Parsi scholars. This scientific book contains the following chapters :—

- (1) The first Publications and Discussions about the language of the Documents.
- (2) Composition of the Archives and the Historical Data.
- (3) Language and scripts of the Documents from Nisā.
- (4) Specimens of the Documents.
- (5) Chronological Index of the Documents.
- (6) A Note on Abbreviations.
- (7) Appendices containing the plates of the Inscriptions.



It is really gratifying to learn that Iranian studies are carried out in U. S. S. R. Nisā was the most ancient royalty of the Parthian Empire and according to Isidore of Chairax, the burial place of Parthian Kings.

Prof. W. B. Henning, Professor of Iranian and Central Asian Studies in the University of London, constantly contributes learned and erudite papers to the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. In 1958, he published a long article in German over a hundred pages on "the development of Middle-Iranian with special regard to the Inscriptional material" in the Hand-book der Orientalistik-Iranistik. He has contributed recently the following articles in the Bulletin :

- (i) *New Pahlavi Inscriptions on Silver Vessels* (BSOAS. Vol. XXII - Part I).
- (ii) *The Bactrian Inscription* (BSOAS. Vol. XXIII - Part I, 1960).
- (iii) *A Sassanian Silver Bowl from Georgia* (Vol. XXIV-Part 2, 1961).

(i) The newly discovered Pahlavi Inscriptions on Silver bowls consist of two parts (1) The owner's name followed by NPŠH, Irxēs 'own' and (2) a determination of the weight made from so many 'drachms' (MN...ZWZN or MN...ZWZN-Sng) or from so many drachms by weight. The name shown on the bowl is Windād-Ōhrmazd, who according to Prof. Henning, was the Ispahbad, descendant of Kāren and who expelled the Arab invaders from Tabaristan and restored the ancient religion. He explains the standard of weight mathematically and concludes that the bowls were not fashioned before the 8th century and do not correspond with the Sassanian measure.

In the second paper Henning remarks that all those devoted to Central Asian history and languages will be grateful to Prof. Andre Marieq for his painstaking work "La Grande inscription de Kanīška et l'étés - tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane". He adds that the language of the Inscription occupies an intermediary position between Pashto and Yidgha - Munji on the one hand, Sogdian, Khwarezmian and Parthian on the other : it is



thus in its natural and rightful place in Bactria. He gives the general idea of the inscription in the following lines : "after its foundation by Kaniška, the sanctuary fell into disrepair and was abandoned, until in the *Kṣuṇa* - year 31, one Nokonzoko, a high official, came there and repaired and adorned the place; three other officials of equal rank were associated with Nokonzoko's work; the inscription was composed by Mihrāmān and Burzmihrpuhr, who signed it and caused their heraldic devices (*niśān*) to be incised after their names". In short this paper forms a criticism on A. Marieq's work.

The third paper deals with the Inscription on a silver bowl found in a tomb at Armazi, the ancient capital of Georgia. This inscription is badly damaged but its last portion which contains the determination of the weight is clear : 'symy s xx x iii ZWZN-i. Previous editor has failed to read the word 'symy', which Henning takes as the Pahlavi word for 'silver' (from a  $\infty \sigma \eta \mu \delta \gamma$ ; Book Pahlavi and Manichaen Mid Pers. 'sym). He stresses the point that figures frequently follow denominations of weight in Pahlavi and hence ZWZN-i can only mean "one drachm". He deciphers the inscription and translates it as under :

P'pky bthšy BRH' rthštr bthšy BRH Šhpwhry bthšy = Pāpak the bitaxs, the son of Artaxsašr the bitaxs, the son of Šāhpur the bitaxs. Thus the bowl inscription yields a dynasty of the bitaxs-s of Georgia during the first century of Sassanian rule. The mention of Pāpak the bitaxs as owner of the bowl fixes its approximate date 290 A.C.

Prof. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Prof. of Oriental Studies at the University of Liege, Belgium, has contributed the following monographs which are important and useful for Iranian Studies. It is not possible for me to give a short synopsis of them. I merely quote them for reference purposes and for the information of the Parsi scholars. They are as under :—

1. Explorations Dualistes Avec Ugo Bianchi, 1960.
2. Aiōn et le Léontocéphale, Mithras et Ahriman, 1960.
3. Miettes Iraniennes : av axsaēna - V : P. axsaīna ; Haumavarga - Pahl. gōspand - Deux rites due Feu - Yazdān - gētīk pa baxt : mēnōk pakunišn.



*Hanns - Peter Schmidt, Vedisch Vratá und awestisch urvāta (Alt und Neu - Indische Studien, herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens der Universität Hamburg, 9-1958).*

Schmidt's investigation of Vedic Vratá may be looked upon as an experiment. His general hypothesis is : there must be one single abstract centre, one unambiguous idea that is named by the term; consequently, this idea must be obvious in every single context where the poet chose to use only this word. His thesis is : this abstract centre is the idea "Vow" and his experiment is : What will result if this idea is followed strictly throughout the RV? The answer is not very far to seek. One gets a consistent system of views held by the Rigvedic bard with regard to the concept "Vow". Schmidt's "hypothesis" is identical with the basic assumption of all philological interpretations. For establishing a cogent etymological analysis, Schmidt (on pp. 8-14) demonstrates that going into prehistory of the Rigvedic language is not immediately possible as there are many possibilities. The term Vratá might contain the root *vr̥* to choose, or *vr̥* to enclose, to protect by enclosing, or *vr̥t* "to turn, to proceed (in turns)" or IE \**ver* to speak. It is significant that several different etymological analysis have served to yield identical results and vice versa. Bergaigne translates "law" deriving from  $\sqrt{vr̥}$  to protect. Oldenberg renders it by "what is spoken, command, from IE \**ver* to speak. Roth translates "Wish, Command, law, order, "Vow" from  $\sqrt{vr̥}$  to choose. Whitney arrives at the meaning "vow" from *vr̥t* to proceed. In classical Sanskrit Vratá is nothing else but "Vow". It is "Vow" in the language of the AV. and of Vedic prose. Schmidt devotes one chapter (pp. 103-111) to substantiate this view-point and comes to the conclusion and conviction that the meaning "Vow" suits the context in AV where Whitney has already employed this meaning. Schmidt's work is characterized by accuracy, consistency and skill.

How do the gods of the Rigvedic poet rule and protect the world following their own skill or establishing "laws" or enforcing "commands" or following standard "rules" or acting according to solemn promises, vows, they have given? It is obvious that the answer to such questions will be vital for the understanding of the



religious attitude of the Vedic poet who speaks of the Ādityas: Ye vrata rakṣante (8. 67. 13.). This quotation is variously translated as follows:

1. "Who protect (against infringement) their wills (Thieme, ZDMG. 95, p. 106 n. 2),
2. Who protect (watch over) their laws (Geldner).
3. Who protect (against breaking) their commands (Oldenberg).
4. Who protect the rules (the cosmic order) (Meillet).
5. Who protect (keep) the vows.

Now the question arises as to whether the context contains a clue that would confirm the meaning "Vow". The answer to this question is in the affirmative and Schmidt makes an illuminating and thought-provoking contribution to our understanding of Vedic religious concept. Following A. Meillet, H. Lüders and P. Thieme, Schmidt explains the Ādityas, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa as divine personifications of ethical abstracts. The function of these Ādityas as the protectors of truth and covenants is not only motivated by the specific nature of the ethical abstracts they personify (contract, Hospitality and True-speech) but by their role as Kings. Schmidt maintains that in Vedic times the central idea is that King and subjects are mutually bound by Vows—vows of protection, of obedience and service. At the end of his book Schmidt remarks that there are traces of ideas analogous to those held by the Rigvedic poets with reference to Kingship in ancient Greece. Cf. W. Rau, *Staat und Gessellschaft im alten Indien nach den Brāhmaṇa-Texten dargestellt*, 1957 (i. e. *State and Society in Ancient India according to Brāhmaṇa Texts*). Schmidt deals with the Av. *urvāta* in the third chapter and quotes chapter and verse from the Avesta literature. He remarks that *urvā-tā* is used as neu. pl and *urva-tha mas*, derived from the extended root \*vre "speak" (pp. 113–141). He translates it by "Law, ordinance, command" and he renders Av *urvatha mas* "friend" from Av  $\sqrt{\text{var}}$ -to choose. He further explains the fem. *urvāiti* as "order, commandment (Divine)" and compares it to Skt. *vrata*.



Dr. Schmidt has contributed a paper on "The Origin and Tradition of the Avestan Yeŋ hē Hātām Prayer" to Prof. De's commemoration volume published by the Deccan College. This young scholar has studied under Prof. W. Lentz and Prof. Alsdorf and got his Doctorate by writing a thesis on Vedic Vratā and Av. Urvata, which is reviewed above. He was appointed Professor of Iranian and Sanskrit at the University of Saugar for a period of two years. At present he is associate Professor of Indology at the University of Tubingen. In this paper Dr. Schmidt has made an attempt to solve some of the problems involved in the interpretation of the Yeŋhē Hātām prayer. This verse is clearly much later in composition and the metre seems irregular also. This verse seems to be a later paraphrase of the last verse of Gāthā Vohu-Xsā thra (Yas. 51. 22). The Ancient Avestan commentary on this verse is contained in Yasna 21. Dr. Schmidt has based his translation on Lommel's interpretation in Z11-1.1922. 16f. The most important problem in 51. 22 is : Who is meant by those "who have been and are." He refutes the view of Prof. Bartholomae and Parsi scholars that here and in the Yeŋhē Hātām prayer holy men are alluded to. He supports the opinion of Prof. Lommel who has convincingly proved that the entities later called Aməša Spəntas alone are the object of worship. In the Pahlavi translation of Yas 51. 22 those "who have been and are" are clearly interpreted as the Aməša Spəntas, He quotes in extenso the Pahl. version of 51. 22, 15. 2. Further to justify his standpoint, Dr. Schmidt quotes the Avestan commentary and its Pahlavi translation and its summary as given in Dēnkart (DKM. 823, 877). He concludes that Yasna 51. 22 and the Yeŋhē Hātām prayer teach only the worship of God and the Holy Immortals and that the entire Pahlavi tradition agrees with this view. It may be added that Prof. Ilya Gerschevitch in the Avestan Hymn to Mithra, 1959 and Prof. Helmut Humbach in 'Die Gathas des Zarathustra I-II' Heidelberg 1959 have accepted Lommel's interpretation in the main points. Dr. Schmidt has dealt with this problem with great erudition and research.

"Mitra and Aryaman" by Paul Thieme in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. Vol. 41. Nov. 1957. pp. 1-96.

Recently in many studies on Vedic and comparative Mythology an antagonism is stated to exist between the Gods Mitra and



Varuṇa. The former is explained with such terms as "raisonnant, clair, réglé, calme, sacerdotal" and the latter is described by the words "assailant, sombre, inspire, violent, terrible, guerrier." In this book Prof. Thieme has shown rightly how utterly unfounded this delineation of the two Ādityas is: It may be stated that the arguments which Prof. Dumézil has advanced for his theory about Mitra and Varuṇa require a thorough revision. Thieme's book falls into three parts. In the first chapter (pp. 6-17) the author criticises Dumézil's philological Veda-Interpretation. The second chapter deals with a variety of subjects, In Ch. IIA Meillet's Formula pp. 18-24 he emphasizes the consequences of Meillet's well-known monograph in *Journal Asiatique*, 1907, viz. that Rigvedic Mitra means exclusively "Contract" not "friend". Geldner's idea that Mitra is 'the Friend' is dismissed by P. Thieme as unsupported by Rigvedic evidence. On p. 59 he remarks: "All the different traits of God Mitra, as sung by the poets close together into a meaningful and harmonious whole. They reveal themselves precisely like the features of the Avestic Mithra, as a predictably possible result of one single process: the deification of the concept "Contract". This process must be of Indo-Iranian antiquity. But the poets of the Avesta as well as those of the Rigveda still understood it and were able to recreate in their art: "In Ch. IIB Mithra in Yast 10 (pp. 24-38) Thieme demonstrates his arguments by translating Mi thra as "Contract" or "(God) Contract" throughout the Yast. To the author Mithra is a personification rather than a personality (p. 26). The undeniable connection between Mi thra and the Sun he ascribes to "one of the most familiar tricks of imagination to endow spiritual beings with the properties of light" (p. 35). Thieme accepts Meillet's suggestion that the later identification of Mi thra with the Sun "was due to an amalgamation of the ideas that the sun is the eye that sees everything, even hidden crime, and that nothing escapes the watchful omniscient Mithra." This chapter is illuminating and important for the students of Iranian studies. In Ch. IIC Mitra in the Rigveda RV 3.59 (pp. 38-59), Thieme discusses the composition of this hymn and points out many parallels in the Avesta. Ch. IID Mitra and Varuṇa (pp. 59-71) draws the conclusion from the preceding section that "if Mitra is the personification of an ethical abstract (contract, agreement, treaty), Varuṇa must be the personification of a similar abstract. Owing to Varuṇa's close



relation to truth (Luders, Varuṇa I. pp. 13-27) Thieme tentatively proposes "true speech" following Meillet's etymology (IE. *wer* to speak) and "oath" in agreement with Luders. In the last chapter Thieme defends his well-known theory that Aryaman is "God Hospitality." He states that Agni as Ābhavanīya is Mitra, but as Gārhapatya is Aryaman. The importance of this book is enhanced by the methodological problem which it brings under discussion of many passages of the Avesta and Rigveda. For the critical study of Mihr Yasht I would request you to refer to the scholarly and erudite work of Prof. Ilya Gershevitch entitled "The Avestan Hymn to Mitra" published in 1959.

*Ugo Bianchi, Zamān i Ōhrmazd, LO Zoroastrismo nelle sue origini e nella sua essenza, Torino 1958, 263 pp.*

Bianchi's main object is to interpret the materials collected by Prof. Zaehner in his most important and monumental work "Zurvān, a Zoroastrian Dilemma" and to place them in their natural ideological and historical perspective. To achieve this end he treats of the characteristics of Mazdāism in general including the Religion of Achaemenians, with its belief in a Creator and with its dualistic orientation. He depicts Zervānism as "a tendency within the frame work of traditional Mazdāism, which owes its origin to the autonomous and divergent development of such Ideological elements as the notion of Fate and of a theological ∞ p x n̄." In this he agrees with the view expressed by Prof. Duchesne Guillemin in 'Ormazd et Ahriman', 1953. In the first part he discusses the role of dualism in the cosmogony, the specifically Iranian struggle with Evil, which forms part of a "Cosmic History" and portrays Mazdāism as a dualistic monotheism (p. 24). In the second part he describes the evolution of the "Post Avestan" dualism in Bundahisn, Mēnōk i Xrat, etc. and the development of the notion of Time to that of Fate (Baxt). The third part treats of the Zervān and the Problem of Evil. The final chapters discuss the macrocosmic and microcosmic speculation, the theories about cosmic egg, Zervān's consort, etc. The originality of the work lies in its "typological and historical method", to use the author's own phrase. Bianchi's book is an interesting and thought-provoking work, which deserves to be studied by all interested in Old Iranian Religion.



*Indo-Iranian Journal published by Mouton & Co., Holland and edited by J. W. De Jong and F. B. J. Kuiper* contains important articles on Iranian Studies contributed by eminent savants of Europe. To research students and scholars they are most valuable and important. In Vol. I, no. 1 Prof. Emile Benveniste has contributed a learned paper on "*La priere Ahuna Vairya dans son exegese Zoroastrienne*" (pp. 77-85). This was the paper read by him at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, 1954. This paper has produced such an effect on other Iranists who studied this Ahuna Vairya prayer critically and contributed monographs in other volumes of the same journal. Prof. Duchesne-Guillemin has contributed an erudite and scholarly article entitled *Exegese de L' Ahuna Vairya* in Vol. II. No. 1 pp. 66-71. To these two monographs may be added "*Zum Ahuna Vairya-Gebet* by Prof. Walther Hinz in Vol. IV, Nos. 2-3, pp. 154-159, 1960. These monographs throw a good deal of light on the interpretation of this most sacred prayer of the Zoroastrians. I may add that Prof. Helmut Humbach has offered a new interpretation of this holiest prayer in this article on "*Das Ahuna-Vairya-Gebet*" in *Munchener Studien Zur Sprachwissenschaft* Heft II, Munchen, 1957, 67-84. The author introduces quite a novel idea in translation and etymology as well.

In Volume I.No.2 Prof.F.B.J. Kuiper of Univesity of Leiden has presented a paper on "*Avestan Mazdā*" which is really interesting (pp. 86,95). In No. 3 the young German scholar Dr. Hans-Peter Schmidt has written a paper on "*Awestische Wortstudien*" wherein he discusses Av. word *avaŋ hāna* and *vaēdōmna* occuring in the Gāthās (pp. 160-175). In No. 4 Prof Helmut Humbach, the author of the new translation of the Gāthās, has discussed with great erudition. *Av. word maratānō* pp. 307 308.

In Vol. II. No. 2, Prof. Sir Harold Bailey has discussed 3 words in his paper "*Iranica Et Vedica*" pp. 149-157. In this learned paper he treats of (1) Ir. Sagra-, Old Indian Sagma (2) Ir. Yaxs-Old Ind Yakṣ and (3) Ir. Sauk-old Ind śok. exhaustively with quotations from Pahlavi texts, Pahlavi Psalter and Rigveda and Khotanese.

In Vol. III No. 2, Prof. E. Benveniste has contributed an interesting paper "*Le present Avestique UZ-vaedaya*" pp. 132-136,



1959. He cites Vidēvdāt XIX. 5 fully and gives his own translation. At the outset he discusses the words ā-vedaya, av. ā vaēdaya-; prativedayat. Av. paiti-vaēdaya-; ni-vedāya-Av. ni-vaēdaya. He then proceeds explaining the word uz-vaēdaya in question. Bartholomae (Air Wb. 1674) translates "*Zu wissen tat Zarathustra den Aṇra Mainyu.*" Benveniste differs from Bartholomae and he compares Av UZ vaēdaya-with Sogd. Zwydm' "menacer" to threaten, to intimidate. This meaning is supported by the Pahlavi version: ul-uzvēdīt Zartust (ku patest burt) ō ganāk mēnōk. The phrase patest burtan is generally translated by "attaquer", to attack, to assault, to grapple with (BSOS. IX, 1938, p. 582; Zurvan. 1955. p. 292 et pass). Prof. Benveniste says that the word really means "menacer = threaten, intimidate and supports his rendering by referring to Gr. Bd. I. § 10,12,37, patestāt ut drāyīt, Zatsparam 1.6, DKM.391.5 DKM 228. Further he quotes a passage from the Pahlavi Psalter 131, 2: MNW SWKnd (y) ŠTHNT 'L MRWHY' p-s ptst [Y] BLWNT' L yzdy zy y'kwpy. See Andreas-Barr Gloss. p. 59 and compares the word with Khwarizmian 'zwyz (y) "Menacer" quoted by Prof. Henning in Handbuch der Orientalistik, Iranistik, 1958, p. 112. I may add that Jamaspasa (Glossarial Index of the Vendidad p. 186) has read wrongly the word and translated "openly". Iranists are grateful to Prof. Benveniste for the correct interpretation of the Avesta word and its Pahlavi version.

In the same Volume Prof. F.B.J. Kuiper has dealt with "*The Avestan Ainita - "unharméd"*" (pp. 137-140), Bartholomae (Air Wb. 125) explains Av ainita - "nicht vergewaltigt, - gekränkt (yt. 13.34; 51; 63) and ainiti-"milde Behandlung, Milde" from \*aninita, resp. \*an-initi owing to haplology. Prof. Kuiper explains the word in the following manner. In the first place the present inaoiti corresponding to Ved. inoti must be referred to a root i-as there is no indication to show that from the base i-nau a secondary root 'in' had been created in Indo-Iranian. Vedic énas-Av. aēnah-"act of violence, crime, sin" contains the IE suffix \*-nes and is derived straight from the root. Secondly, Bartholomae disregarded the fact that while in Sanskrit participles in-ta with an analogical "connecting-i-" are quite common, they are completely unknown in Old Iranian. The text of Vidēvdāt XVIII. 61 reads as under: ahura Mazda...asāum, kō thwām yim ahurēm mazdām mazistayanti



inaoiti, kō mazīsta tbaēsaṇha tbaēsyēiti, i.e., "Who grieves thee with the sorest grief? Who pains thee with the sorest pain". In the word mazistayanti a verbal noun of inaoiti must be hidden. Westergaard conjectured mazistaya inti, which Spiegel and Bartholomae accepted. E. Leumann (Etym. Worterb. der Skt. Sprache 1904 p.34) has correctly explained Av ainiti as an-iti and ainita—must correspondingly represent an-ita. Skt. iti, plague, calamity is a word of the early classical language and obviously belongs to the group of ancient Indo-Iranian words.

In Vol. III No. 4 Dr. Marian Molé of Yugoslavia has contributed an interesting paper entitled "*La Guerre Des Geants D'apres Le Sūtkar Nask*"—The War of the Giants after the Sūtkar Nask. The subject is based on the Dēnkart IX. 21. (Dēnkart ed. by Madan pp. 810-815), 20th Fragt Vohuxsatr. He transcribes the text and gives his own translation as he differs from Sanjana and Dr. West (S.B.E. XXXI pp. 212-219). His translation is lucid and thoroughly intelligible and shows a great improvement upon Dr. West's and Dr. Sanjana's translation. He has appended a commentary to this chapter, which is stimulating and illuminating. He wrongly reads ŠKNAYH as škōhīh and translates "la misere"—misery, distress, poverty. The word is the Semitic equivalent of drigōsih. The word "škōhīh" has quite the opposite meaning, viz. pomp, grandeur, magnificence, dignity. cf. Mod Pers. (DKM. 810. 14 and 21) Mole emends the word dārakōmand into sūlākōmand, having holes and this is repeated by Zatsparam in Ch. 35.20. The phrase Sūlākōmand i Zarrēn is the Pah. translation of Av. Suwra Zaranaēna occurring in Vīdēvdāt II. 2. The rendering of Av. Suwra by Sūlākōmand is mere guessing from the sound. See Bailey, Zor. Problems in the IX century, pp. 219-224 for the correct interpretation of the phrase. He reads sayak with an asterik mark instead of gās, place. The same scholar has contributed an article "Rituel et eschatologie dans le Mazdeisme" in Numen VII, Leiden 1960, 148-160.

In the Vol. IV, No. 4, 1960, Prof. Kuiper has contributed a thesis on '*the Ancient Aryan Verbal Contest*' pp. 217-281. He divides the monograph into four parts: I. Introduction, II Avestan Vyāxana-A. the form, B. meaning, C. Etymology; III Vedic Vivāc and Vigadā IV Vedic Narmā and Nariṣṭā. In the Introduction he remarks that there are certainly a few passages in the



Uṣas-hymns which suggest a reference to everyday events, such as those depicting birds flying out in the early morning and men going to their work. The hymns to Uṣas are "unaccountable as documents of religious thought, unless we take Uṣas to be in the first place the Dawn of the New Year". The fact that the Indo-Iranians worshipped, besides the Sun, a goddess Dawn, shows that they recognized in her a fundamental aspect, different from that of the Sun. Most important for the students of Avesta is the second part which deals with the form, meaning, etymology of the Av. word Vyāxana-The Word Vyāxana occurs in the yasts eleven times, once in Yasna Hā 62.5 and twice in the Vīdēvdāt where it is employed as an epithet of Nairyo-Saṇha (Frakart 22.7, 13). Bartholomae (Air Wb 1477) translates "in der versammlung sprechend, ihr Rat erteilend, beredt". Kuiper questions the correctness of the form in which the word is handed down to us. Manuscripts record readings Vyāxna-vīāxna, and Vyāxana. Metrical evidence is of some importance for determining the precise Old Ir. form of the word. A derivative of vyāXana is the *hapax legomenon* vyāXanya found in Yt. XIV. 46: aētaēca tē vācō yōi uYra ās dōrəzra ās, uYra ās vyāXainē ās, uYra ās vərəθraYne ās, ugra ās baēsazya ās, meaning "these are the words that are strong and firm, strong and 'viyāXaniya', strong and victorious, strong and healing". Benveniste (Vṛtra et Vṛthragna p. 44 n. 3) reads vyāXmanya. Benveniste differs from Bartholomae and translates the word 'vyāXana' as "Quelque qualite guerriere", "la fermeté, la force on l'autorité". Kuiper translates vyāXman "ceremonial meeting" and vyāXana-"eloquent". Cf. yt. 13.16: vyāXanō vyāXmōhu Gusayat-uXδō="victorious in debates, whose authoritative words are listened to in the verbal contests". The verb is vyāXmanyēiti, "speaks in a contest", deriving it from yāk, IE \*yek, to declare solemnly.

In Vol. V, No. 1. 1961 Prof Kuiper has written a critical study entitled *Remarks on the Avestan Hymn to Mithra*" (pp. 36-60) in which criticism on Gershevitch's book "Avestan Hymn to Mithra" is given. He deals mainly with the meaning of Varuṇa and Mitra who are for him the "binder", and "releaser", a theory which I consider as rather insensible since it is not properly based on textual evidence.



In BSOAS. XXIII/2, 1960, pp, 265—74 Prof. Paul Thieme has also contributed a paper on "Remarks on the Avestan Hymn to Mithra".

Prof. B. Philip Lozinski has published in 1959, a book on "*The Original Home of the Parthians*". This histotical work contains the following chapters: Divisions of Parthia; Arsacid Armor; Eastern Arsacids; Ar-Sacae, Sace and Tochari, Parthian Iron Industry: Parthi-Sari, Homeland of the Arsacids: Nisā! Siberia; the migration of place names. The book gives a vivid and graphic description about Parthia. In 1954, Prof. R. Ghirshman has published his book on "Iran from the earliest times to the Islamic Conquest" wherein he has dealt with the subject on "the Parthians" pp. 243-288.

The ancient Iranian people formed a branch of the Indo-European people and were very closely related to the ancient Indo-Aryans. Hence the language, literature and culture of the Iranians and Indians are akin to each other. It is therefore, not only beneficial but essential that the Iranian literatures should be studied side by side with the Vedic literature for the proper understanding of both the cultures. With this necessity in view the Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Poona has opened a centre for Iranian Studies since 1951. This Mandala have taken up the critical edition of the Avestan Text in Devanāgarī Script and the book on Avesta is expected to be out in the next year. It is proposed to bring out the selections from Avesta with a comparative grammar of the Sanskrit and the Avestan language. Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala is to be congratulated for the introduction of Avestan studies.

It is learnt that another study on Zarathushtra with a complete translation of the Gāthās will be published by Prof. Walter Hinz, the successor of Prof. H. H. Schaeder at Gottingen University. Prof. Duchesene-Guillemin is about to publish his big book on "Les religions de l'ancien Iran". Besides Prof. Duchesne Guillemin is engaged in preparing a supplementary volume to Prof. Bartholomae's second edition of *Altiranische Worterbuch*, which will contain a list of all the new interpretations of words published since Bartholomae. Prof. Widengren is preparing a similar book in German on the Religion of the Ancient Iran. Prof. Helmut Humbach wants to bring out the new and revised edition



of Reichelt's *Awestisch Elementarbuch* before the end of this year. Dr. A. Kammenhuber is engaged in preparing "*Studien Zum Vidēvdāt*". Dr. Anahit Perikhanian of Leningrad University is going to publish transcription and translation of the most difficult text "*Mātikān i Hazār Dāristān*". A young German scholar, Dr. Hans-Peter Schmidt, in the University of Tübingen, has prepared a new critical edition of 16 Ślokas, which will be out in the near future.

I shall close the address with a statement of our needs and requirements. For the purpose of the development of Iranian studies well-known Universities of India such as Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Gujarat, and Allahabad should introduce the curriculum of Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian studies as the Universities of most civilized nations of the world find in them interest and inspiration. The project of the Pahlavi Dictionary should be accomplished as early as possible as the preparation of the Pahlavi Dictionary is a great desideratum. New and critical editions of the Pahlavi texts should be published for the use of the students and scholars of Iranian studies as most of them are not available at present. The absence of such publications hamper the progress of Pahlavi studies to a large extent. A new edition and translation of the entire *Dēnkart* text with a critical Glossary is absolutely necessary on account of the discovery of new materials in the first decade of this century and importance and utility of Sogdian, Manichaean and Turfan texts since the transcription and translation given by Dastur Peshotan and Darab Sanjana in 19 volumes have become otiose and obsolete. For the proper understanding of the rituals, a new edition of the *Nirangistan* Text should be printed and should be transcribed and translated into English with critical notes on all the words occurring therein.

Friends and Fellow delegates, I have tried your patience for a long time. I thank you for the patient hearing you have given me and crave your indulgence for the dry nature of my address. I believe this institution has a great part to play in the future progress of our country by aiding in the revival of ancient learning and culture and I trust it will prove itself worthy of this hard and responsible task.

Aēvō panta yō'āśahē.



### SECTION III: CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

Prof. RASIKLAL C. PARIKH

#### Some Aspects of the Study of Sankrit Literature

इदं कविभ्यः पूर्वैभ्यो नमोवाकं प्रशास्महे ।  
वन्देमहि च तां वाचममृतामात्मनः कलाम् ॥

It is indeed an honour to be elected to the office of the President of the Classical Sanskrit Section ; and I am thankful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for this honour. I know my limitations. I am not a savant of the Sanskrit language and literature, nor a Paṇḍita. I am only a student, a Śiṣya of savants and Paṇḍitas, trying to learn that great language, to appreciate its great literature and understand the surpassing wisdom embodied in it. However I am a lover, I feel like an ardent lover, of that Noble Speech, of the Sanskrit Muse. If love is a qualification, I can claim it.

There was an aspect of my election which somewhat surprised me. I have not been a frequent visitor of the sessions of this learned Conference. I have attended only three, and of the three I had the honour to organize one, as its Local Secretary in Ahmedabad. I have had, however, the privilege to be present at the very first session of this august Conference at Poona in 1919. I am sure, not many present here can claim that privilege. From that time onwards I have been one of its enthusiastic admirers. That is a qualification which makes me belong here.

This puts me in mind of my professor of Sanskrit Dr. Pandurang Damodar Gune who was one of the pioneers of the All-India Oriental Conference, just as he was of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. If I have this honour to-day, I feel I owe it to him and pay my homage to his sacred memory. His early death was a great loss to Indology.



## II

There are many approaches to the study of Sanskrit literature and research in it. There are some which are basic. For example, an exact literal study of the text of a Mukṭaka, a Mahākāvya or a Rūpaka is the first step, best done in the manner of the old way of studying Sanskrit. There is also the old way of appreciation, determining the exact Alaṃkāra, Rasa, Sandhi, Sandhyaṅga, etc. In the study of the Śāstras, including the Alaṃkāraśāstra, it is indispensable to know the way in which topics are proposed, defined, attacked, defended and finally established.

In the field of research, for example in editing a Sanskrit work, modern methods of textual criticism are quite necessary for establishing the vācanā. But this critical approach would yield better results if it is preceded by a good grounding in Sanskrit language and familiarity with peculiar modes of writing, shapes of letters, ways of dropping and adding, putting marginal notes, etc. in old manuscripts on palm-leaf, birch, paper, metal or stone in different regions in relation to their different ages.

Then comes the need of applying scientific method in drawing conclusions, making generalizations, tracing influences or indebtedness, etc. Dr. S. K. De, one of the honoured occupants of this office, has, in his Presidential Address in the eighth session, very aptly and correctly drawn attention to this critical aspect of Sanskrit studies and research.<sup>1</sup> In the very first session of this Conference, its President Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar described very aptly the function of a critical scholar. He said, "A critical scholar should consider his function to be just like that of a judge in a law-court", a judge who 'estimates' the value of any information as 'evidence'. In fact, a critical scholar has to find out his witnesses, cross-examine them and finally judge them. "But", as Sir Ramakrishna says, "even there human weakness operates, and renders a number of appeals necessary, so that one judge differs from another, and so does one critical scholar from another".<sup>2</sup> (In this connection I may say that Sir Ramakrishna's

---

1. Pp. 250-252, Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth A. I. O. C., Mysore, 1935.

2. P. 17, Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, 1920.



lecture on 'The Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry' delivered in 1888, his talk on the 'Ideal of an Indian Scholar' given in 1893, his lecture on the 'Lines for fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Indian Antiquities' delivered in 1905, his Inaugural Address at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute delivered in 1918 and his Presidential Address at the opening session of the First Oriental Conference of India delivered in 1919 can still be studied with advantage by any aspirant to critical scholarship.)

These are basic and fundamental requirements for study and research. The results which they yield would form the material for other types of study and research. Many Western and Indian scholars have worked on these lines and the fruits of their labour are before us. On the basis of these results we have histories of Sanskrit literature. Similarly we can have other types of studies of a cultural nature which also require to be pursued by Sanskritists: for example, literary contacts in old times between different regions of our vast country, or contributions of its different kingdoms to the grand stream of Classical Sanskrit literature or how the Buddhist and the Jain writers equally with the Brahmanical have enriched this stream by their contributions, and above all, the evaluation of Classical Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit Darśanas as literature and philosophy in general. Such studies would reveal to us the intercommunion of our big country on the mental plane and the worth of our literary heritage.

### III

Coming as I do from Gujarat to Kashmir, it will not be amiss if I say something about the early literary contact of these two States of Bhārata. In the history of Gujarat the age of the Solankis or Cālukyas (A. D. 942-A. D. 1243-1300) of Aṇahillapura was noteworthy for its political advancement, economic prosperity and cultural development in the field of learning, literature and art.

Men of learning used to come to Aṇahillapura of their own choice or on invitation, and some used to stay in the city for quite a long period.

The first sojourner from Kashmir to Gujarat about whom we have evidence was the poet Bilhaṇa—the author of the Nāṭikā Karnaśundarī and the Mahākāvya Vikramāṅkadevacarita and



probably of that lyrical narrative *Caurapañcāśikā*.<sup>3</sup> He came to *Aṇahillapura* in the reign of the *Cālukya* king *Karṇa-Tribhuvana-malla* (1064-1094 A. D.), father of the more famous *Jayasimha Siddharāja*. According to *Buhler*, *Bilhaṇa* left *Kashmir* between 1062-65 A. D. and wrote his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* about 1085. Considering the time taken by his travels and stops at *Mathura*, *Kanauj*, *Prayaga* and *Banaras*, as well as his stay in the court of *Karṇa* of *Cedi*, *Bilhaṇa* must have been in *Aṇahillapurapattana* about 1070 A. D.

His sojourn in this city of *Gurjaras* has no doubt been fruitful, because it gave him opportunity to write one of his two major works, the *Karṇasundarīnāṭikā*.

The play is, as well-known to scholars, written on the model of the *Ratnāvalīnāṭikā* of *Harṣa*. The hero is, as the *Sūtradhāra* says, भीमदेवतनयः साक्षात्कथानायकः । This son of *Bhīmadeva* is *Karṇa Solanki*, the reigning king. The heroine is *Karṇasundarī*, a *Vidyādhara* princess, marriage with whom makes the hero attain emperorship. In the words of the *Sūtradhāra* :

विद्याधरेन्द्रतनयां नयनाभिरामां लावण्यविभ्रमगुणां परिणीय देवः ।  
चालुक्यपार्थिवकुलार्णवपूर्णचन्द्रः साम्राज्यमत्र भुवनत्रयगीतमेति ॥ (प्र.श्लो. १३)

Who must have been this *Vidyādhara* princess ? In the prologue is mentioned a *Dākṣiṇātyā-naṭī*, a dancer from the south. Her flawless beauty and perfect dance have so much enamoured the *Sūtradhāra* that he suspects that he prattled something in a dream which must have made his wife jealous and cross with him. In the usual manner of *Sanskrit* dramatists, *Bilhaṇa*, by the *Dākṣiṇātyā-naṭī*, suggests the heroine in *Karṇasundarī* to be the *Vidyādhara* princess who in her turn might stand for *Mayaṇallā*, the *Southern Kadamba* princess. According to *Hemacandra*, *Mayaṇallā* adorned

3. A *Pārsvāṣṭaka* by *Bilhaṇa* on a palm-leaf manuscript of *Sanghavi Pāḍā*, *Patan* (p. 26) and a *Jinastuti* by *Bilhaṇa* also on a palm-leaf manuscript of *Vāḍī Pārsvanātha Bhaṇḍāra* (p. 411) are noted in "A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhaṇḍāras" at *Patṭan*, Vol. I. G. O. S.—1937).



the family of Kadambas अनया द्योतयामाहे कदम्बकुलमुज्ज्वलम्<sup>4</sup>. In fact the ascetic Hemacandra devoted 84 verses of canto nine of his Dvyāśraya mahākāvya to the delineation of the romantic love of Karṇa and Mayaṇallā, like Bilhaṇa who wrote a whole play on the same theme.

It appears from his copper-plates that it was after his marriage with Mayaṇallā that Karṇa made conquests which enabled him to take the title of Trailokyamalla—in the manner of the southern Cālukyas who had titles like Āhavamalla, Bhūlokamalla, etc. It seems Bilhaṇa justifies Karṇa's emperorship by referring to his victory over the army of Garjanādhipati on the banks of the Sindhu in the Upasāmhāra or Nirvahaṇa of the play.

From the point of view of understanding Bilhaṇa's contact with Aṇahillapura, it is important to note the place where the play was presented and the occasion. The Sūtradhāra says : नन्वस्मिन्नणहिल्लपाटणकमुकुटमणौ श्रीशान्त्युत्सवदेवगृहे भगवतो नामेयस्य महामात्यसंपत्करप्रवर्तिते यात्रामहोत्सवे समुत्सुकः सामन्तजनः प्रत्यग्रप्रयोगदर्शनाय । (पृ. ३). So the play was presented on the occasion of a festival in honour of the first Jain Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva sponsored by the Chief Minister Sampatkara. The place was a temple for celebrating propitiating rites for all round tranquility. The audience consisted of feudatory princes. To suit the occasion, Bilhaṇa invokes in the Nāṇḍī the first Jain Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhadeva, but in a way to suggest also Gīrīśa or Śiva :—क्षितिधरस्थायी जिनः पातु वः । A similar occasion came to Hemacandra when he was asked to invoke Śiva in Somanātha which he did in a way to suggest Jina also.

Bilhaṇa extolled the genius of the Jain minister Sampatkara by saying that he surpassed even the great ministers of the past like Yaugandharāyaṇa : अहो किमपि यौगन्धरायणप्रभृतिमहामात्यविजयिनोऽभ्यर्हिता मतिरमात्यसंपत्करस्य । (पृ. ४). His devotion to work does not permit

---

4. D. K. Canto IX : śloka 153. Also, note—अवाच्यां स्फुरिका-  
श्रयस्ति नाम्ना चन्द्रपुरं पुरम् । (स. ९. श्लो. ९९a) and राजेह जयकेशी यं स्तुतो वित्तश्च  
रोदसी । (स. ९. श्लो. १००b) and कन्या जयति तस्यैषा मयणल्लेति नामतः । समीधे-  
ऽस्या न दध्वंसे कान्तिर्निन्ये जगन्मुदम् । (स. ९. श्लो. १०१), also दक्षिणा द्योतयामासे  
येन योऽन्धिमधुक्षत । अदिग्धादुग्ध गां तस्य पुत्रीयं जयकेशिनः ॥ स. ९. श्लो. १५४).



him to mind his children, nor spend a moment, even out of regard, with his newly wedded wives. Though expert in the crooked ways of politics, his own conduct is pure (आचारपूर्ते पृ. ४). He accomplished the difficult tasks of his master as though they were easy. His policies were unknown even to his own inner circle. Only the jewelled floors of the palaces of his enemies, as they become broken by the hoofs of his galloping horses, proclaim his designs. He surpasses in intelligence Śeṣa and Br̥haspati because their masters Viṣṇu and Indra are never free from trouble caused by their enemies—Asuras (पृ. ४).

The composition of this play by Bilhaṇa to be performed in a Jain temple on the occasion of a festival in honour of the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara sponsored by the Jain Minister of Karna, Sampatkara (popularly known as Sāntu Mehta), the stooping of this orthodox Śaivite Brāhmaṇa of Kashmir to invoke a Jina and his extollation of the political talents and loyalty of this chief minister—all go to show that Bilhaṇa must have been very well patronized by Sampatkara, and pleased with his rewards. That his relation with the king also must have been very cordial can be seen from the Bharatavākya of the play: तथापीदमस्तु-

हेलाभ्यस्तसमस्तशास्त्रगहनः साहित्यपाथोनिधि-

क्रीडालोढनपण्डितः प्रियतमः शृङ्गारिणीनां गिराम् ।

एकैकेन दिनेन निर्मितमहाकाव्यादिरव्याहत-

प्रागल्भ्यस्थितिविश्रुतः स्थिरमतिः पार्श्वे विदग्धः कविः॥(अ. ४ श्लो. २४).

The word 'sthiramati' may be noted. It indicates that Karna must have desired that Bilhaṇa who was a wandering minstrel should be a permanent companion.

But in the autobiographic account in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita we find that he makes no mention of Aṇahillapura or its Cālukya king Karna or his minister Sampatkara. He only makes a passing reference to Gūrjaras and that too highly uncomplimentary. Something very unusual must have happened to obliterate from his mind his cordial reception and comfortable patronage. Can it be his love affair with Śasikalā—the daughter of Vīrasimha?

\*The Karnaśundarī mentions a general named Vīrasimha who brings the news of victory over Garjanādhpati.



Whatever it may be, he is to be remembered as the writer of *Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā*. It is an illustration of cultural contact between different regions of *Bhāratavarṣa*: a Kashmiri poet in *Aṇahillapattana* commemorates the event of the marriage of a king of *Gurjaradeśa* with a princess from the south in a play performed for a Jain festival in a Jain temple at the request of a Jain Minister.

*Bilhaṇa* must have been long remembered in the literary world of Gujarat; because we find that the poet *Someśvara* (circa A.D. 1200-1255)<sup>5</sup> remembers him after more than a century and a half in his *Kīrtikaumudī*. After praising *Vālmīki*, *Vyāsa*, *Kālidāsa*, *Bhāravi*, etc. and just before *Hemasūri*, *Someśvara* says about *Bilhaṇa* "The purity (perspicuity), that *Sarasvatī* (that Sanskrit Muse) got from the poet *Bilhaṇa* cannot be soiled (found fault with) even by very bad men (critics)."

बिल्हणस्य कवेः प्राप्तप्रसादैव सरस्वती ।

नीयते जातु कालुष्यं दुर्जनैर्न घनैरपि ॥ (स. १. श्लो. १७)

*Narendraprabhasūri* in his work *Alaṅkāramahodadhi* (composed in V.S. 1282 = A.D. 1226) quotes the verse *नीरागा मृगलाञ्छने* etc. (पृ. ३०८) from the second Act (verse 29) of the *Karṇasundarī* as an illustration of the figure *Kāvyaṅga*. *Vinayacandra* in his *Kaviśikṣā* (composed circa V.S. 1285 = A.D. 1229) mentions *Bilhaṇa*, as one of the high lights in the creation of good literary works in line with *Vyāsa*, *Vālmīki*, *Śrī Trivikrama*, *Dhanañjaya*, *Kālidāsa*, *Māgha*, *Bhāravi*, *Bāṇa*, etc.<sup>6</sup> *Bilhaṇa*'s *Pañcāśikā* was translated in old Gujarati by one *Jñānācārya* of the 16th century,

<sup>5</sup> Pp. I to IX—Introduction to *Ullāgha Rāghava*, G.O.S.

<sup>6</sup> मंत्रे सारस्वतं सारमुपमा स्यादलंकृतौ ।  
भोज्ये दध्योदनं सारं सर्वर्तुषु च माधव [ : ] ॥  
सद्ग्रन्थनिर्मितौ व्यास-वाल्मीकि-श्रीत्रिविक्रमाः ।  
धनंजयः कालिदासो माघो भारविरित्यपि ॥  
बाणो गुणाढ्योऽभिनेदिः (दः) श्रीहर्षो भोजभूपतिः ।  
सुबन्धुर्धनपालश्च बिल्हणो राजशे (ख) रः ॥

(Patan Catalogue of MSS Vol. I, p. 49, G.O.S.)



and by a poet named Sāraṅga in V. S. 1639 = A. D. 1583 in Copāi metre<sup>7</sup>.

Bilhaṇa was not a solitary sojourner in Western India from Kashmir. There must have been others. In the reign of Karna's successor Jāyasimha, better known as Siddharāja (A.D. 1094-1143), we meet with Kashmir Pandits in Anahillapura and other parts of Gujarat.

The Prabhāvakacarita informs us that Vādi-Devasūri (A.D. 1087-1170), the Jain dialectician, had a dialectical contest with a Kashmirian named Sāgara in Satyapura, i.e. Sachor in Marwada.<sup>8</sup>

The same work refers to a Mādhumata Sārtha, a caravan from the region of the Madhumatī, in whose company Hemacandra intended to travel to Kashmir.<sup>9</sup> This shows that travellers from Kashmir used to go to Gujarat. We shall just see what this Madhumatī is.

A contemporary dramatic work Mudritakumudacandra of Yaśaḥpāla commemorating the historic debate between the Digambara Ācārya Kumudacandra and the Śvetāmbara Ācārya Vādi-Devasūri held on the full moon day of Vaiśākha V. S. 1181 = A. D. 1125, and employing historical personages as characters mentions the names of the judges in the 'Paṇḍita Sabhā' of Siddharāja. Amongst these one is शारदादेशविदितावदातवियामहोत्साहोऽयमुत्साहः (अं. ५. पृ. ४५).—'Utsāha whose great and brilliant effort in learning was known in Śāradādeśa'. From the part he plays in the debate explaining a sūtra from Pāṇini (—पाणिनिप्रणीतसूत्रं व्याकरोति अं. ५. पृ. ४७) he appears to be a Vaiyākaraṇa. Another Paṇḍita Sāgara who is described as अयमद्भुतमतिश्रीसागरः सागरः (अं. ५. पृ. ४५) would be from Kashmir, if he is identical with the Kāśmīrian Sāgara whom Devasūri met at Sachor.

7. See p. 530, p. 612, Mohanlal Desai's History of Jain literature.

8. काश्मीरः सागरो जिग्ये वादात् सत्यपुरे पुरे ॥ श्लो. ३९—Prabhāvakacarita, p. 172 S.J.G.

9. See p. 184, verse 42-Prabhāvakacarita. S. J. G.  
L—15



The Prabhāvakacarita (completed in V. S. 1334 = A. D. 1278) mentions Utsāha and Kashmir in another and more important connection :

अन्यदाऽवन्तिकोशीयपुस्तकेषु नियुक्तकैः ।  
दर्श्यमानेषु भूपेन प्रैक्षि लक्षणपुस्तकम् ॥ ७४.

‘Once upon a time Siddharāja, after his conquest of Malva, was, in the presence of Hemacandra, shown by his officers books of the Avanti library. He saw a Śāstra work and asked Hemacandra what it was. Hemacandra replied भोजव्याकरणं ह्येतच्छब्दशास्त्रं प्रवर्तते । (प्रभा. च. पृ. १८५ श्लो. ७५)’. “This is the grammar of Bhoja. This work on the science of language is in current use”, and adds that this king of Malava was the crest amongst the learned and had written works on grammar, poetics, astrology and logic :

असौ हि मालवाधीशो विद्वच्चक्रशिरोमणिः ।  
शब्दालङ्कारदैवज्ञतर्कशास्त्राणि निर्ममे ॥ ७६.

All these works are then shown to Siddharāja. The jealousy of this conqueror is roused and he asks “What? Have we not such Śāstra works in our library and is there no learned man in the whole of Gurjaradeśa?”

भूपालोऽप्यवदत् किं नास्मत्कोशे शास्त्रपद्धतिः ।  
विद्वान् कोऽपि कथं नास्ति देशे विश्वेऽपि गुर्जरे ॥ ७९.

Everybody looks at Hemacandra and so the king requests him to write a new grammar :

यशो मम तव ख्यातिः पुण्यं च मुनिनायक ।  
विश्वलोकोपकाराय कुरु व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ ८४.

Hemacandra replies that he wanted to write one and that the words of the king were merely a reminder. Then he says, “There are eight grammars. The books of these grammars surely exist in the library of Sri Bhārati Devī. Get them from the Kāśmīra region through your own men, so that a good work on grammar can be composed, Oh King.”



परं व्याकरणान्यष्टौ वर्तन्ते पुस्तकानि च ।

तेषां श्रीभारतीदेवीकोश एवास्तिता ध्रुवम् ॥ ८६.

आनाययतु काश्मीरदेशात् तानि स्वमानुषैः ।

महाराजो यथा सम्यक् शब्दशास्त्रं प्रतन्यते ॥ ८७.

The king sends his big officers—प्रधानपुरुषान् to ‘Vāgdevī-deśa’. Reaching Pravarapura, they invoke Speech Goddess-devatām girām. The goddess is pleased and says “This Śvetāmbara Hemacandra has my highest favour:—मम प्रसादवित्तमः श्रीहेमचन्द्रः सिताम्बरः (श्लो. ६०). So send servants with the collection of books for this another image of mine :”

ततो मूर्त्यन्तरस्यैव मदीयस्यास्य हेतवे ।

समर्प्य प्रेष्यतां प्रेष्यवर्गः पुस्तकसञ्चयम् ॥ ९१.

The ministers of Bhārati—भारतीसचिवाः—execute the order and also send Utsāha Paṇḍita—प्रेषुश्चोत्साहपण्डितम् ॥ ९२ ॥

We cannot say definitely whether this was the first visit of Utsāha Paṇḍita or the second. Most probably it was the second, because the officers of the Kashmir library might have thought it better to send their valuable manuscripts with their man who was also familiar with Gujarat.

Utsāha and company reached Anahillapura and gave the books to Hemacandra. He looked through this collection of Vyākaraṇas and wrote his work on grammar known as Siddha-Haima. Copies of this work were sent to the different regions of the country. To Kashmir, however, the king respectfully sent twenty copies :

अस्य सोपनिबन्धानां पुस्तकानां च विंशतिः ।

प्राहीयत नृपेन्द्रेण काश्मीरेषु महादरात् ॥ ११०.

Whatever may be the historical facts in this account, a study of the Siddha-Haima makes it clear that Hemacandra had utilized almost all the important existing works on grammar written before him.



The tradition about Hemacandra's association with Śāradā-deśa seems to have been very strong, because it gave rise to a legend according to which, after having developed capacity to retain one lac padas he felt dissatisfied with himself and said to himself 'Fie upon me—a man with so little learning! I will go and propitiate the goddess living in Kāśmīra like a Cakora (bird) the light of the moon'—

तत आराधयिष्यामि देवीं काश्मीरवासिनीम् ।

चकोरद्विजरोचिष्णुर्ज्योत्स्नामिव कलावतः ॥ ३९.

So he started for Brāhmīdeśa from Tāmalipti (*i.e.* Cambay):

प्रस्थानं तामलिप्त्याः स ब्राह्मीदेशोपरि व्यधात् ॥ ४१.

and made his first halt in the temple Raivatāvatāra of Neminātha on the outskirts of the city in the company of a caravan of Mādhumatās: सार्धे माधुमते तत्रावात्सीद्वहितस्थितिः ॥ ४२ प्रमा. च. (पृ. १८४). As he meditated in the night with his eyes on the tip of his nose Brāhmī herself appeared from the Ocean of Brahman-light: आराधनात् समक्षाऽभूद् ब्राह्मी ब्रह्ममहोनिधेः (श्लो. ४३). She asked him not to go to another region, because she was pleased with his great devotion, and so his ambition would be fulfilled where he was—सेत्स्यतीहितमत्र ते ॥ ४४. Thus Soma—the earlier name of Hemacandra—became Siddhasārasvata:

सिद्धसारस्वतोऽक्लेशात् सोमः सीमा विपश्चिताम् ॥ ४६.

As I said, this is a legend, but it is a legend not without historical significance. Considering the extraordinary erudition of this polymath Hemacandra which earned him the title of Kalikālasarvajña, it would not be a bad guess to suppose that Hemacandra wanted to go to Kashmir for further and higher studies and that if owing to the dangerous conditions of travel he was prevented from going there, he must have tried to get books and possibly teachers like Utsāha with the help of the influential Jain ministers and their king. Any way he must have had the highest respect for Kashmirian Pandits as can be seen from the fact that he based the sūtras of his Kāvyaānuśāsana on the Kārikās of the Kāvyaaprakāśa of Mammaṭa and refers to Abhinavaguptācārya in connection



with the discussion of Rasa theory with the words : इति श्रीमानभिनव-  
गुप्ताचार्यः । एतन्मतमेव चास्माभिरुपजीवितमिति ॥ का. अ. वि. (पृ. १०३).

There was a halo round the name of Kashmir as Śāradā-deśa for a different reason. There was a temple of Śāradā on the bank of the river Madhumatī. It has been mentioned by Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita :

गाङ्गस्पर्धोद्धुरमधुमतीसैकतोत्तंसहंसी

विद्यारक्षाधिकृतमकरोत् सा स्वयं शारदा यत् ॥ ५. सर्ग १८.

It has also been mentioned by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī :

आलोक्य शारदां देवीं यत्र संप्राप्यते क्षणात् ।

तरङ्गिणी मधुमती वाणी च कविसेविता ॥ ३७ ॥ (त. १)

The legend of Kashmir as the abode of Śāradā seems to have become current quite early and remained so for many centuries. In an old Kumārapāla-prabandha, we are told that Hemacandra started on a travel to Kashmir for seeing the original idol of Brāhmī. परब्रह्ममयपरमपुरुषप्रणीतमातृकाष्टदशलिपिन्यास-प्रकटनप्रवीणाया ब्राह्म्या आदिमूर्तिविलोकनाय काश्मीरदेशं प्रति प्रस्थितः। (कुमारपालचरित्रसंग्रह—कु. पा. प्रबोध प्रबन्ध पृ. ४७). Sir Aurel Stein in his notes to his translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī has described the remains of the temple of Śāradā 'rising in a prominent and commanding position above the right bank of the Madhumatī'.<sup>10</sup> The people living in this region of Madhumatī must have been known as Mādhumatās, in whose company, according to the Prabhāvakcarita (पृ. १८४), Hemacandra intended to travel.

In the Praśastis of Vastupāla we find that small temples of Sarasvatī were built along with bigger temples of Tirthamkaras. These are called Kāśmīrāvatāra—काश्मीरावतारश्रीसरस्वतीमूर्तिदेवकुलिका (सुकृतकीर्तिकलोलिन्यादिवस्तुपालप्रशस्तिसंग्रह—पृ. ४४, ४६, ४८, ५०, ५४, ५६). This indicates that the images of Sarasvatī and the chapels were built in the style of the architectures of the Śāradā temple in Kashmir. A study of the architecture of the chapels and the old

10. P. 282, note 8, Translation, R.T. Second impression.



remains of the Śāradā temple in Kashmir might confirm this indication.

The idol symbolized the reality and so Kashmir became famous as the abode of Sarasvatī. We find this echoed in the old literature of Gujarat. Bālacandra who was called Siddha-Śārasvatācārya says in the introductory stanzas of his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya :

काश्मीरवासव्यसना सनाऽपि सरस्वती पुण्यवशादुपेत्य ।

वसत्यवश्यं कविताविलासरूपेण चिद्रूपमुखाम्बुजेषु ॥ (स. १.)

In poems written in Gujarati we find lines calling Sarasvatī the ornament of Kashmir. 'कासमिरां माइ or कासमि मुखमंडणी', we find in poems of 1216 A.D., 1361 A.D., and 1563 A.D. and we have कासमीर-पोरवासिनी in a poem of 1504 A.D. and कासमीरनिवासिनी in a poem of 1548 A.D.<sup>11</sup>

Thus there was a sort of mysterious attraction towards Kashmir as the land of Śāradā. Bhāratī as one Prabandha says, was honoured by all the Darśanas—देवी भारती षड्दर्शनानां संमता (पृ. १९ पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह). So when Bhoja was in doubt as to the true path of liberation he was advised to consult this Goddess, who appropriately advised him saying :

श्रोतव्यः सौगतो धर्मः कर्तव्यः पुनरार्हतः ।

वैदिको व्यवहर्तव्यो ध्यातव्यः परमः शिवः ॥

This was the attitude towards this Goddess of Kashmir.

This high regard owing to the sanctity of Kashmir as the land of Śāradā was sustained by its eminent men of letters like the poet Bilhaṇa and others known through their works. Bilhaṇa makes his region famous as the exclusive land of saffron and poetry. In the Praśasti at the end of his Karnaśundarīnāṭikā he says :

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।

न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥

11. See p.155 fn. 1, Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla, by Dr. B.J. Sandesara, S.J.G.



He repeats this verse in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (Canto 1, 21).

This brief illustrative study of the literary contacts of these two regions of Bhārata shows an aspect of old Indian life which requires to be studied in detail.<sup>12</sup>

#### IV

Now let me illustrate the necessity of studying how Classical Sanskrit Literature has been enriched by the different regions of our country, and by followers of different religions in a particular region. One of the former Presidents of this section said "Even Jainas and Bauddhas have written Sanskrit works". I do not understand why 'even Jainas and Bauddhas'. Any one familiar with the history of Classical Sanskrit Literature knows that as far as evidence goes one of the earliest writers, if not the earliest, of Mahākāvyas and a Prakaraṇa was a Bauddha,—I mean Aśvaghōṣa, the author of the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda Mahākāvya*s and the *Śārīputraprakaraṇa*—this last discovered only in fragments; and that Umāsvāti accepted as an authority by both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara Jains and not later than the third century A.D. wrote his *Tattvārthādhigama sūtra* in Sanskrit.

I will try to illustrate the subject of regional contribution to Sanskrit literature by giving a brief outline of the literary work of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina writers of Gujarat. I hasten to add that it is not out of any parochialism or narrow regional patriotism that I do so. I do it purely out of academic consideration, to draw attention to a certain aspect of study and research in Sanskrit literature, and because Gujarat happens to show how Sanskrit literature has been enriched by Brahmanical as well as Jain writers.

The present state of Gujarat comprises the regions known in earlier times by the names of Ānarta—North Gujarat, Lāṭa—South Gujarat, Surāṣṭra or Surāṣṭrā and Kaccha—Western Gujarat, and portions of Avanti and Anūpa—East Gujarat.

---

12. Śrīharṣa—in spite of his learned pride—had to get a certificate from the learned men of Kashmir for his *Naiṣadhīya* as is seen by his allusion : काश्मीरैर्महिते चतुर्दशतयीं विद्यां विदद्भिः (स. १६. श्लो. १३१).



When the name Gurjaratrā or Gurjaradeśa came to be applied to all these regions is still not determined. But there is no doubt that it is connected with Gurjaras whom Bāṇa refers to in his *Harṣacarita* when he calls Harṣa's father 'Gurjaraprajāgara'. The dynasty of Gurjara.pratihāras is well-known in Indian history. They had their first capital in Bhinna° or Bhillamāla, more popularly known as Śrīmāla. The first inscriptional reference to Gurjarabhūmi is to be found in a copper-plate of V.S. 900=A.D. 844 of the Pratihāra king Bhoja I, which was found in the ruins of a temple in the village Śivā. A stone inscription of the ninth century A.D. discovered at Kalinjara mentions Gurjaratrā-maṇḍala. Two inscriptions of V.S. 918=A.D. 862 found in the Ghatale village—one in Sanskrit and the other in Prakrit mention Gurjaratrā and Gujjarattā respectively. All these references indicate that Gurjaratrā included the southern part of the old Jodhpur State now in the State of Rajasthan. Even though the political boundaries of Gujarat, as of every other region in India, changed from time to time, Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla cannot be denied the claim of being the first capital of Gujarat as such. Anyway the political, social, religious and cultural history of Gujarat cannot be understood without considering Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla in Rajasthan as intimately connected with it at least for historical purpose.

The history of Sanskrit literature in Gujarat can conveniently be viewed by looking at it from its five historical capitals—Girinagara or Junagadh and Valabhi in Surāṣṭra, Bhinnamāla or Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla in Rajasthan, Aṇahillapura-pattana, and Karṇāvatī or Ahmedabad in Ānarta, and its two Purāṇic capitals—Ānarttapura, Ānandanagara or Vaḍanagara in Ānartta and Dvārakā in Surāṣṭra.

#### IV

##### I

Girinagara was the capital of Ānartta-Surāṣṭra for more than seven centuries, from the time of Candragupta Maurya (B.C. 321-297) to the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 480). The importance of this place for Classical Sanskrit Literature lies in the two Sanskrit inscriptions inscribed by the side of Aśoka's Dhamma-



lipis on a rock at the foot of the Girnar hill: one, of the Kṣatrapa ruler Rudradāman inscribed in A.D. 151-2 and the other of Skandagupta inscribed in A.D. 457-58. The inscription of Rudradāman is one of our earliest examples of ornate Sanskrit prose, graphically describing the havoc worked to the lake Sudarśana by the rivers Suvarṇasikatā and Palāśinī rushing out of the mountain Ūrjayat or Girnar, the lake as it appeared after reconstruction and the virtues and power of Rudradāman. The importance of this inscription for the political history of India is well-known. Its importance for the history of classical Sanskrit literature was pointed out long ago by Dr. Buhler.<sup>13</sup>

Two references from this inscription may be noted. The characterization of literary prose and verse by the words स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-कान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृत-गद्य-पद्य—is very significant for the history of Sanskrit Poetics. The other is about one of the qualifications of Rudradāman. He is said to be a scholar and a practitioner of Śabda-vidyā-grammar, Arthavidyā-politics, Gāndharvavidyā-music and Nyāyavidyā-logic and philosophy : शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना..... । Rudradāman may or may not have been so proficient in all these great vidyās, but we cannot deny that it was a matter of prestige amongst the people to be so and to be known as such.

The inscription of Skandagupta more than three hundred years later is on the same theme—the flooded rivers of Giranāra overflowing their banks in monsoon, breaking the dam and destroying the lake Sudarśana. It is called Sudarśana-Taṭāga-Grantha-Racanā. This composition reads like a Sarga of a Mahākāvya by its mastery of diction and description. In fact it is a Kāvya of great excellence. As this is not very familiar to the student of Sanskrit literature, I may quote a few verses :

अथ क्रमेणाम्बुदकाल आगते निदाघकालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः ।

ववर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं सुदर्शनं येन बिभेद च त्वरात् ॥

13. See Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLII. 1913. Die Indischen Inschriften etc. translated by Prof. V.S. Ghate.



इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गताः पलाशिनीयं सिकताविलासिनी ।  
 समुद्रकान्ताः चिरबन्धनोषिताः पुनः पतिं शास्त्रयथोचितं ययुः ॥  
 अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्गमं महोदधेरुजयता प्रियेषुना ।  
 अनेकतीरान्तजपुष्पशोभितो नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ॥

This is the description of monsoon, the rivers rushing to meet their lord and the mountain Ūrjayat extending its flower-decked riverine hand towards the ocean. The following describes the anxiety of the frightened people :

विषादमानाः खलु सर्वतो जनाः कथं कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।  
 मिथो हि पूर्वापररात्रमुत्थिता विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः ॥

These two Sanskrit inscriptions composed in the best classical style were ment to be public documents. What can we infer about the prevalence of Classical Sanskrit in this region from this fact ? Would it be wrong to say that it was as well known to educated people as English is to-day a little more, and that Sanskrit poetry was well cultivated in this region of India ?

## IV

## 2

A century or so before this inscription of Skandagupta, Mallavādin the great Jain dialectician flourished in Valabhi, circa Vīra Saṁvat 884=Vikrama Saṁvat 414=358 A. D. From the account of his life given in the Prabhāvākacarita we learn that he wrote two works in Sanskrit, Dvādaśāra-naya-cakra—a treatise on Jain philosophy and a Mahākāvya named Padmacarita. No manuscript of the Dvādaśāra-naya-cakra has been found but its text is preserved in the form of lemmata in the text of Siṃhasūri's commentary.<sup>14</sup> The text of four Aras or Spokes of the work has been restored by Muni Caturvijayaji and published in the G. O. S.\* A

14. See Prof. G. H. Bhatt's Foreword, p. II to the G. O. S. edition.

\* Vijayalabhisūri also has edited this work and published it in four parts in the L.S. Jainagranthamālā. Chani, Gujarat 1948-1960.



more critical edition of the whole work by Muni Śrī Jambuvijayaji is about to be published. This edition will throw much light on many unknown Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain dārsanic writers in Sanskrit. The bulk of the Padmacarita which is yet undiscovered consisted, according to the Prabhāvakacarita, of 84 thousand granthas (a grantha = 32 syllables). Mallavādin had two brothers, one named Ajitayaśas and the other Yakṣa. The former is credited with a work on logic (Pramāṇa-grantha) and a Nyāsa on a work of Grammar named Viśrānta Vidyādhara : शब्दशास्त्रे विश्रान्तविद्याधरवराभिधे । न्यासं चकेऽल्पधीवृन्दबोधनाय स्फुटार्थकम् ॥ and the latter, a work on astrology (निमित्ताष्टाङ्गबोधिनी).<sup>15</sup>

Valabhi seems to have been a centre of Jain learning from the fourth century A. D., because we find that the epoch making work of redacting the Jaina Āgamas was executed in that city first under the editorship of Nāgārjuna, circa A. D. 300-313 and next of Devarddhigaṇikṣamāśramaṇa in A. D. 454 or 467. While Girinagara was the headquarters of Government of Ānartta and Surāṣṭra, Valabhi was its most important port, being then situated on the Bhavnagar creek at the mouth of the river Ghelo. From Ptolemy's reference to Valabhi as Balai and certain clay seals we are able to infer its existence in the second century A. D. It had become sufficiently famous as a port to be taken as a place for a story in the Daśakumāracarita. अस्ति सौराष्ट्रेषु वलभी नाम नगरी । तस्यां गृहगुप्तनाम्नो गुह्यकेन्द्रतुल्यविभवस्य नाविकपतेर्दुहिता रत्नवती नाम ।<sup>16</sup>

It was important enough to be selected as a place for visit by Heun-t-sang who has given us its description.

Valabhi seems to have been from early times a place of learning for Brahmins, Buddhists and Jainas. I have referred to the early literary activity of the Jainas in that city. Heun-t-sang has told us about the existence of some hundreds of Sanghārāmas with about 600 priests studying Hīnayāna as taught by the Sammatīya school. His junior contemporary Itsing tells us that 'Nalanda in south Bihar and Valabhi were two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and

15. See Prabhaāvakacarita pp. 77-79, S. J. G.

16. P. 225, Daśakumāracarita, 7th edition, N. S. 1913.



were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted two or three years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy'.

The existence of several Vihāras in the city or nearby is vouchsafed by the several copper-plates of the Maitrakas. In the copper-plate of Dharasena II of the Valabhi Era 259=A. D. 578 there is a reference to Śrī Bappapādīya Vihāra caused by Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati. This is confirmed by Heun-t-sang who tells us that 'not far from the city was a great Sanghārāma built by O-Che-lo. While residing there Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati composed treatises which gained high renown'.<sup>17</sup> The works of Sthiramati that we know of are written in Sanskrit. He is known as the author of commentaries on the works of Vasubandhu and of notes on the Ratnakūṭa.<sup>18</sup>

Śāntideva—the author of Śikṣāsamuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra two most popular works in the entire Mahāyāna literature—was, according to Taranatha and Buston the son of King Kalyāṇavarman of Saurāṣṭra. He flourished in a period between the departure of Itsing from India in A. D. 625 and before Śāntarakṣita's first visit to Tibet in A. D. 743.<sup>19</sup>

Just as Valabhi was a city of Nāvika-patis in folklore as evidenced by the Daśakumāracarita, so also, as evidenced by the Kathāsaritsāgara, it was a place where young men used to go for higher learning. The Kathāsaritsāgara tells us a story of one Viṣṇudatta, who had completed sixteen years of age, hailing from Antarvedi going to Valabhi for such a purpose:

स विष्णुदत्तो वयसा पूर्णषोडशवत्सरः ।

गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते विद्याप्राप्तये वलभीं पुरीम् ॥ पृ. १४१ (नि. सा.)

17. Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World Book XI, pp. 266-268.

18. p. 129. Manual of Indian Buddhism. H. Kern.

19. p. 100 and f.n. 4. The Central philosophy of Buddhism by Dr. T. R. V. Murti, George Allen and Unwin (1955).



For a proper picture of learning pursued by Brāhmaṇas, we have, however, more solid evidence in the copper-plates of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.

After Girinagara Valabhi became the capital of Ānartta Surāṣṭra in the time of Maitrakas. The first Maitraka ruler that we know of was Senāpati Bhaṭārka, already in possession of Valabhi in A. D. 480. The last was Śīlāditya the VIIth. We have about 100 copper-plates of Valabhi ranging from A. D. 502 to A.D. 766-67 of twentyone rulers beginning with Senāpati Bhaṭārka. An analysis of these copper-plates shows us how Sanskrit learning, both Vedic and Classical, flourished under the rule of Maitrakas in Gujarat. The kings themselves take pride in being known as learned and lovers of learning. For example Dhruvasena I is called अवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्त्वानाम् । Dhruvasena II is known as दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य. Śīlāditya I is described as सर्वविद्यापारावारविभागाधिगमविमलमतिः । and as one who is pleased, we might say, even with a couplet : सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषः । Dharasena III is सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविज्ञानमनः परितोषातिशयः and सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागः । His younger brother Dharasena is a master of all arts अधिगतकलाकलाप but also expert in the sciences both of Government and Grammar : राज्य-शालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः । The Śālāturiya-tantra is the grammar of Pāṇini who was supposed to belong to Śālātura identified by Cunningham with Lahur, a small town four milles north-west of Ohind, in the angle of the river Kabul meeting the Indus.<sup>20</sup>

What is, however, more important for the history of Vedic and Sanskrit learning is to know the qualifications of the donees. For example, in one copper plate of Dhruvasana I, we find a reference like नगरकवास्तव्यावन्तिशर्मणे आत्रेयसगोत्राय वाजिसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे तथा अस्यैव भ्रात्रे देवशर्मणे or in another of A. D. 538 of the same king we have आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणस्कन्दत्रातगुहत्राताभ्यां भरद्वाजसगोत्राभ्यां छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभ्याम्.... । An analysis of similar references in the extant copper-plates shows that the largest number is that of the

20. p. 10 India as Known to Pāṇini by Dr. V. S. Agrawal; Ancient Geography pp. 66-67.



students of Śukla Yajurveda of the Vājasaneyi-Mādhyandini Śākhā, and Kāṇva, the majority being those of the former. There are a few donees of the Maitrāyaṇī Śākhā—one of them is called Maitrāyaṇaka-Māṇavaka, and there is one of Taittirīya Śākhā also. The next in number are the students of the Sāmaveda, Chandogas of the Kauthuma Śākhā. The third in number are the students of the Ṛgveda of the Bahvṛca Śākhā, not of the Śākala, it may be noted. There are a few Ātharvaṇa donees also, pursuing the study of Atharvaveda. An analysis of the native places of these donees shows that they were spread over the whole of Gujarat—quite a big number from Ānartta° or Ānandapura—the modern Vadanagar—which was a place of Vedic learning for centuries. Jambusara near Bharooch is also well represented. In these grants certain donees are called Cāturvidyā-Sāmānya or Traividya-Sāmānya of particular places. My friend and colleague Dr. H. G. Shastri has on the authority of the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya explained the words Cāturvidyā and Traividya as the Parśats of the masters of the four Vedas and the three Vedas respectively, and Sāmānya as member of these Parśats.<sup>21</sup>

Here we can mention two great Vedic scholars whose works have survived the ravages of time. One is Durgācārya of Lāṭa, the other is Skandasvāmin of Valabhi. Durgācārya, the author of Ṛjvarthavṛtti on the Nirukta of Yāska is a great name in Vedic learning. At the end of the Vṛtti on each Adhyāya the colophon reads : जम्बूमार्गश्रमवासिनः आचार्यभगवद्दुर्गस्य कृतौ ऋज्वर्थ्यां निरुक्तवृत्तौ, etc. Dr. Lakshman Sarup formerly identified Jambu with Jammu in the Kashmir State. But later on, on the strength of references in the Mahābhārata, he identified Jambumārga with a sacred place situated on the western part of Narmadā, and therefore near Bharooch.<sup>22</sup> In fact it can be identified with the modern town Jambusar in the Bharooch District.

The same scholar formerly assigned him to the fourteenth century A. D. but later on he found evidence to put him before

21. p. 356. Maitraka Kālina Gujarat Part II.

22. pp. 97-101. Introduction to the Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, Vols. III and IV, The University of Lahore.



Skandasvāmin and so according to him the fifth century A. D. became Durga's lower limit. His upper limit, he puts, in the first century A. D. on account of Durga using the word Dināra as equivalent to money. Dr. Lakshman Sarup is inclined to assign him to the first century A.D. because Barygaza or Bharooch was a famous port in the first century A. D., and declined as a port after that century.<sup>23</sup>

Skandasvāmin was the author of a commentary on the R̥gveda as well as of one on the Nirukta of Yāska. He calls himself an inhabitant of Valabhi and son of Bhartṛ-Dhruva.<sup>24</sup> Dr. Lakshman Sarup assigns Skandasvāmin to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A. D., because Harisvāmin mentions Skandasvāmin as his guru. Dr. Sarup fixed the date of Harisvāmin after emending the text of the colophon of Harisvāmin's commentary on the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa which indicates the date of the completion of the commentary, and gives it as 538 A. D.<sup>25</sup>

One Brāhmaṇa Skanda is mentioned in the copper-plate of A. D. 528 (G. H. I. No. 26), a Skandatrāta is mentioned in the one of A. D. 539 of the same king (No. 29 *ibid*) and one 'Brāhmaṇa Skanda-Vasu' in the copper-plate of A. D. 630 of Dhruvasena II (No. 64 *ibid*). The first is a Vājasaneyya, the second a Chandoga and the third also a Chandoga. We have no means to say whether Skandasvāmin, son of Bhartṛdhruva was one of these.

In addition to the cultivation of the Vedas there is evidence in the copper-plates of the cultivation of the Śāstras also. We

23. *Ibid.* pp. 96-97.

24. बलभीविनिवास्येतामृगार्थगमसंहतिम् ।

भर्तृध्रुवसुतश्चक्रे स्कन्दस्वामी यथास्मृति ॥

इति भर्तृध्रुवसुतस्य स्कन्दस्वामिनः कृतौ ऋग्वेदभाष्ये प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ 'पा. '०' अ' क. ख. पाठः १३३ ऋक्संहिता स्कन्दस्वामिकृतभाष्येण सहिता edited by Sambasiva Sastri : Trivandrum Sanskrit Series : No. XCVL, Trivandrum, 1929.

25. Commentary of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara on the Nirukta, Vols. III and IV, University of Punjab. Lahore. 1934.



may particularly note the Śālāturiya-tantra, the grammar of Pāṇini and the Rājya-tantra. We cannot say which particular work is meant by the latter. It may be the Arthaśāstra of Cāṇakya or may refer to the general study of such works, just as the name Śālāturiya-tantra may also have been used for works on Sanskrit grammar in general.

As a positive contribution to Classical Sanskrit literature, however, the inscriptions themselves on hundred or more copper-plates should be mentioned. They are of great value for the study of Sanskrit prose, first as it was used for Government purposes, and secondly literature. Most of them have the quality of Ojas, not without Prasāda. The diction of some is noteworthy. In some of these one will discover parallels with the verses of Raghuvamśa.

The most noteworthy contribution of Valabhi to Classical Sanskrit literature is, however, the Mahākāvya of Bhaṭṭi named Rāvaṇa-vadha. He has himself said in his praśasti :

काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।  
कीर्तिरतो भवतान्नृपस्य तस्य प्रेमकरः क्षितिपो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥ ३५, स. २२.

The copper-plates of Maitrakas show that there were four Dharasenas and five Bhaṭṭis and the last Dharasena died in or before A. D. 651. So "We remain with nothing more secure than that as a terminus ad quem!"<sup>26</sup> We can, however, find some clue in the last verse. Bhaṭṭi calls Dharasena—a king who is प्रेमकरः क्षितिपो यतः प्रजानाम्. Other readings in place of Premakara are Kṣemakara or Kṣemaṁkara. So for Bhaṭṭi Dharasena was प्रजानां प्रेमकरः or क्षेमकरः । Now we find in the copper-plates of the Maitrakas that the epithets of the preceding rulers more or less remain identical, suggesting that that was how they were known to the public, and that these were preserved as titles in the State-records. Amongst the four Dharasenas we find that it is only Dharasena I who has a title which more or less means what is conveyed by Bhaṭṭi. In the plates of Dhruvasena I we have

---

26. A. B. Keith's A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 116.



दीनानाथोपजीव्यमानविभवः परममाहेश्वरस्सेनापतिधरसेनः. In the plate of Guhasena of A.D. 559 one more word कृपण is added—making the title दीनानाथकृपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभवः । In the copper-plates of Dhara-sena II this last title is throughout repeated. I suggest there-fore that Bhaṭṭi by the words प्रेमकरः or क्षेमकरः प्रजानाम् is referring to that outstanding quality of his king which gave him the state-title दीनानाथकृपणोपजीव्यमानविभवः । If this guess proves true, Bhaṭṭi of Rāvaṇavadha can be placed in the reign of Dhara-sena I. No copper plate of this ruler is discovered but from those of Droṇasimha, Dhruvasena, etc. he is put between A. D. 470-500.<sup>27</sup>

As the late scholar Shri Kamalashanker Trivedi, the editor of Bhaṭṭikāvya in the B. S. S. has said, "The Bhaṭṭikāvya is a work of great renown. It is held to be a sort of authority on questions of grammar".<sup>28</sup> In fact Bhaṭṭi himself says:

दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्दलक्षणचक्षुषाम् ।

हस्तादर्श इवान्धानां भवेद् व्याकरणादृते ॥ ३३

It is as Kṣemendra says, a Śāstra-kāvya :

शास्त्रकाव्यं चतुर्वर्गप्रायं सर्वोपदेशकृत् ।

भट्टिभौमककाव्यादि काव्यशास्त्रं प्रचक्षते ॥

This confession of the author and the opinion of Kṣemen-dra have created a sort of prejudice against this Mahākāvya. Those, however, who have cared to study the work, have recog-nized the merits of Bhaṭṭikāvya as a Mahākāvya. Colebrooke said "Being composed purposely for the practical illustration of grammar, it exhibits a studied variety of diction, in which words anomalously inflected are most frequent. The style, however, is neither obscure nor inelegant and the poem is reckoned among the classical compositions in the Sanskrit language".<sup>30</sup> As Mr.

27. p. 53, Maitraka-kālīna Gujarat.

28. p. III, Introduction, Bhaṭṭikāvya, B. S. S.

29. *Ibid.* p. XI.

30. *Ibid.* VIH. Colebrooke's Essays Vol. II pp. 115-116.

L—17



Trivedi says, "There are many passages in it, which can stand comparison with the best passages of any of the Mahākāvya".<sup>31</sup>

It appears Bhaṭṭi's effort found successors in the same line. Bhaumaka who won fame in Kashmir wrote his Rāvaṇārjunīya or Arjuna-Rāvaṇīya with a similar purpose. He probably followed the example of Bhaṭṭi. Mr. M. Krishnamachariar in his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature says that in manuscripts of this work available in Malabar, the author's name is given as Bhosa and that the colophon runs इति श्रीवलभीवास्त [व्य] भट्टभोसविरचिते।<sup>32</sup>

We may note here the Digambara Jain writer Jinasenāsūri. He wrote in Sanskrit a work named Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, of course according to Jaina tradition. The work was written in Śaka 705, A. D. 783-84 in Vardhamānapura, modern Wadhawan in Saurashtra. At the time, Śilāditya VII was ruling in Valabhi.

Here a word may be said regarding classical Sanskrit becoming predominant as a state language and the language of the educated. Aśoka's Dhammalipis inscribed on the Girnar rock are in Prakrit. Beside it, we have Rudradāman's inscription, A. D. 150 and Skandagupta's inscription, A. D. 457 in classical Sanskrit par excellence. After this we have hundred and more copper-plates of Maitrakas of Valabhi which are state documents written in elaborate Sanskrit prose. A work like the Bhaṭṭi Kāvya gets its educational justification in circumstances in which a good grounding in Sanskrit was a necessary qualification for social and political advancement. After this period most of such inscriptions in Gujarat, Brahmanical or Jain, are to be found in Sanskrit. To this add the Jaina authors, whose sacred language was Prakrit, writing their works of logic or poetry in Sanskrit. All this shows how Sanskrit as a language of the state and literature was a living language and a unifying force in our country.

#### IV

##### 3

After the downfall of Valabhi which took place about A.D. 783-89, the glory of Ānartta-Surāṣṭra became eclipsed for a time.

31. Int. to B. K. p. XIII.

32. p. 148, para 45, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.



For our next vantage point for reviewing Sanskrit literature we have to go to Bhillamāla or Bhinnamāla which became famous as Śrīmāla. If we believe the local tradition, this city was in existence before the second century A. D. Its position on a main trade-route seems to have been the cause of its prosperity from early times.

Brahmagupta the famous astronomer finished his Siddhānta in Śaka 550, A. D. 628 in this city, when a king named Vyāghramukha of the Cāpa dynasty was ruling. Heun-t-Sang seems to have come about 641 A. D. to the kingdom of Kiu-Che-lo which is rendered into Sanskrit as Gurjara. Its capital, he calls Pi-lo-mo-lo which is rendered into Bhillamāla. According to him a Kṣatriya prince about twenty years of age was ruling there, who was strongly devoted to Buddhism. He might have been a descendent of Vyāghramukha whose Cāpa dynasty might be one of the clans of Gurjaras. According to the Chinese pilgrim there was a Saṅghārāma in the city where about hundred Bhikkhus lived, teaching the Sarvāstivāda in the Hina-Yāna school, of Buddhism. The Prabhāvakacarita mentions one Varmalāṭa as the ruler of Bhinnamāla. An inscription of a King of this name of V. S. 682, A. D. 626 has been found. The most powerful dynasty which ruled over Gurjaratrā from Bhinnamāla was that of Gurjara Pratihāras, who, with the extension of their empire, later on changed their capital to Kānyakubja.

This Bhinnamāla, as I said just now, has given us one great astronomer Brahmagupta who wrote his Siddhānta in Sanskrit. He calls himself Bhillamallakācārya.

Śrīmāla has also given us a Mahā-Kavi Māgha, the author of the Mahākāvya Śiśupālavadha. At the end of the poem he says that his grandfather Suprabhadeva was the Sarvādhikārin of Śrī Varmala, and that his father Dattaka was known as Sarvāśraya. The Prabhāvakacarita takes up this account and further informs us that Suprabhadeva was the minister of Śrīvarma-lāṭa who was the King of Śrīmāla in Gurjaradeśa. Māgha who is generally placed circa A. D. 700, according to this account, becomes a poet of Śrīmāla of Gurjaradeśa. Māgha is known as Śryaṅka, because he finished each canto of his epic by the word Śrī श्रीशन्दरम्यकृतसर्ग-समाप्तिलक्ष्म । One might also say that it suggests his city Śrīmāla,



For this Śrīmāla there is a Māhātmya called Śrīmāla-Māhātmya. It gives many interesting details about this city, which throw much light on the social and cultural history of Gujarat. In a graphic description of the city, it tells us that there were one thousand Brahmaśālās and four thousand Maṭhas, that is, schools in which all Śāstras were taught. We are told :

सर्वशास्त्राणि वर्तन्ते श्रीमाले श्रीनिकेतने ॥

धर्मशास्त्राण्यनूच्यन्ते सरहस्यानि सर्वतः ।

सहोपनिषदो वेदाश्छन्दोव्याकरणानि च ॥

This Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla seems to have been a centre of the proselytizing activity of the Jains. The great Jain Ācārya Haribhadra is said to have converted many Śrīmālis—Rajputs and merchants—to Jainism.<sup>33</sup>

Haribhadrasūri whose time has been fixed by Ācārya Jinavijayaji between A. D. 700 and 770 is one of the outstanding figures of our literary history. As Prof. Jacobi<sup>34</sup> has shown he was probably the first to start the fashion of writing Sanskrit commentaries on the Ardhamāgadhi Jain Āgamas. His main contribution is in the field of Jain philosophy by such works as Anekānta-jaya-patākā and in Yoga philosophy by such works as Yogadrṣṭi-samuccaya, Yogabindu, etc. As to the Indian Darśanas, as far as we know, he was the first to give a short but succinct account of all the Darśanas in his Śaddarśana-samuccaya and more elaborate in the Śāstravārtā-samuccaya. His contribution to story literature is his Samarāic-cakahā in Prakrit.

Another important Jain writer in Sanskrit who did his work in Bhinnamāla or round about was Siddharṣi-sūri. He wrote a big work in Sanskrit called Upamitibhavaprapaṇcā-kathā, which, as Prof. Jacobi has shown, is the first exclusive and elaborate allegory in Indian literature.<sup>35</sup> Siddharṣi's reason for writing in

33. p. 173, para, 234, Desai's History of Jain Literature.

34. *Ibid* p. 161, para 220.

35. p. XV. Preface to U.B.P.K., Jacobi.



Sanskrit is interesting, He says there are two principal languages Sanskrit and Prakrit ; the Durvidagdhas—wicked high-brows—are conceited about Sanskrit and as to Prakrit though soft to the ear and capable of giving wisdom to Bālas—uneducated—it does not appear so even to them; which may mean even these Bālas\* do not appreciate Prakrit. So if there is a way, every body should be pleased. So he will write his Kathā in Sanskrit but in a simple and lucid style :

संस्कृता प्राकृता चेति भाषे प्राधान्यमर्हतः ।

तत्रापि संस्कृता तावद् दुर्विदग्धहृदि स्थिता ॥ ५१ ॥

बालानामपि सद्बोधकारिणी कर्णपेशला ।

तथापि प्राकृता भाषा न तेषामपि भासते ॥ ५२ ॥

उपाये सति कर्तव्यं सर्वेषां चित्तरजनम् ।

अतस्तदनुरोधेन संस्कृतेयं करिष्यते ॥ ५३ ॥

न चेयमतिगूढार्था न दीर्घैर्वाक्यदण्डकैः ।

न चाप्रसिद्धपर्यायैस्तेन सर्वजनोचिता ॥ ५४ ॥

Here we have something noteworthy in the history of literary medium. Even the Bālas, the undeveloped people, who should appreciate Prakrit do not do so, suggesting that even they want Sanskrit. The author has therefore to find out a style which would be 'sarva-janocitā', 'fit for all'. The reference to Atigūḍhārtha, Dīrgha-vākyas and Aprasiddha-paryāyas seems to be a fling at the prevalent fashion of writing Sanskrit prose.

The work was completed in A.D. 906.

---

\* The late Shri M. G. Kapadia, the translator of the U.B.P.K. in Gujarati takes 'teṣām' to refer to 'Durvidagdhas'. In that case 'api' becomes pointless. I have therefore taken it as referring to Bālas, who though not knowing Sanskrit had a fancy for it just as some of our people ignorant of English have for that language.



Siddharṣi also translated into Sanskrit the Prakrit Candrakevalicarita (A.D. 918) and wrote a Sanskrit commentry Laghuvṛtti on a Prakrit work which contains the colophon : कृतिरियं जिनजैमिनि-  
कणसौगतादिदर्शनवेदिनः सकलग्रन्थार्थनिपुणस्य श्रीसिद्धर्षेर्महाचार्यस्येति ।

After Siddharṣi it will be appropriate to refer here to the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla. Dhanapāla was a Brahmin from Sāmkāśya in Madhyadeśa. He came to the court of Muñja of Dhārā which was famous for its men of learning, one of whom, as we know, was Dhanañjaya, who calls himself Muñja-Mahiśa-Goṣṭhī-Vaidagdhyā-Bhāk. Dhanapāla later on embraced Jainism. He continued to receive patronage from the famous Bhoja also. According to a tradition, because he refused to make alterations in the Tilakamañjarī as desired by Bhoja, he had to leave his court and go to Satyapura or Sachor, not far from Bhinnamāla. According to the Prabhāvakacarita, Dhanapāla got his Tilakamañjarī scrutinized by Śāntisūri of Thārāpadragaccha. We shall later refer to this Śāntisūri who became known as Vādivetāla.<sup>36</sup>

The Tilakamañjarī is written on the model of the Kādambārī and is one of the few surviving Kathās of great merit written in classical Sanskrit. The author's mastery of Sanskrit prose and technique of Kathā are noteworthy. As a source of cultural data it has been worked upon by some scholars. It contains one of the rare descriptions in Sanskrit literature, the description of a naval battle. Dhanapāla, however, has kept before him the motto of Siddharṣi, for he also says :

अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात् ।

व्याघ्रादिव भयाघ्रातो गयाद् व्यावर्तते जनः ॥ १५ ॥ (ति.मं.पृ. ३ नि. सा.)

We may also briefly touch here Soādhala and his Udayasundari-kathā—a Campū published in the G.O.S., 1920. Soādhala belonged to a Kāyastha family which had hailed from Valabhi and settled in Lāṭadeśa—the southern part of Gujarat. He calls his family वालभो नाम कायस्थानां वंशः (उ. सु. क. पृ. ११). He [was the

36. विचार्य तैः (महेन्द्रसूरिभिः) तमादिष्टं सन्ति श्रीशान्तिसूरयः । कथां ते शोधयिष्यन्ति सोऽथ पत्तनमागमत् ॥ ३५ (पृ. १३२)



eldest son of Sura and Pampāvatī. He was inspired by Vatsarāja, ruler of Lāṭa to write a Prabandha—a tale, and not remain satisfied with writing only Muktakas—stray stanzas. Amongst the Prabandhas, Campū appeals to him most. प्रक्रमे तु रमणीयं न नाम केवलं गद्यं नापि केवलं पद्यम् । उभयानुबन्धिनी चम्पूरेव श्रेयसी ॥ (पृ. १३ *ibid*). So going to a quiet village he created his work—Udayasundarī-kathā. This Campū is interesting for several reasons. As story it has merit, and its prose style though ornate is yet simple. Bāṇa was his model, but he has tried to improve upon his model. He brings in Bāṇa in a celestial form and recites his story before him and another Brahmarṣi and gets their applaud. He also refers to several Jaina poets who were his friends : Candanācārya author of Aśoka-vatī kathā, Vijayasimhācārya—a poet who was given the title of Khaḍgācārya by the king Nāgārjuna, and Mahā-kīrti a poet who was a Digambara Ācārya and was master of three languages (भाषात्रयविपश्चकः पृ. १५५). He also mentions Indra the author of a campū-Kathā Ratnamañjarī (पृ. १५५). He received patronage of three royal brothers Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummunirāja (पृ. ९२) who succeeded one another as kings of Konkana. From the metal-plate of Chittarāja dated 1026 A. D. and a stone inscription dated 1060 A. D. of Mummunirāja the youngest brother, we can put Sodḍhala in the last three quarters of the eleventh century A. D.<sup>37</sup>

From several historical allusions in the Campū, it is possible to put its composition between 1026 A. D. and 1050 A. D.<sup>38</sup>

#### IV

#### 4

Aṇahillapura was founded by Vanarāja Cāvaḍā-Cāpotkaṭa in V. S. 802, A. D. 746 on the site of an old town called Lakkhārāma on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. The Cāvaḍās ruled in Aṇahillapura from A. D. 746 to 952. The Solanki or Cālukya Mūlarāja ascended the throne in Saṃvat 998, A.D. 942. The Cālukya period lasted for 358 years from 942 to 1300 A. D.

37. p. 1 Introduction to Udayasundarikathā, G.O.S.

38. *ibid*.



As far as the location of literary history is concerned, we have to bear in mind that learned men and men of letters often moved from place to place, from one kingdom to another as we saw in the case of Dhanapāla. The Jain monks in particular were obliged by their religious vow to be on Vihāra, walking tour, from one place to another except in the rainy season. The Caityavāsin Yatis however had their permanent establishments like the Śaiva-pontiffs their Maṭhas and stayed there. These Caityas and Maṭhas with their granthabhaṇḍāras play a great part in the development of literary activity in Gujarat. But because these peripatetic literary men did not confine themselves to one kingdom or region, we have, sometimes, to enlarge the geographical boundaries to get a proper perspective of the literary activity of a region. From this point of view some literary men who did some of their work in adjacent regions like Maru in the north or Mālava in the east may have to be considered. In fact, not only was there political rivalry between Gujarat and Malava, but there was literary and cultural rivalry also.

The Jains claim that the kingdom of Gurjaras from Vanarāja onwards had been established by Jain mantras—counsels (and charms):

गूर्जराणामिदं राज्यं वनराजात् प्रभृत्यपि ।

जैनैस्तु स्थापितं मन्त्रैस्तद् द्वेषी नैव नन्दति ॥ प्र. चि. पृ. १३.

If this claim means that there have not been any influential non-Jain ministers, it is not historically supported; for many Śaiva Kṣatriyas and Brahmins, particularly the Nāgaras from Ānandapura (modern Vadanagar), had occupied important state offices—civil as well as military and as far as mantras-charms-are concerned, there were Purohitas who were, of course, Brāhmaṇas. Someśvara, the friend of Vastupāla, has given a geneology of his fore-fathers who occupied this highly honoured and sacred post from Mūlarāja downwards. But if the tradition means that there were many prominent Jain ministers and that Jain religion and literary activity received great impetus, support and encouragement in Gujarat, the claim is corroborated by history. We saw from Bilhaṇa's Karnaśundarī naṭikā what importance Sampatkara (or Santu-Mehta), the Jain minister had in his time. There are innumerable other instances of the influence and power of Jain ministers, merchants and monks.



The literature in Classical Sanskrit written in this Solanki period is so vast and varied that even a brief review here is impossible. We shall have to omit the mention of many works. The activity of writing Sanskrit commentaries on the Prakrit Āgamas started by Haribhadrasūri and followed up by Śilāṅkacārya went on unabated. These we shall omit. We shall omit many Sanskrit works on Jain philosophy and ethics mentioning only the most outstanding. We will mainly notice Jain contribution to grammar, poetics, poems and plays and mention the importance of Prabandhas and Vijñaptipatras. We will, however, first take up the works of Brahmin writers.

Ānarttapūra, or Ānandapura (the modern Vadanagar) seems to have been a great centre of Vedic learning from early times. The grants of the Maitrakas show how many were the Brāhmaṇa donees of Ānandapura who were expert in various branches of Vedic learning. Of this pursuit a few works have survived. As the late Acharya Dr. A. B. Dhruva said in a lecture on the Sanskrit Literature of Gujarat,<sup>39</sup> "Pāṭaṇa and Vadanagar were resounding with the 'Veda-dhvani' of Śrotriyas like Varadadatta Ānarttiya, Viṣṇu, Vajraṭa, Uvaṭa and Dyā-Dviveda.<sup>40</sup> Uvaṭa, the author of a Bhāṣya on the Śukla Yajurveda hailed from Ānandapura. He wrote this Bhāṣya while living in Avanti in the time of Bhoja.<sup>41</sup> The importance of this Bhāṣya is well known to Vedic scholars. Āmaṭa with a similar name ending was an expert in sacrificial ritual:

अध्वरविधौ पटीयानामटनामा ततोऽभवत्तनयः ।

39. Digdarśana-Sanskrit Literature of Gujarat pp. 1-27. 1909.

40. p. 14 *ibid.*

41. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्य-वज्रटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।

उवटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥ १

ऋष्यादींश्च नमस्कृत्य अवन्त्यामुवटो वसन् ।

मन्त्राणां कृतवान् भाष्यं महीं भोजे प्रशासति ॥ २

(अ. ४० पृ. ६९० वा. स. मा. शु. वे. सं. आ. २ N. S. P. 1929)



Dyā Dviveda wrote a work called Nītimañjarī which he finished in A.D. 1054. He says in the colophon :

विलोक्य संहितामध्ये इतिहासान् पुरातनान् ।

कृता वै धर्मसंयुक्ता श्लोके बद्धा सुबुद्धिदा ॥

वेददृष्टान्तरूपेयं द्या-द्विवेदकृता शुभा ।

नीतिधर्मपरा रम्या सेतिहासकथात्मिका ॥

It may be noted that both Uvaṭa and Dyā-Dviveda like Durgācārya and Skandasvāmin preceded the famous Sāyaṇācārya, who has utilized the works of these writers in the Bhāṣyas of Vedas done by him or/and done under his supervision. Of this time is Viṣṇu who wrote Śāṅkhāyana-paddhati. He has given a geneology of his forefathers who were, according to him, all very learned.

\*

\*

\*

Writers of Jain Prabandhas frequently use the word Traividya to suggest an educated man. Their three vidyās were Tarka-Lakṣaṇa-Sāhitya, Logic, Grammar and Literature including Poetics. The cultivation of these subjects is corroborated from allusions as well as literary products of the Chalukyan age in Gūjarat.

Amongst men of learning we find the Purohitas of the kings, the abbots of Śaiva Maṭhas and Jain monks as well as a few laymen. In the reign of Mūlarāja (A.D. 942-972) there was Śrī Dīrghācārya, son of Śrī Durlabhācārya, who received a grant in V. S. 1051, A.D. 995. He is described as a 'sarvavidyāpārāga' and a 'Taponidhi'. His Purohita was Śrī-Sola-śarman who performed the Vājapeya sacrifice. In the reign of Bhima I (A.D. 1022-1064) it was his Purohita Someśvara and Śaiva guru Jñāna-deva who made possible residence in Aṇahillapura of the two ascetic Jain monks Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara. Their right to reside there was contested by the Caityavāsin Jain abbots who alone amongst Jain priests had the prescriptive right to reside in the capital. Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara before they became Jain monks were Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa, their names being respectively Śrīdhara and Śrīpati. They were masters of Vedic learn-



ing. Of these Jineśvara wrote a work called *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*. *Buddhisāgara* wrote a work on grammar which is known as *Buddhisāgara vyākaraṇa*. It is also called *Pañca-granthi-vyākaraṇa*, because it is based upon works of five grammarians—Pāṇini, Candra, Jainendra, Viśrānta, and Durga. Its extent is 7000 ślokas, one śloka counted as 32 syllables. It was finished in Jābālipura—modern Jhalor in Rajasthan in V. S. 1180, A.D. 1124.

Here we may note other important works on Grammar of this age. *Vardhamānasūri* wrote his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* in V. S. 1197=A.D.1141. In the *svopajña* commentary are verses in praise of *Siddharāja*. *Dharmaghoṣa*, pupil of *Candraprabhasūri* wrote a work on grammar called *Śabdasiddhi* which also contains verses in praise of *Siddharāja*.

*Malayagiri* who wrote Sanskrit commentaries on Jain Āgamas also wrote a work on grammar. His work is more ambitious. He calls it *Śabdānuśāsana*. It was written in *Kumārapāla*'s reign.

Another interesting work on grammar is *Gaṇadarpaṇa* attributed to the king *Kumārapāla* himself. A short account of this work from its single manuscript has been given by my friend *Dr. Sandesara* in the *Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda* (Vol. II, No. I, March, 1953). It was written to teach Sanskrit to the *Daṇḍanāyaka* *Vosari* and the *Pratihāra* *Bhojadeva*. Whether *Kumārapāla* wrote it or not, it shows his concern about giving a grounding in Sanskrit to his high officers. There are such lines as : श्रित्वायैर्वा द्वितीयान्तं वेत्रिन् भोज समस्यते ।

Coming to works on Poetics we may note the very instructive *Tippana* of *Namisādhu* on *Rudraṭa*'s *Kāvyaśāstrakāra*. The work was finished as mentioned in the colophon in V. S. 1125=A. D. 1069.

*Bāhaḍa* or *Vāgbhaṭa* (A.D. 1123) wrote a work known as *Vāgbhaṭaśāstrakāra*. The work contains a few verses in praise of *Siddharāja*, one of which refers to the banner of *Siddharāja* having the insignia of the cock : आः स्यन्दनध्वजधृतोदुरताम्रचूडः श्रीकर्ण-देवचूडसूनुः रणाग्रे ॥ V. L. Rai 4. V. 81) and another to the king, his capital and his elephant : अणहिलपाटकं पुरमवनिपतिः कर्णदेवचूडसूनुः। श्री-कलशनामधेयः करी च रत्नानि जगतीह ॥ १३२ (*ibid*) Other important works on Poetics we will note after *Hemaçandra*'s works. It may,



however be noted here that the earliest manuscript of the Kāvya-prakāśa-known so far is on palm-leaf and written or caused to be written by Paṇḍita Lakṣmīdhara in V. S. 1215, Aśvin Śudi 14, Budha (= Wednesday, October 8, 1158) in the reign of Kumārapāla in Aṇhillapāṭaka.

Coming to poets, we may first mention Sūrācārya of the time of Bhīmadeva I. He wrote a mahākāvya named Dvisandhāna, applicable to Ṛṣabhadeva and Neminātha, In V. S. 1090=A. D. 1034 he completed another kāvya named Nemicaritra which is in verse and prose.<sup>42</sup>

Another important literary figure of this time is Kaula Kavi Dharma. He hailed from Bhṛgukaccha in Lāṭa. His claim was that nobody could match him in Tarka, Lakṣaṇa, and Sāhitya. He came to Aṇahillapura and had a dialectical contest with the Jain logician Vādivetāla Śāntyācārya. We are told that Kaula Kavi Dharma took his arguments from a work called Tattvopaplava. स तत्त्वोपप्लवग्रन्थाभ्यासोपन्यासमातनोत् ॥ १०१ (प्र. भा. च. पृ. १३६). The Tattvopaplavaśiṃha the work of Jayarāśibhaṭṭa has been edited by Pandit Dr. Sukhalalji, our President of the Philosophical Section and published in the G.O.S. from a palm-leaf manuscript of a Bhaṇḍāra in Patan. It may be noted that this is the only work of Cārvāka school so far discovered, and that this its only manuscript was copied in Dhavalakka (modern, Dholka) in Gujarat in V.S. 1349—A.D. 1293.

This Śāntisūri of Thārāpadra-gaccha was one of the great men of learning of the times of Bhīmadeva I :

अणहिल्लपुरे श्रीमद्भीममूपालसंसदि ।

शान्तिसूरिः कवीन्द्रोऽभूद् वादिचक्रीति विश्रुतः ॥ २१ ॥ (प्र. भा. च. पृ. २३३)

He wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the Jain Āgama Uttarādhyāyanasūtra. He received training in Pramāṇaśāstra under Abhaya-devasūri who wrote a voluminous commentary known as Tattvabodha-vidhāyinī on the Sanmati-Tarka of Siddhasena Divākara. It is also known as Vāda-mahārṇava. (The Tattvabodhavidhāyinī

42. See. Desai's History of Jain Literature, pp. 216-17.



which is a veritable encyclopaedia of Sanskrit Darśanas has been edited by Pandit Dr. Sukhalalji and Pandit Becharadas Joshi. This monumental work has been published in five volumes by the Gujarat Vidyapith founded by Mahatma Gandhi). Śāntyācārya had himself 32 pupils studying Pramāṇa Śāstra including Buddhist logic :

अथ प्रमाणशास्त्राणि शिष्यान् द्वात्रिंशतं तदा ।

अध्यापयन्ति श्रीशान्तिसूरयश्चैत्यसंस्थिताः ॥ ७० ॥

प्रभेदा दुष्परिच्छेद्या बौद्धतर्कसमुद्भवाः ।

तेनावधारिताः सर्वेऽन्यप्रज्ञानवगाहिताः ॥७३॥ (पृ. १३५. प्र.भा.च.)

He died in V. S. 1096 = A. D. 1040.

There was another Śāntisūri of Candrakulagaccha. Pūrṇa-tallagaccha was a branch of this. He wrote a monumental work on Jain logic known as Nyāyāvatāra-Vārtika-Vṛtti. (This has been edited by that learned Dārśanika, Pandit Dalsukh Malavania, Director of L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. It is published in the Singhi Jain Series). He also wrote a Tippana on the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla and commentaries on Vṛndāvanakāvya, Ghaṭakarpara Kāvya, Meghābhyudaya Kāvya, and Śivabhadra Kāvya. He lived between A. D. 894-1119.<sup>43</sup>

It was in the reign of Karna (A. D. 1064-1094) that Bilhana came to Anahillapura. He gave one drama to Gujarat, the Karna-sundarī-nāṭikā. I have referred to this before.

In the next two reigns—of Jayasimha Siddharāja (A. D. 1094-1143) and Kumārapāla (A. D. 1142-43-1173), Gujarat reached its zenith in political dominion, wealth and learning. The age was dominated in learning and letters by the polymath Hemacandrācārya. But there were other important writers also.

Of these we will first mention Vādi-Devasūri who was an outstanding Jain logician. His work called Pramāṇa-naya-tattvāloka is an important contribution on the subject.

43. See Prastāvanā, pp. 146—51. N. V. V. edited by Pandit Dalsukh Malavania, published in S. J. G.



Amongst the poets there was one Devabodha Bhāgavata who came to Anahillapura about this time. But the poet laureate of Siddharāja's court was Śrīpāla of the Prāgvāṭa family. About him it was said that he composed a big work in one day : एकाद-  
निष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः। This reminds us of what Bilhaṇa said about himself in the Bharata-vākya of his play Karnaśundarī : एकैकेन दिनेन निर्मित-  
महाकाव्यादिः (पृ. ५६) Śrīpāla is credited with a work called Vairo-  
cana-parājaya which has not yet been found. He wrote the Praś-  
asti on the Kīrti-stambha of the famous lake Sahasraliṅga. A  
slab of the pillar inscribed with a portion of this Praśasti has been  
discovered. He also composed a Praśasti for Rudra-mahālaya at  
Siddhapura. His Praśasti on the gate of Vadanagar fort made by  
Kumārāpāla is in tact. It is a good poem showing his descriptive  
powers and mastery of Sanskrit diction. The Prabhāvākacārīta  
says about his Praśastis :

श्रीदुर्लभसरोराजे तथा रुद्रमहालये ।

अनिर्वाच्यरसैः काव्यैः प्रशस्तीरकरोदसौ ॥

Hemacandra's name and works are well known. His three  
anuśāsanas—Śābdānuśāsa, known as Siddha-Haima, Chandonu-  
śāsa and Kāvyaanuśāsa, with his own vṛttis, are comprehensive  
works on these subjects, taking note of all the work done before  
him. We have seen how he got works of all the eight grammari-  
ans from Kashmir. In his Śābdānuśāsa he completes Sanskrit  
grammar in seven Adhyāyas and devotes the eighth to Prakrits.

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Anekārthasaṅgraha and Nighaṇṭu are  
his Sanskrit lexicons and his Deśināmamālā is a lexicon of deśya  
words.

The special feature of his Śāstric works is that they are excell-  
ent text books written in a graded way taking the student step by  
step from Sūtras to Vṛttis and to further commentaries. The style is  
always lucid and the arrangement logical. He never laid claim to  
originality in Śāstras as he has said in the beginning of his  
Pramāṇamīmāṃsā.

Pramāṇamīmāṃsā is his work on logic taking note in the  
scheme of Jain logic the different views of Brahmanical and  
Buddhist logic. The book as found is incomplete.



We may note here the estimate of Hemacandra as a writer of Śāstras given by Prof. Hermann Jacobi. He says "Hemacandra has very extensive and at the same time accurate knowledge of many branches of Hindu and Jain learning combined with great literary skill, and an easy style. His strength lies in encyclopaedical work rather than in original research, but the enormous mass of varied information which he gathered from original sources, mostly lost to us, makes his works an inestimable mine for philological and historical research."<sup>44</sup>

His Dvyāśraya-kāvya of twenty cantos must have been inspired by the Bhaṭṭi kāvya. It has two purposes: to illustrate the rules of his grammar Siddha-Haima and to narrate the story of the Cālukya kings from Mularāja to Kumārapāla. It is on that account called Cālukya-Vaṁśotkīrtana. His Kumārapāla-carita in eight cantos in Prakrit similarly illustrates the eighth Adhyāya of his Siddha-Haima. The Sanskrit Dvyāśraya suffers from this self-imposed double purpose and presents an uncouth appearance. If one, however, consents to forget this, one will find the poem full of graphic descriptions, as of the city of Aṇahillapura, or of Śarad depicting even the village games, or even of tender emotions as in the love-making of Karṇa and Mayaṇallā or of battles or of a big river like Sindhu-nada. As a source of history and social life of Gujarat it is very valuable. In fact it is a historical mahākāvya.

The true epic genius of Hemacandra is to be seen in his Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacarita where he is free from encumbrances. His observation of nature and social life is very keen. His descriptive and narrative skill is impressive. His similes have a new touch of observation.

His lyrical genius combined with philosophical thought is to be seen in his twenty Vitarāga-stutis. What the late Ācārya Dr. A.B. Dhruva who made a careful and critical study of Hemacandra's Anuyoga-vyavacchedikā said about that hymn applies more or less to all these hymns. According to him 'it is a genuine devotional lyric, pulsating with reverence for the master. Devotion and thought are happily blended together in one whole and are expres-

---

44. E. R. E. Vol. VI, p. 591.



sed in such noble and dignified language that it deserves to rank as a piece of literature no less than that of philosophy'.<sup>45</sup>

He had a brilliant circle of pupils around him. Of these Rāmacandra was the most illustrious. His Nāṭyadarpaṇa composed in collaboration with Guṇacandra, another pupil of Hemacandra, is now well known.

The Kumāra-vihāra-śataka of Rāmacandra is a fine descriptive poem giving a verbal portrait of the temple of Pārśvanātha built by Kumārapāla. It shows how in ancient India a temple was not only a place of worship but a cultural centre where all the fine arts were exhibited: architecture in the temple, sculpture in the different kinds of figures in various poses particularly dancing, music, and drama—as actually performed, and painting in the picture-gallery. For example :

देवोऽयं कलधौतजः ; शशिशिलास्तंभा अमी, पुत्रिका

सेयं चञ्चलकङ्कणा, गृहमिदं नाट्यस्य दृश्यावधिः ।

व्याख्यासंसदियं विराममकरोन्निर्माय यां सूत्रकृत्

त्रैलोक्याद्भुतमीक्षतां पुनरमुं राजेव चित्रालयम् ॥ ७२ ॥

He was, however, primarily a writer of plays. Eleven of his plays are known. Of these, Nalavilāsa (G. O. S.), Satya-Hariś-candra (N. S. P.), Kaumudīmitrānanda (J. A. S.), etc. have been published. Two of his unpublished plays Mallikā-makaranda and Raghuvilāsa with its Uddhāra have been edited by Muni Punyavijayaji, our President of the Prakrit section and will soon be published in the Rajasthan Purātana Granthamālā. A perusal of these plays shows that Rāmacandra is a good poet with mastery of dramatic technique according to Sanskrit tradition. His own claim about his plays is :

प्रबन्धा इक्षुवस्त्रायो हीयमानरसाः क्रमात् ।

कृतिस्तु रामचन्द्रस्य सर्वा स्वादुः पुरः पुरः ॥

45. p. XXIV Intr. Syādvādamāñjarī. B. S. S.



The prologues of Rāmacandra's plays throw interesting side-light on the contemporary rival groups of actors. For example, in his Satya-Hariścandra a naṭa-actor utterly confused enters and informs the Sūtradhāra : भाव, स युष्मत्प्रतिस्पर्धी साहसिकनामा कुशीलवः प्रसह्य भवतौ निषिध्य स्वाभिप्रेतं प्रबन्धमभिनेष्यति । To this the Sūtradhāra replies in a flurry : साहसिकः स्वाभिप्रेतं प्रबन्धमभिनेष्यति ? Naṭa replies, it is so. The Sūtradhāra says his desire was to please the audience with Satya-Hariścandra. Then he warms up and says : यदि वा खलु कृत्वा प्रतिभयम् । कतमो नाम साहसिकः प्रसह्य नः प्रतिषिध्य स्वाभिप्रेतं प्रबन्धमभिनेतुं सोद्यमः । एते वयं तमपकृष्य स्वप्रतिज्ञातमाध्यास्यामः । यतः

सत्त्वैकतानवृत्तीनां प्रतिज्ञातार्थकारिणाम् ।

प्रभविष्णुर्न देवोऽपि किं पुनः प्राकृतो जनः ॥

Here we may refer to some other plays written in Cālukya and Vāghela period. Bilhaṇa's Karnaśundarī is the first play known of this period. Amongst the Jain playwright we may note Yaśaścandra who wrote Mudrita-Kumudacandra prakaraṇa. This play has a unique plot in as much as it takes a dialectical duel between the Digambarācārya Kumudacandra and the Śvetāmbarācārya Vādi Devasūri as its theme. Most of the characters depict real contemporary persons—the incident itself being real. A second play of his named Rājimatī-prabodha is known, but not yet discovered.

Devacandra, a pupil of Hemacandra, wrote a play called Candralekhā-vijaya-prakarāṇa. He is credited with another play called Māna-mudrābhāñjana. Yaśaḥpāla, a minister of Ajayapāla who succeeded Kumārapāla, wrote a play called Moharājaparājaya. This is an allegorical play whose hero is Kumārapāla, who following the Jaina principles of ethics stopped the killing of animals as well as the practice of the seven vices. He gave up the practice of confiscating the property which is called in the play 'Rudatī-vitta—' the property of a widow without a male issue. After Kumārapāla has subjugated Mona, he is married to Kṛpāsundarī, daughter of Vivekacandra and Śāntidevī.

Rāmabhadra, pupil of Jayaprabhasūri, wrote a play called Prabuddha Rauhiṇya. Vijayapāla, grandson of the poet Śrīpāla



and son of the poet Siddhipāla, wrote a play in two acts called Draupadīsvayaṃvara. The prologues of these plays suggest that the rivalry amongst the acting groups must have been quite bitter in their time. In the D. S., the Pāripārśvaka informs the Sūtradhāra that as he ordered for a fine play to please the king, other actors have started playing the same play: नरेन्द्रमन आनन्दाय यदख्यदभुत-करणं युष्माभिराज्ञप्तं तदपरैरपि कपटघटनानिपुणैर्नर्तितुं प्रारब्धम् । तत् किं मया कर्तव्यम् । (पृ. २) To which the Sūtradhāra replies: मा कार्षीर्विषादम् । वृथैव तैरयं शृगालजागरः प्रारब्धः । न खलु बहुभिरप्याखुचर्मभिः सिन्धुराधिराजबन्धन-निबन्धनं दाम निगड्यते । न च खलु गगनाङ्गणावगाहसम्भूताभियोगैर्गणनातिगैरपि खद्योतैस्तिमिरमलिनभुवननिर्मलीकरणकमटस्य कर्मसाक्षिणः कर्म निर्मायते । तदलं चिन्तया । (पृ. २)

The Pārthaparākrama-Vyāyoga of Prahādāna-deva, founder of modern Palanpur, is an interesting piece having for its theme the episode in which Arjuna, while in Virāṭa, waged a battle to bring back the cows taken away by the Kauravas.

Ullāgha-Rāghava, a play by Someśvara, friend of Vastupāla, has been edited by Muniśrī Punyavijayaji and Dr. Sandesara and recently published in the G. O. S. It shows good workmanship and felicity of expression.

Hammīra-mada-mardana of Jayasimhasūri is a historical play having for its theme the struggle of Vastupāla with the Yādava king Simhaṇa and Milacchrikāra that is Sultan Altamash of Delhi.

Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa has been published long since and is well-known.

Meghaprabhācārya wrote a play called Dharmābhyudaya.

In the period of Muslim rule in Gujarat some Sanskrit plays were written. Gaṅgādhara wrote a play called Gaṅgadāsa-pratāpa-vilāsa. Its theme is historical.

Dharma-vijaya of Bhūdeva-Śukla, Pākhaṇḍa-khaṇḍana of Rāmadāsa, and Gopālakelīcandrikā of Rāmakṛṣṇa may also be mentioned.

We have noted two Mahākāvyas of this period: Dvisandhāna of Sūrācārya and the Dvyāśraya of Hemacandra. The



practice of having historical themes for Mahākāvya seems to have been followed up. Amongst such poems the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara depicting the life of his friend and patron Vastupāla deserves special notice, for its poetic merit and as a source of history. His description of Aṇahillapura and particularly of the lake Sahasraliṅga with its marble pillar of glory, is impressive. His other Mahākāvya is Surathotsava, which has a Purāṇa story for its theme, but is suggestive of the deprival of the throne of Bhīma II and his restoration. At the end of this Kāvya he has given the geneology of his family who were hereditary Purohitas from the time of Mūlarāja to the contemporary ruling king as we have noted. Two of his other works—Rāmaśataka and Karṇāmṛta-prapā are in course of publication.

Vastupāla, the great minister, who was an able administrator and a munificent donor has to his credit a Mahākāvya named Naranārāyaṇānanda. It has for its theme the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna. The choice of the theme shows the catholic outlook of this Jain chief minister. The poem is written more or less in the style of Māgha, just as Someśvara's poem is in the style of Kālidāsa.

Bālacandrasūri wrote a Mahākāvya called Vasantavilāsa having for its theme the life of Vastupāla who was also called Vasantapāla. This is also written on the model of Māgha's Śiśupālavadha.

The Sukṛta-saṁkīrtana of Paṇḍita Arisimha is a narrative depicting the good deeds of Vastupāla. The first two cantos are devoted to the description of the Cāpotkaṭa-vaṁśa and Caulukya-vaṁśa. This is also a historical poem.

Here we may mention two important works on Poetics of this period. Māṇikyacandra is one of the early commentators of Kāvya-prakāśa. His Saṅketa is an excellent commentary. Narendrasūri wrote a work on Poetics called Alaṅkāra-mahodadhi completed in V. S. 1282=A. D. 1226. It is published in the G. O. S. A number of works on Kaviśikṣā were written in the period of Vastupāla. The Kāvya-kalpalatā and its commentary Kaviśikṣā by Amaracandra deserve mention.

Guṇaratnagaṇi wrote a commentary on Kāvya-prakāśa called Sāradīpikā (p. 22, Prastāvanā, Alaṅkāra-mahodadhi) consisting of



ten thousand ślokas. It was written after consulting previous commentaries. It was written before V. S. 1742 = A. D. 1686.

Under the rule of Akbar and Jahangir, Bhānucandra and his pupil Siddhicandra are important Jain writers of Gujarat attending also the Mogul court at Delhi. Bhānucandra's and Siddhicandra's commentary on Bāṇa's Kādambarī is well-known. Siddhicandra wrote works on poetics, grammar, etc. He wrote the life of his Guru Bhānucandra in a poem called Bhānucandracarita (published in the S. J. G.) in which his own autobiography is given. His Kāvya prakāśa-khaṇḍana has been edited by me and published in the Singhi Jain Series.

Pratiṣṭhā-Soma wrote a biographical Mahākāvya named Soma-Saubhāgya in V. S. 1524 = A. D. 1468. This poem is interesting for its description of many historical towns, as well as rivers, mountains, etc.

The Hīra-Saubhāgya Mahākāvya of Deva-Vimala is a noteworthy production. It depicts the life of Hīravijayasūri who rendered great service to Jainism by his influence on Akbar. The poem is based on the model of Naiṣadhīya. Its historical narrative and geographical descriptions are impressive.

The last great writer of Gujarat in Sanskrit was Upādhyāya Yaśovijaya (born c. 1620 A. D., died 1687 A. D.)<sup>46</sup>. His erudition was extraordinary. The number of works that he wrote is more than 72. About 47 are discovered, of which some are published and some are still unpublished. There are some which are known by name but not discovered. His main contribution is in Darśana-śāstra. His Jaina-Tarka-Paribhāṣā and Jñānabindu are works of high merit. His Nyāyāloka and Nyāyakhaṇḍana-khāḍya a commentary on a hymn to Mahāvīra—are works of great erudition.

He wrote a big commentary on the Kāvya prakāśa. A fragment of this work is discovered. It was shown to me by Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji and is with him. He also wrote a commentary on the Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi of Hemacandra.

---

46. See pp. 1,2. Preface, Jaina Tarka-paribhāṣā, S. J. S. 1938.



Before I end this survey I must refer to the Prabandha Literature of the Jains. Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgācārya, Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandrasūri, Prabandharatnakōṣa of Rājasekhara and a number of miscellaneous Prabandhas collected and published by Acarya Jinavijayaji in his Purātana-Prabandhasaṅgraha are a few such works. The Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa is a sort of geographical Prabandha work. The Jain Ācāryas have preserved, in these works, traditions about persons and places known to them. All of it is not history; but undoubtedly they are great mines of traditions, stories and legends, from which much history can be gathered, if critically sifted and corroborated by other evidence. But the importance of these works for Sanskrit is that they are great efforts to create popular Sanskrit, a language very near the spoken idiom of the time. If Sanskrit has to be a popular language, it cannot be so on the niceties of Sanskrit grammar. It must absorb popular idiom. That is what the Prabandhas have done.

There is another form of Sanskrit literature developed by the Jains in their Vijñapti-patras. They are letters and reports written to Gurus by their disciples, narrating what they did, particularly in the Cāturmāsa. They contain descriptions of events, persons and places. Some of them are written in verse, and some are illustrated with beautiful pictures.

My aim in giving this account, short from the point of view of the subject-matter, but long for a lecture, is to show how in early and medieval Gujarat, Classical Sanskrit became the State language and a hall-mark of education and culture, and how the Jains took to it and contributed to its enrichment. It will be seen that Sanskrit literature is a joint product of Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jains in Gujarat. This fact will emerge, if similar studies are carried out for other regions. When in certain parts of our country, Sanskrit is being despised and discarded as a language of Brāhmaṇas, it is worthwhile to be impressed with this historical fact that Sanskrit language and literature are of Brahmins and non-Brahmins both, because they are the fruits of joint cultivation, of a co-operative farming.

## V

The evaluation of Sanskrit Literature and Darśanas as literature and philosophy is essential for its own sake. As Sri



R. G. Bhandarkar pointed out long before "The fact is that the literature and the antiquities we examine are our own, and naturally we look more to the contents of a literary work than to its historical relations, which require the exercise of our critical faculty. It is questionable whether a European scholar reads Sanskrit works to be amused or instructed by them; his point of view is historical and critical". Sir Ramakrishna on one occasion told Dr. Buhler that the third act of the *Uttarā-rāmacarita* drew tears from his eyes whenever he read it. This appeared to surprise Dr. Buhler. "This" according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar "constitutes the difference in the points of view of the Indian and the European scholars". In order that we may not be led away by this general European attitude, he admonishes: "We must not on that account cease to read our Sanskrit and vernacular works for the pleasure and instruction which they afford to us."<sup>47</sup>

But we cannot say that European scholars have all neglected this aspect of Sanskrit literature. The German poets Goethe or Schiller may not be mentioned in this connection; but we can refer to Max-Müller who at least gave a series of lectures from this point of view and gave them the title 'What India Can Teach Us'. We know that Dr. F. W. Thomas in his presidential address to this section in the session of this Conference held at Trivandrum emphasized the "aesthetic point of view", in the study of Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit Literature, and tried to show that 'Sanskrit literature may be said to be wholly under the dominion of conception of art and method'.<sup>48</sup>

But we cannot remain satisfied in the modern age with evaluation of the Classical Sanskrit Literature by Sanskrit standards alone. We have to ask what is its place in what

---

47. Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. 1, pp. 420-21. Inaugural address at the opening of a series of lectures at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, pp. 416-21.

48. Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1937, pp. 391-393.



Mathew Arnold called the 'Republic of Letters',<sup>49</sup> and in "the great confederation of civilizations for intellectual and spiritual purposes?"<sup>50</sup> We must consider this aspect of the evaluation of Classical Sanskrit Literature. Take our greatest name in Indian literature—Kālidāsa, and consider the following remarks of Prof. A. B. Keith. After an analysis of Kālidāsa's thought, he says "From such a philosophy (the stand-point of popular Vedantism) it would be idle to seek any solution for essential conflicts in the heart of man, or to demand any independent criticism of man's aims and fate", and so he comes to the conclusion "if in perfection of form Kālidāsa's poems proclaim him the Virgil of India, we may admit that he was incapable of the vision and imagery of the sixth book of the Aeneid".<sup>51</sup> This is what he has to say with reference to Kālidāsa's epics. From the same stand-point he judges Kālidāsa's dramas. "Admirable as is Kālidāsa's work, it would be unjust to ignore the fact that in his dramas as in his epics he shows no interest in the great problems of life and destiny...he was incapable of viewing the world as a tragic scene, of feeling any sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men or appreciating the reign of injustice in the world...We may be grateful that, confined as he was, he accomplished a work of such enduring merit and universal appeal as 'Śākuntala'".<sup>52</sup>

Here is a criticism of Kālidāsa from the stand-point of world literature. It recognizes the artistic cleverness of Kālidāsa but finds it lacking in, what Mathew Arnold called, 'criticism of life',<sup>53</sup> in what we may call Lokavṛttādyavekṣaṇa. If we agree with

---

49. Essays in Criticism, First Series, Preface p. VIII, Macmillan, 1937.

50. *Ibid.* Second Series, p. 126, Macmillan, 1918.

51. p. 100. A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford University Press, 1953.

52. p. 160. The Sanskrit Drama. O. U. P. 1954.

53. See "The Study of Poetry" p. 5, Essays in Criticism, Second Series.



this estimate, we have to ask for the literary standards and philosophy of life by which he is judged. If we do not, we have to think out the values which we feel in Kālidāsa both as a poet and a thinker and judge which are of universal character and place them in the perspective of World Literature.

Prof. R. G. Moulton has worked out the concept of World Literature in his book of that name. He makes a distinction between Universal Literature and World Literature. He takes Universal Literature to mean 'the sum total of all literatures'; and World Literature to mean 'this Universal Literature seen in perspective from a given point of view, presumably the national stand-point of the observer!'<sup>54</sup> With this stand-point in mind Prof. Moulton tries to find out the point of view of the English speaking peoples to judge World Literature.<sup>55</sup> To determine the literary standard for this purpose, he speaks of five literary bibles: the first is the Holy Bible, the second is the classical Epic and Tragedy, the third is Shakespeare, the fourth comprises the Divine Comedy of Dante, the Paradise Lost of Milton, and the fifth 'Versions of the Faust Story'.<sup>56</sup> The Holy Bible gives the Hebraic factor, the Classical epic and tragedy represent in a lesser degree Hellenic influence. The other three bibles belong to stages where the factor of Romance has come into play.<sup>57</sup>

Have we such bibles which can give us a standard to judge world literature? I submit—we have our bibles for the perspective of world literature. These are Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Bhāsa (or whoever is the author of the Svapnavāsavadattādi nāṭakacakra), Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. We have also an aesthetic philosophy which is capable of supplying a universal standard of appreciation in as much as it goes to the root of aesthetic experience by considering how emotions and sentiments which are universal to mankind transform themselves

---

54. p. 6. World Literature—New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

55. p. 9. *ibid.*

56. p. 53, 54. *Ibid.*

57. p. 295. *Ibid.*



into aesthetic experience. I refer to the theory of Rasa developed in Sanskrit Poetics. The essentials of this theory are such as are capable of a development which can serve as a standard for evaluating world literature, nay even the whole domain of art. From such a perspective we may view not only Indian Literature but also the great peaks of the range of European Literature—like Homer and Virgil, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripedes and Aristophanes, Dante and Milton, Shakespeare and Goethe, as well as our moderns like Rabindranath, Rabindranath who has given us his perspective of Classical Sanskrit Literature in his 'Prācīna Sāhitya'. But this perspective might become misleading if it is not further corrected by a comparative study of the classics of the world and different aesthetic philosophies.

Such an approach to the study and research of Classical Sanskrit Literature and Darśana is required by another pragmatic reason. As I read through the addresses of the previous presidents of this section, I found that there are certain recurring themes or rather certain anxieties repeatedly expressed. One of these is about the fate of Sanskrit language and learning in modern times. Even when the need for the study of humanities is recognized and a place given to these subjects in the curricula of Universities, the need for the cultivation of this ancient language and literature in modern times is questioned, at least the necessity of finding a place for them in curricula, when so many useful subjects are jostling against one another. It will not do to quote Mahatma Gandhi who said that no educated Hindu is worth the name, if he does not know Sanskrit. We will have to show how the education of an Indian is incomplete—grievously incomplete without learning Sanskrit, because his thinking is likely to grope in dark without the light of the wisdom contained in Sanskrit Literature and his life is likely to be vulgarized without the graces of Sanskrit Muse.

More than this—we will have to show how the knowledge of the Sanskrit Darśanas has the possibility of contributing new points of view to modern philosophic thought; for example how the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya and Jaina theories of transformation-Parīṇāma-vāda and the Vaiśeṣika theory of atoms—Paramāṇuvāda—have suggestiveness for the philosophy of biological and physical sciences.

L—20



The Sanskrit Logic has to offer an intellectual discipline which the modern Indian thinker might receive with profit to the precision of his thought. As that great Russian scholar Stcherbatsky has pointed out to the students of Western Philosophy "There is as yet no agreed opinion on what the future logic will be, but there is a general dissatisfaction with what it at present is. We are on the eve of a reform. The consideration at this juncture of the independent and altogether different way in which the problems of logic, formal as well as epistemological, have been tackled by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti will possibly be found of some importance" (p. XIII-Preface, Buddhist Logic, Vol. I).

The Sanskrit Poetics teaches theories of poetry and poetic appreciation which, as I hinted just now, have a wider application. The aesthetics of Rasa, as taught by Bharata and developed by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta—the last, one of the greatest Indian Philosophers that Kashmir produced—will be found to have a depth and subtlety which reveal the very source of joy undefiled.

In short, to show the necessity of learning Sanskrit and its literature, we will be required to show the value of the Sanskrit thought in its varied aspects—as something necessary for the proper development of mind, sense and sensibility, of the whole spirit of man. Unless this value of Sanskrit literature is made clear, it would be hard to find a place for it in the general education and make-up of our future generation.

For this purpose we will be required to pursue deeper and deeper the study of the axiological aspect of Sanskrit literature. The study of origins, philological, historical and anthropological, as I said in the beginning, cannot be neglected, by-passed or subordinated. These are quite necessary for the scientific study of the subject. In fact, it is only on the results of such studies that proper and acceptable evaluation and appreciation of the worth and utility of Sanskrit literature can be based. But research in the values of Sanskrit literature, in its intellectual, moral, aesthetic and spiritual worth and study of them require to be emphasized.

I would appeal to the framers of syllabi in our Universities to find a place in the general courses of Literature, Philosophy,



History and Science for the contributions of Sanskrit in these and similar subjects, at least as historical background. For example an Indian student of logic should know, in addition to the contributions of the European masters of Logic, those of Akṣapāda, Gautama and his expositors, as well as the logic of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, as also that of Siddhasena Divākara.

A graduate of mathematics should be familiar with the work of Bhāskarācārya, his predecessors and successors, a graduate of astronomy with that of Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta and others. A Bachelor of Science should know at least the contents of a work like the 'History of Hindu Chemistry' of Dr. Prafulla Candra Roy and a work like 'The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus' of Dr. Brajendranath Seal.

Unless our ancient heritage of knowledge and arts is made part and parcel of our general education it cannot have its rightful place in the culture of a modern India. In short our Classical Sanskrit heritage should, at least, have the place which the Classical heritage of Greek and Latin has in the makeup of the educated Westerner, because we claim that Sanskrit is living for us in a sense in which Greek and Latin are not for the Westerner. Every educated Indian may or may not know Sanskrit, but he should know what Sanskrit has to say about his subject. This would require a re-orientation of curricula in our Universities. It is a necessary re-orientation to repair the broken link of tradition in Indian learning.

## VI

Now I come to perform the routine business of a Sectional President, of noticing publications in Classical Sanskrit in the last two years. I may, however, confess at the outset that my notice is very incomplete, for the simple reason that I could not get informed about all the publications of the last two years. I wrote to a few oriental institutes and publishers. Some kindly complied with my request.

I may be permitted to make a suggestion here on this matter to the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference. The Gujarat Sāhitya Sabha an old literary institution in Ahmedā-



bad, publishes an annual review of publications in Gujarati language. For this purpose it informs the authors and publishers of the name of the reviewer and requests them to send their publications to him. I suggest that this Conference follow some such practice, if it wants to make the work of reviewing adequate and efficient.

The Sahitya Akademi—our national academy of letters—is quite alive to the need of making Sanskrit language and literature popular. It has sponsored a series of critical editions of Kālidāsa's works. The first volume to be out is Meghadūta—edited with Introduction and notes in English by the veteran scholar Dr. S. K. De. The second in the series is Vikramorvaṣīya edited with Introduction and notes in English by Prof. H. D. Velankar. The general introductions to both these works of Kālidāsa are from the pen of our philosopher—Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

In this series the Akademi has planned critical editions of Śakuntala, Ṛtusamhāra, Mālavikāgnimitra, Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava. The Sahitya Akademi has sponsored another series also, the Sāhitya Ratna-kośa. In this series the second volume is an anthology of Epics and Purāṇas—Purāṇetihāsa-Saṅgraha. The Selection has been made and edited by Dr. S. K. De and Dr. R. C. Hazra. In this series the Akademi proposes to have Anthologies of Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, Classical Literature, Jaina texts and Subhāṣitas.

To make Sanskrit language a medium for the present day literary creations, the Akademi is publishing a journal named Saṁskṛta Pratibhā. The editor of this Journal is Dr. V. Raghavan.

I now note some English publications of interest to Classical Sanskrit Literature. The translation of the third volume of M. Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature', which deals with Classical Sanskrit Literature is being published. Its first fascicule is out.

The first edition of Dr. S. K. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics was not available for a long time. I am glad to note that the second revised edition of the work has been published now in one volume by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta in 1960.



Similarly we have the third revised edition of Mm. Dr. Kane's History of Sanskrit Poetics published by Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi in 1961. Mm. Dr. Kane said in his second edition "Now that I am 70 years of age and have yet to complete my 'History of Dharmaśāstra' I am afraid that I shall hardly have the time or energy to revert to this subject again and therefore I bid farewell to these studies of my youth". We are glad and thankful that he has found time and energy to revise his work and give us an up-to-date third edition of his History of Sanskrit Poetics.

The Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin has been translated by Mr. Myles Dillon (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), Mr. Murray Fowler (University of Wisconsin) and Dr. Raghavan (University of Madras) and published as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New series, Vol. 50, Part 9, Philadelphia, November, 1960. Introduction and notes to the work are by Dr. V. Raghavan. The contribution of Dr. Raghavan to this work can best be stated in the words of Mr. Myles Dillon, one of the translators: "The introduction and notes, and the list of corrections and emendations, are the work of Professor Raghavan alone, and supply a measure of learning that was beyond the resources of Professor Fowler and myself."

It would be appropriate here to refer to some of the other works done by Dr. Raghavan during the period. He has revised his thesis on 'Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa' and published it as second edition. This work is one of our best studies in Sanskrit Poetics and the students of the subject will be grateful to have this second complete edition of that learned work. His second important piece of research published recently is 'Some Lost Old Rāma Plays'. It is a study and reconstruction from citations, of several lost Rāma-plays: Rāmābhyudaya, Kṛtyārāvaṇa, Chalitārāma, Rāmānanda, Rāghavānanda, etc. The work throws much light on this problem of dramatic literature in Sanskrit.

We have noted that he is editing Saṁskṛta Pratibhā of the Sahitya Akademi. In the work of developing Sanskrit as a vehicle of literary expression in modern times, his contribution is also quite important. He has translated into Sanskrit the Azad Memorial Lectures on 'India Today and Tomorrow' by Pandit



Jawaharlal Nehru. This work is published by the National Book Trust, Delhi.

Dr. Raghavan is not a dry antiquarian. His efforts in the direction of reviving Drama and Dramaturgy and staging of Sanskrit plays are also noteworthy. Sanskrit plays under his direction were staged at Madras, Ujjain, and Delhi. He is the moving spirit of the organization 'the Samskrita Ranga' which has published two annuals also.

Dr. V. Raghavan is unquestionably not only a leading Sanskritist but an enthusiastic protagonist of Sanskrit Muse also. We are glad that he is the General President of this Session.

Āgama Prabhākara Muniśrī Puṇyavijayaji—the President of our Prakrit Section—has prepared two descriptive catalogues of manuscripts which are very important for research workers in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He has specialized in this kind of work. He had prepared two catalogues of mss. before, one known as Kamalapustakoddhārasūci and the other Mohanlalaji Jain Jñāna-bhaṇḍārasūci, both published from Surat. His catalogue of the mss. of the Jain Bhandar of Limbdi (Saurashtra) is a descriptive one.

The two new descriptive catalogues have taken a number of years of preparation. They have the impress of the profound scholarship, unrivalled competence and meticulous care of this great savant. One of these describes the palm-leaf manuscripts of the four Bhaṇḍāras of Jeselmere (Rajasthan). The biggest of these Bhaṇḍāras is the one established by Ācārya Śrī Jinabhadra-sūri of the Kharataragaccha. 133 pothis of this Bhaṇḍāra containing 2,257 palm-leaf manuscripts have been described; of the remaining three Bhaṇḍāras, 15 palm-leaf manuscripts have been described. Paper manuscripts have not been included in this volume. The catalogue will be published soon by the Śvetāmbara Jain Conference Office, Bombay.

The second work is also a descriptive catalogue of palm-leaf mss. belonging to the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra at Cambay (Gujarat). The present volume published in the G. O. S. as No. 135 is the first part describing 120 manuscripts, sometimes one ms. containing more than one work. Muni Sri Puṇyavijayaji has also with him



ready for publication a classified catalogue of all the mss. collected together from the various local Bhaṇḍāras in the Hemacandrācārya Jñāna Mandira at Patan (Gujarat).

It may be noted that these and other Jain Bhaṇḍāras of Gujarat and Rajasthan contain, not only mss. of Jain works but also those of Brahmanical and Buddhist works as is known from the reports of Bühler, Peterson and Bhandarkar and from these catalogues. The importance of these mss. on palm-leaf or paper lies, in addition to the works which they give, in their praśastis. As the General Editor of the G. O. S., Dr. Sandesara, says "they throw light on many facts of mediaeval history and culture and supply a wealth of information about the social and religious history of various sects, castes and families and present invaluable material for the study of place-names" (P. 1. Foreword to No. 135 G.O.S.). For this reason these catalogues are worth study and research in themselves. We are grateful to Muni Punyavijayaji for this labour of love which has given us such excellent material for further research.

It is a pleasure to note that the great work of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is nearing completion. In the course of the last two years the volumes containing the Āśvamedhikaparvan, the Mausalaparvan, the Mahāprasthānikaparvan and the Svargārohaṇaparvan have been published.

The latest volume containing Śalyaparvan edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar has been published on the Rishipancami Day the 15th of September, 1961. The last volume containing Anuśāsanaparvan edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar as well as the Introduction to the Śāntiparvan by Dr. S. K. Belvelkar will be published soon.

We feel happy at the completion of this great undertaking of research done in such an excellent way and felicitate the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for it.

In addition to the Mahābhārata work, we note other research work done in the B. O. R. I. Dr. P. K. Gode whose sudden death on the 28th May of this year deprived Indology of one of its devoted scholars wrote several articles which as usual are very informative. His articles (i) on 'References to Guns and Gunpowders in Kabir's



work and their bearing on his date' (Poona Orientalist, Vol XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2), (ii) on 'A manuscript of Maheśvara's Marathi commentary on the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, dated Saka 1739 = A. D. 1817' (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Vol. XXXVIII, (iii) on 'References to Tobacco in some Sanskrit works between A. D. 1600 and 1900' (Vol. XXXIII *ibid.*), (iv) on 'Notes on the History of Camel in India between B. C. 500 and A. D. 800 (Janus, Leyden, Vol XLVII, No. 3) and (v) on 'The use of the white mustard in Ancient and Mediaeval India' (Dr. J. Noble Commemoration Volume) may in particular be mentioned.

Dr. A. D. Pusalkar has also written important articles on several subjects of Indology. Of these we may mention the following as relevant to Classical Sanskrit Literature: 'Sārṅgadharapaddhati and Bṛhat-Sārṅgadharapaddhati' (P. K. Gode Commemoration Col. Part III, p. 157-172), 'Some significant allegories in the Purāṇas' (Purāṇa, III, p. 8-21), 'Literary background of Rāghava-bhaṭṭa: author (Commentary on Śāradātilaka and Arthadyotaniḱā Commentary on Abhijñānaśākuntala), Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XLI.

The Annals of the B. O. R. I. maintain their standard.

Prof. R. D. Karmarkar's edition of Āśvamedhika parvan has already been mentioned. His work on 'Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja Part II' has been done under the auspices of the Poona University and the one on Kālidāsa, the Karnataka University. He has also revised the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva for the B. O. R. I.

Prof. K. V. Abhyankar in his retirement is making the best use of his leisure and intellectual energy. We may mention his four works on Pātañjala-Mahābhāṣya including his Hindi translation of Āhnikas 1-9, two volumes on the Paribhāṣā-Saṃgraha and his two works on Vedānta, one a revised edition of Siddhāntabindu and the other Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja with the commentary of M. M. Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar. But his most important and monumental work recently published in the G. O. S., Baroda (No. 134) is 'A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar'; a work which would require the labour of several scholars but done by him single-handed. This work shows his great erudition in the Vyākaraṇaśāstra. As he says in the introduction "All the standard works in gram-



mar have been consulted including the available Prātiśākhya works, the Māhābhāṣya, the Kāśikā, the Vākyapadīya, the Siddhānta Kaumudī and others (p. XI, Preface). But he has not narrowed down his work to the Pāṇinian system only. He has also used the works of other grammarians such as the Kātantra, the Śākaṭāyana, the Jinendra, the Haima, etc. as also the different Paribhāṣā works (ibid). Prof. K. V. Abhyankar is now one of our few grammarians left, who had the privilege of being trained under the great grammarian M. M. Vasudev Sastri Abhyankar, his father. He has also the equipment of a modern scholar. This is a rare combination now-a-days, and we see the result in this erudite work of his. This Dictionary will become, I am sure, an indispensable reference work to every scholar of Classical Sanskrit. I congratulate my old and respected erstwhile colleague in the B. J. Institute for publishing it.

The Dharmakośa Maṇḍala of the Prājña Pāṭhaśālā at Wai is steadily prosecuting its work on Dharmakośa as well as Mīmāṃsākośa under its able secretary, Pandit Laxaman Shastri Joshi. The work of the Dharmakośa is being done under the general editorship of Shri Laxaman Shastri Joshi. The Mīmāṃsā Kośa was edited by the late Shri Swami Kevalanand Sarasvati. Its publication is undertaken by the Dharmakośa Maṇḍala. The Maṇḍala proposes to issue a new revised edition of Atharva-veda Saṁhitā to be edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar and Dr. G. V. Devasthali.

The second part of Saṁskāra-kāṇḍa which contains four main general sections (1) Vivāha-jyotis, (2) Sarvakarma-Sādhāraṇa paribhāṣā, (3) Māṅgalikakarasādhāraṇakarma-samuccaya and (4) Vivāhaprayoga is in the press and about to be published.

The editing of Rājanīti-Kāṇḍa is completed and is now in press.

Now let us note the important publications of the Oriental Institute of the M. S. University, Baroda. I have already referred to the catalogue of the palm-leaf mss. of Cambay prepared by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji and the Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar. The Institute has undertaken, as is well-known, a critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, on the lines of the Mahābhārata edition of the B. O. R. I. The Bālakāṇḍa, edited by



Prof G. H. Bhatt, of this critical edition was published last year. The Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa is being edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya. The first fascicule containing cantos one to forty of this Kāṇḍa is recently published. The second fascicule is expected to be published in 1962. The first volume of the Pāda-Index of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa prepared by Prof. G. H. Bhatt has been recently published. It is proposed to complete the whole of Rāmāyaṇa by 1967.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has not allowed this big scheme to limit its other research activities and publications. The introduction to Vyavahārakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara by Shri K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar was published in 1958. It also includes the index of half verses of the work. The Saṅgītopaniṣat-sāroddhāra of Sudhākalaśa has been edited by Dr. U. P. Shah and recently published in the G. O. S. This work is an abridgement of the same author's Saṅgītopaniṣad composed in A. D. 1324. The work is interesting as representing a tradition from Western India, not far removed in time from the Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva (c. 1250 A.D.) which preserves the traditions of the Kārṇāṭaka music. On the subject of instrumental music, the G. O. S. has published two short treatises in one Volume, Vīṇā-lakṣaṇa (C. 1750 A. D.) by Parameśvara and anonymous Vīṇāprapāṭhaka. Both these works are edited by Shri J. S. Pade. A work on dancing, Nṛtyādhyāya of Aśokamalla edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah is in press.

An important addition to Rāma plays is the Ullāgha Rāghava of Someśvara, the friend of Vastupāla the famous minister of Gujarat. He was a contemporary of the Cālukya king Bhīma-deva II and Vīradhavalā of Dholka in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D. The work has been edited by Āgama Prabhākara Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji and Dr. B. J. Sandesara. The editors have shown that Someśvara has written this play on the model of the Anargha Rāghava of Murāri which was at the time popular in Gujarat and commented by the Jain monks Naracandra and his guru Devaprabha.

Amongst the works about to be published in the G. O. S., I mention the following (1) Vol. II of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Khaṇḍa III edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah, containing introduction, appendices, indices, etc., (2) the Vaiśeṣikasūtra with Candrānanda's



Vṛtti and some original passages from Tibetan texts on Vaiśeṣika darśana critically edited by the learned Dārśanika Muni Shri Jambuvijayaji and (3) the third volume of Mānasollāsa of Someśvara edited by Shri G. K. Shrigondekar.

The M. S. University of Baroda publishes another oriental series also. Its four publications (1) Tāmbūlamañjarī edited by Shri J. S. Pade, (2) Mudrāvicāra-prakaraṇa and Mudrāvidhi edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah and (3) Prāmāṇyamañjarī edited by the same scholar and (4) Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇamañjarī edited by Dr. U. P. Shah are interesting small works throwing light on some aspects of our ancient culture.

The fifth in this series is lexicographical studies in Jain Sanskrit done by Dr. Sandesara and Prof. J. P. Thaker. This is something quite interesting and important for the study of attempts to popularise Sanskrit in Gujarat by bringing it near the spoken idiom and using vernacular words in Sanskrit garb.

The Journal of the Oriental Institute of the M. S. University of Baroda maintains its tradition of publishing good research articles on various subjects of Indology.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay under the guidance of Shri K. M. Munshi is now an outstanding institution working for the revival of Ancient Indian Culture. On its research side, the Singhi Jain Granthamālā has given it a world-wide reputation. The series has by now published more than fifty works, most of them in Sanskrit and a few in Prakrit. This whole series has been planned and worked by Padmaśrī Ācārya Śrī Jinavijaya Muni who has been its General Editor from its very inception some thirty years back. He has himself edited more than fifteen works in the Series. In 1958-59 it has published three works all of which are quite important. The edition of the Śataka-Traya of Bhartṛhari with the commentary of the Jain monk Dhanasāragaṇi, the oldest of its commentators so far known, is done by Prof. D. D. Kosambi. Prof. Kosambi who is one of our great mathematicians made a name for himself as a Bhartṛhari Śataka-scholar by his edition of the Śataka Traya published also in this series in 1948. About the commentary, the editor says "The commentary is the oldest known on Bhartṛhari, and though not so imposing as that of Rāmacandra Budhendra for the southern type, nor



so meticulous as that of Rāmarṣi for a much closer version to that of Dhanasāra, is still of considerable interest. The colloquial Jain Sanskrit used, some original interpretations, and the age make a close study of this version indispensable to any student of Bhartṛhari. One may venture upon the guess that the gloss was certainly supplemented by further oral comment, the text before us being in the nature of lecture-notes (p. 2, Preface)."

The second work is Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā edited by Dr. (Miss) Kalpalata Munshi. The edition is based upon a single palm leaf manuscript from Jesalmer in Rajasthan. The work of editing is done with meticulous care, and the introduction, translation and notes in English show great scholarship. Dr. Munshi has corroborated the authorship of Bhoja of Dhārā (C. 1010 A.C.-1054 A. C.) mentioned in the colophons of the manuscript by internal evidence. Thus Bhoja has one more authenticated work to his credit. This Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā is another contribution of Dhārā to Kathā literature, the other being the Tilakamañjarī Kathā of Dhanapāla. The Śṛṅgāramañjarī is in line with the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta, minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (A. D. 779-813) and the Samaya-māṭṛkā of Kṣemendra (A. D. 1029-1064).

The third work is the Kuvalayamālākathā of Uddyotanasūri edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye. This work is a very important addition to Prakrit literature.

Of the five publications of this series in 1959-60, two are in Prakrit—Nammayasundarikathā of Mahendrasūri edited by Miss Pratibha Trivedi, M. A. and the third volume of the Paumacariya of Svayambhudeva edited by Dr. H. C. Bhayani. Of the three Sanskrit works Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra is edited by the veteran scholar Prof. H. D. Velankar who is rightly recognized as an authority in Sanskrit Chandas-śāstra. This part contains the text of the original. The second is the Vijñapti-lekhasaṅgraha (Vol. I) edited by Acarya Jinavijayaji. I have drawn the attention of scholars in this address to the Vijñapti literature of the Jains which contain very interesting documents in the form of letters written in ornate Sanskrit giving historical information about contemporary persons, places, things and events. They show how Sanskrit was used for letter-writing. A work named Lekhapad-



dhati giving models of state and private documents (8th to 15th centuries) edited by the late C. D. Dalal was published in 1925 in the G. O. S.

The most outstanding publication in the series this year is a fragment of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra along with a fragment of a commentary named Nītinirṇīti of Ācārya Yogghama alias Mugdhavilāsa. The commentator names the work as Kauṭalya-Rāja-Siddhānta. The work is edited by Acharya Jinavijayaji with a preface by Prof. D. D. Kosambi. The edition is based upon palm-leaf fragments from a Patan Bhandar dated on paleographic grounds at about the 12th century A. D. As Prof. Kosambi says this is the 'first real step forward in the textual problems of the Arthaśāstra, since the appearance of printed editions based on southern texts (Preface p. 1). By this edition, as Prof. Kosambi says, Acharya Śrī Jinavijayaji Muni has made 'new material available to all scholars, and lightened their future labour by this comparative edition of Patan folios (Preface p. 1).' 'This tiny portion of the northern text will be a stimulus to the internal criticism of the Arthaśāstra' (Preface p. 8.).

Of the publications of the series in the year 1950-61 we note five works. The texts of the Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra along with his own vṛtti entitled Chandaś-cūḍāmaṇi as well as an anonymous Ṭippanaka called Paryāya are edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar who edited the first part. This volume contains the learned editor's elaborate introduction, indices, etc. The second is a work of Buddhist philosophy of Mūla-Sarvāsti-vāda named Vinayasūtra. Its author is Bhadanta Guṇaprabha. The work is edited by the well known Buddhist scholar Śrī Rahul Sankrityayan.

The third volume contains Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara and Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana of Arisimha, both of them important historical kāvyas. The first edition of the former by Prof. Kathavate was published long ago in the old Bombay Sanskrit Series. The present volume is prepared by Agama Pabhakara Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji. The general editor has done well in giving in the first appendix Kathavate's Introduction to the edition of Kīrtikaumudī, Bühler's critical study of Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana and the Introduction to the same work by Muni Chaturvijayaji.



The fourth work is Mantri-Karma-candra-vaṃśāvalī-prabandha of Guṇavinaya with his own vṛtti. It is also a historical poem. The fifth, a collection of the Paṭṭāvalis of different gaṇachas, is a very useful work for the history of Jain monks. It incidentally throws much light on other historical events. Both these volumes are edited by Acarya Jinavijayaji Muni.

This indefatigable veteran scholar is the general editor of another series also : the Rājasthān Purāṇanagranthamālā. The series has published in the last ten years more than twenty Sanskrit works and ten Rajasthani and Hindi works. It has about twenty five works—Sanskrit and Rajasthani and Hindi—in press. Of the Sanskrit works the following are noteworthy : (1) Pramāṇamañjarī of Sarvadevācārya, a work on Vaiśeṣika-darśana edited by Shri Pattabhirama Shastri, (2) Annambhaṭṭa's Tarka-Saṅgraha with a new Phakkikā by Kṣamākalyāṇa, a Jain monk, edited by Dr. J. Jetly, (3) Kāraka-sambandhodyota of Rabhasanandin and (4) Śabdaratnapradīpa (anonymous) a Sanskrit lexicon—both edited by Dr. H. G. Shastri. (5) Uktiratnākara of Sādhu Sundaragaṇi—a very useful work for a comparative study of Sanskrit and Deśya words edited by Acarya Jinavijaya Muni, (6) Śṛṅgāra-hārāvalī of Śrī Harṣa a new Śṛṅgāraśataka probably of the author of the Naiṣadhīya, (7) Kṛṣṇagīti of Somanātha—a poem on the model of Jayadeva's Gīta-govinda, and (8) Nṛtta-saṅgraha (anonymous) a work on dancing—all edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah, (9) Cakrapāṇivijaya mahākāvya of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara edited by Prof. Pandit K. K. Shastri, (10) Rājavinodamahākāvya of Udayarāja edited by Shri Gopalnarayana Bahura and (11) Īśvara-vilāsa-Mahākāvya of Śrī Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa edited by Shri Mathurnath Shastri.

The Rājavinoda-Mahākāvya is an interesting historical poem containing the life of Mahamud Begada, a Sultan of Gujarat.

Amongst the recent works in the series may be mentioned the Nṛtyaratnakośa of Mahārāṇa Kumbha of Mewar—in three parts. The second part completes the text of Nṛtyaratnakośa and gives indexes as well as introduction dealing with the problems of the authorship of Kālasena and Kumbhakarṇa, and an account of the life of the latter including the literary works attributed to him. It is intended to give the literary history of dancing in India in the



third part, The work is edited with introduction etc. by me and Dr. Priyabala Shah.

The edition of the Kāvyaadarśasaṅketa of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara on the Kāvyaaprakāśa of Mammaṭa is another important work. It is edited by me. I have tried to show that this Saṅketa comes after Rucaka's Saṅketa and precedes Māṇikyaçandra's.

The Vasturatnakośa edited by Dr. Priyabala Shah was undertaken long before but published recently. It is a very interesting work showing how such small compendiums were prepared in old India for general information about various items of interest.

Muni Jinavijayaji has been one of our great organizers of institutes for the study and research of Indology. He was the Honorary Director of the Gujarat Purātattva Mandira, Ahmedabad, sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi. Later on he became the Honorary Director of the Bharatīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay founded by Shri K. M. Munshi and now at the age of seventy-five and more he is the Honorary Director of the Rajasthan Oriental Institute, started by the State of Rajasthan.

It was quite appropriate that his services to the cause of learning were recognized by the President of India by giving him the title of Padmaśrī.

Among the major activities of the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, is the preparation of a critical edition of Śrīmad Bhāgavata. A scheme for such an edition was prepared a few years back and work commenced. The Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, had kindly asked us to submit to them a detailed scheme and estimate of expenditure, year by year. We did as required, and were encouraged to believe that we will receive some aid from them. But to our great disappointment we were informed in April, 1957 that the Government regretted their inability to do anything for us. So our institution, whose own financial resources are poor, has not been able to execute the scheme as it was planned. Nevertheless one member of our staff Prof. N. K. Bambhanja has been entrusted as his principal duty to prosecute the work of preparing the critical edition of Śrīmad Bhāgavata. A comparative study of the seven commentaries on



Śrīmad Bhāgavata has shown that there are two distinct versions—the Southern and the Northern. We hope, in spite of our meagre resources, to complete the work in due time.

Another work that Prof. Bambhanja does is noteworthy. The great Acaryas like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, etc. have written bhāṣyas on the Prasthāna Trayī-Upaniṣads, Brahmasūtras and the Gītā, but no commentary of Vallabhācārya, the propounder of Śuddhādvaita, on the Bhagavadgītā is found. So Prof. N. K. Bambhanja is engaged in a study of the quotations of the Gītā, which are ample, in Vallabhācārya's works. From these he is able to ascertain what peculiar readings of Gītā, different from the current ones, Vallabhācārya had before him and how he interpreted the various stanzas of the Gītā. From these studies he hopes to show what shape Vallabhācārya's Bhagavadgītā Bhāṣya would have taken. This work will be ready soon.

Prof. Dr. Miss Solomon another of our research scholars is preparing an English translation of the Tattvopaplavasīmha of Jayarāśibhaṭṭa and studying the traces of agnosticism and scepticism in Indian philosophical thought.

Prof. Dr. Priyabala Shah is preparing a descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Gujarat Vidya Sabha.

The Series of Sanskrit publications of the former State of Kashmir had won great reputation for its scholarly publications particularly for the Sanskrit works on Kashmir Shaivism. The present Research and Publication Department has in the course of the last two years published the following noteworthy works :

- (1) Pañcastavī (Stava V) with a new commentary by late Shri Harabhatta Shastri of Srinagar.
- (2) Gurunāthaparāmarśa of Madhurāja Yogi of Madhura (present Madurai, South India) is edited by Prof. P. N. Pushp.
- (3) A new critical edition of the Śiva Sūtra Vimarsinī of Vasugupta based on seven manuscripts is prepared Prof. P. N. Pushp.
- (4) Prof. Pushp has also prepared a critical edition of Chum-masampradāya which is a Śaiva Tāntric text.



(5) Two numbers of Kashmir Research Biannual devoted to Indological studies in Kashmir edited by Prof. P. N. Pushp have been published.

Our Local Secretary Prof. P. N. Pushp has thus been very active in research work.

The subject of the spread of Sanskrit language in parts of Asia outside India and cultivation of Sanskrit literature in those parts has not occupied our Sanskrit scholars as much as it should. So the publications of the few scholars who are working in that field deserve special notice. Several Sanskrit texts from Bali were critically edited with an introduction by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi and published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda in 1933. The work contained I. (1) Caturveda, (2) Vedaparikarma, II. Stotras. III. Buddhaveda. IV. (1) Kārakasaṅgraha, (2) Caritra-Rāmāyaṇa, (3) The Sanskrit part of bilingual exercises, (4) Naiṣṭhika Jñāna, (5) Daśaśīla, (6) Initial Sanskrit stanzas at the beginning of works written in old Javanese, (1) Agastyaparvan. (2) Mahābhārata (Ādi, Virāṭa, Bhīṣma, Āśramavāsa.)

We have now the following Sanskrit texts from Bali published in the Śatapīṭak series under the general editorship of Dr. Raghuvira: Wṛhaspati-Tattva critically edited and annotated by Dr. Sudarsana Devi, (2) Gaṇapatitattva, edited by the same scholar and (3) Wrati-Śāsana by Dr. Mrs. Sharadha Rani, (4) Ślokāntara edited by the same scholar.

Dr. A. Zieseniss's work Studien zur Geschichte Des Sivaismus is the first systematic work on Śaiva philosophy in Indonesia.

In the Mongolian Buddhist Studies the following works of Dr. Raghuvira should be mentioned: (1) Mongolo-Sanskrit Dictionary with a Sanskrit-Mongol Index, (2) Four Mongolian Historical records, (3) Araj Booji—Stories of Emperor Vikramāditya's wisdom as related to king Bhoja. (4) Mañjuśrī-Nāma Saṅgīti in Sanskrit, Mangolian, Tibetan and Chinese and (5) Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist terms. In this work Sanskrit terms are followed by their Tibetan, Manchurian, Mangolian and Chinese equivalents.

\* \* \* \* \*



As I said at the beginning of this review, this note on the publications of Classical Sanskrit Literature is incomplete. If any important publications are left out, I plead ignorance about them, and beg to be pardoned by their authors and this learned assembly.

At the end I express a hope,

सम्मता सर्वशिष्टानां सेविता सर्वपार्षदैः ।

जयताद् भारते वर्षे सदा गीर्वाणभारती ॥

and a prayer in the words of Kālidāsa with the change of a word :

प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पावनी

सास्वती श्रुतमहतां महीयसाम् ॥



## SECTION IV : ISLAMIC CULTURE

AFZALUL ULAMA MUHAMMAD YOUSUF KOKAN, M.A.

It is indeed a great pleasure and privilege for a humble scholar like me, engaged in Arabic, Persian and Urdu studies, in South India to have been called upon to preside over the scholarly deliberations of a learned gathering of today. Afzalul Ulama Al-haj Moulana Syed Abdul Wahab Saheb Bukhari, the President elected for the Islamic Culture Section, was not able to attend and hence I have been asked by the President and the Executive Council of the Conference to take his place and conduct the proceedings of this section. I am extremely grateful to the Executive Council for this honour.

Friends! We are all gathered here in a place which is well-known not only for its natural beauties but also for the supreme intellect of the people. A Persian student, while studying its literature, cannot ignore eminent poets and writers, like Pandit Chandar Bhan Brahman, Mulla Muhsin Fani, Muhammad Taher Ghani, Mulla Kamaluddin, Moulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri and others. Ghani's poems were very popular and even in South India, his *diwan* was being regularly studied in all the Arabic and Persian *Madrasas*. Mulla Kamaluddin Kashmiri was a great teacher of metaphysics. Scholars like Mulla Nizamuddin, the father of Mulla Abdul Ali Bahrul Uloom, about whom I am going to read a paper in this conference, studied metaphysics under him (Mulla Kamaluddin). Moulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri has rendered a great service to the Arabic literature. His learned discourses about *Sahih-al-Bukhari* have been recorded in the form of a book, entitled *Faiz-al-Bari*, which is running into four big volumes.

At the very outset I would like to emphasise on the point that Islamic Culture is of a composite nature. Its super-structure has been built on the fundamental principles of the unity of God and the universal brotherhood of man. It has received different colours from different nations but leading and guiding to the same fundamental principles. Islamic Culture is very rich in its several



aspects and each aspect is to be carefully studied and definite conclusions are to be derived from it, regarding the effects of Islam on different nations and different countries. The Arabs had nothing to their credit except their fluent and exquisite language and poetry, depicting the desert life of Arabia. Islam changed the minds of the people to such an extent that they took up the torch of learning in their hands and made tremendous progress in all the branches of arts and sciences. Wherever they went they introduced, in the madrasas, their sciences like the commentaries of Quran, the Traditions, Islamic Law and Jurisprudence. They recorded the life events of not only their rulers and great men but also of the great people of the world. They also translated into Arabic, authentic works on different subjects from Greek, Persian and Sanskrit languages. They compiled books on scholasticism, metaphysics, Greek Philosophy, Logic, Mathematics, Algebra and Euclid, which are still being studied in the Muslim educational institutions. Muslim scholars and writers of the past never discriminated between the knowledge of their own and of the others. They only followed the golden principle of their Prophet 'to get knowledge from whichever quarter it came to them'. The Prophet said :—

Al-hikmatu dhallatul al-mumin yakhuza anna wafadaha

"Wisdom is a property which was lost to the faithful.

He should take it, from whatever place he got it".

The Muslims followed very closely this instruction of their Prophet.

The various aspects of Muslim creed, the different concepts of Prophethood, Godhood and Sainthood, the ways and methods of worship and devotion, the codes of law relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, business transactions etc., the religious sects and orders, influence of Islam over others and counter-influences of others on Islam and Muslims, provide ample scope for a close and detailed study and investigation. Much has been written on these subjects; but only an unbiassed critical study of these subjects will help us to understand the true nature of the various aspects of Islamic Culture.

It must be noted that Islam advocates that all the people of the world are basically one; Kanan nasu ummatan wahidalan. It means



that the fundamental truths are to be found in the scriptures of every community. Every one has belief in the Creator and Sustainer and observes some kind of prayers and fastings, gives his things in alms and charity, and appreciates good things and dislikes bad things. If we want to create an atmosphere of mutual co-operation and understanding among the different nations of the world, we should undertake a comprehensive and comparative study of different religions and cultures, pointing out the salient features of every culture. It is gratifying to note that a regular attempt is being made to introduce the various aspects of Indian culture to the Arab world through the quarterly journal of '*Thaqafat-al-Hind*', published under the auspices of I.C.C.R. New Delhi. But no attention is being given towards encouraging those scholars and institutions, which are engaged in research in Islamic religion and culture. The useful institutions cannot continue to live on irregular public help and charity. The Central as well as the State Governments should help these scholars and institutions regularly; so that they can carry on their researches and investigations without any hindrance and anxiety and bring out the results of their researches for the benefit of humanity and mankind.

---



that the fundamental truths are to be found in the scriptures of every community. Every one has belief in the Creator and Sustainer and observes some kind of prayers and fastings, gives his things in alms and charity, and appreciates good things and dislikes bad things. If we want to create an atmosphere of mutual co-operation and understanding among the different nations of the world, we should undertake a comprehensive and comparative study of different religions and cultures, pointing out the salient features of every culture. It is gratifying to note that a regular attempt is being made to introduce the various aspects of Indian culture to the Arab world through the quarterly journal of 'Taqdīrat-e-Islām', published under the auspices of I.C.C.R. New Delhi. But no attention is being given towards encouraging those scholars and institutions, which are engaged in research in Islamic religion and culture. The useful institutions cannot continue to live on irregular public help and charity. The Central as well as the State Governments should help these scholars and institutions regularly so that they can carry on their researches and investigations without any hindrance and anxiety and bring out the results of their researches for the benefit of humanity and mankind.



## SECTION V : ARABIC AND PERSIAN

DR. GHULAM DASTAGIR RASHEED

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*In the Name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful*

*Lovers of Literature & Culture!*

According to the saying of the Prophet of Islam :

من لم يشكر الناس لم يشكر الله

(Those who are not thankful to the people are not thankful to God.) I am sure that I am thanking the Gracious God by thanking all the friends here for the honour they have conferred on me by electing me the President of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Section of this august body of the All-India Oriental Conference. On the occasion of this important assembly of Scholars, I am not inclined to insult your choice by saying in a traditional stereotyped manner that I was not the right man for this place.

هزار قافله شوق می کنند شبگیر  
که بار عیش کشاید بعرضه کشمیر

(Thousands of Caravans of eagerness spend days and nights to enjoy life in the valley of Kashmir)

Let us thank God that many of us, for the first time, are having the pleasure of enjoying the beauty of Kashmir, the glimpses of which had hitherto been seen only in the description of poetry.

We are in a position to realise the fact epitomized in the famous Persian line :



شہنیدہ کے بود مانند دیدہ

While I am feeling happy in this gathering of distinguished scholars, my memory naturally goes back to the glorious past of Kashmir. We are meeting at a place where Ghani, Saib, Kaleem and Qudsi had met. Here, lie buried, very near to the Dul Lake, on the hill, side by side with some local poets, Qudsi, Mulla Tughra, Mir Fathullah Shirazi, Mirza Saleem, Kaleem, Shaida and Ashna. The place is known as Mazarush-Shua'ra. We are glad to learn that Prof. Dr. Zore is trying to preserve these relics in a befitting manner. Even in the present time, Anwar Shah Sahib and Khalifa, Abdul Hakeem have represented these traditions of learning and poetry. Iqbal says of himself :-

تنم گلے ز خیابانِ جنت کشمیر  
دل از حریمِ حجاز و نوا ز شیراز است

To breathe here is to live in the realms of poetry and Art. Kashmir is a masterpiece of Nature's poetry. The snow-covered and emerald mountains may be considered as symbolic of the most sublime subjects of poetry. The murmuring brooks and rushing water-falls are the fluency of this poem. The sweet songs of enchanting birds form the music and melody of this 'Ghazal'. The multi-coloured charming flowers and shady *Chanars* and *Shamshads* are the similies and metaphors in this 'Divine Comedy'. Everything in this paradise invokes ecstasy and joy, like a new bride :-

زیبندہ عروسی کہ بیفزودہ جمالش  
ہر دم بنظر خوشتر و شاداب تر آید

The beauty of this Paradise could not but attract love and admiration.

As the great poet of Kashmir origin, Iqbal has said, "Sinai cannot be without a Moses." Admiration and love are bound to produce some of the finest specimens of art and poetry.



Kashmir had been a great centre of Sanskrit language and literature up to the 14th century. It was subsequently succeeded by its sister language Persian. Some scholars are of opinion that the influence of Persian is discernible even in the works of Prakash Bhat and Pramanand.

Kashmir is justified in taking pride in the literary achievements of Shaiq, Ghani, Kamil, Mulla Ahmed Surfi, just as Iran, Afghanistan and India do in respect of their great men of letters.

The period of Sultan Qutbuddin, Sultan Sikandar and Sultan Zainul-a'abideen has been the period of flowering of Persian language and literature in Kashmir.

Sultan Zainul-a'abideen laid the foundation of an Academy and a Translation Bureau, where learned and versatile geniuses like the Poet Laureate, Mulla Ahmed of Kashmir, Mulla Mantiqi, Mulla Nadimi, Mulla Faseehi, Mulla Shair, Mulla Ahmed Rumi, Mulla Ali Shirazi and Mulla Hussain of Ghazni and many others had gathered. The very word Mulla with all these names indicates that they were not only Persian poets and literary men, but great Arabic and Islamic scholars. With their intellectual efforts, Kashmir had become also a valley of learning, poetry and literature.

Mulla Ahmed's literary heritage is found in the form of "Waqā-i-Kashmir" and the translation of Mahabharata.

It was during the times of Sultan Zainul-a'abideen that the Kashmir Pandits were particularly persuaded to take up the study of Persian. Once again two sister languages Sanskrit and Persian had found a confluence in Kashmir. The greatest modern Persian poet, Dr. Iqbal came from Sapru goath or the learned families of Kashmir Brahmins.

Ijaz has written the history of Kashmir in the form of a story. Chander Bhan Brahmin was a distinguished sufi poet and prose writer.

Aftab Zuka was a prominent poet. Pandit Satram Baqa of Srinagar also was a poet of refined taste.

Pandit Lachmi Ram Saroor made a name in the field of poetry. During the Chackshahi period Mir Ali, Nami, Mehr and Mustaghni carried on these traditions.



How romantically Nami hints at the best use of the lover's hand :

دستم بریده بادچه کارآیدم بگو  
در گردن بتان چون حمائل نمی شود

During the Moghul period the taste for Persian language and literature had reached its zenith.

The Persian language for its very genius and nature seemed as if it has taken its birth in Kashmir. In other words, Kashmir was the second Iran. It proved to be a natural mirror for reflecting the romances of Kashmir's life.

Qudsi's Masnavi, describing Shajahan's visit to Kashmir is a vivid portrait of Kashmir.

During the times of Zafar Khan, Persian poetry was at its height. Zafar Khan's 'Haft Manzil' containing his appreciation of Kashmir, its gardens and its buildings is a panorama of Kashmir. Zafar Khan's autobiographic album of poets was unique treasure of poems selected and signed by the poets themselves. Zafar Khan was a great patron of letters, as Khan-Khanan was in his time.

Hameedullah's "Chai-nama" چائے نامہ had brought him (1244-1847) into prominence among the poets. It is composed in the style of Zuhuri's Saqi-nama.

ظہوری مگر چائے نادیدہ بود  
ازین وصف دررز بہ پیچیدہ بود  
بدہ ساقیا چائے تاخیر نیست  
بدہ تلخ گر شکر و شیر نیست  
بہ بینی کہ چون دیگ بق بق زند  
تو گرئی کہ منصور انا الحق زند

Salcem's Masnavi on Kashmir is another land mark. Mahmood Ghani is one of the illustrious names in the annals of Kashmir poetry. He wrote Yusuf Zulekha, Laila Majnun and Shireen Farhad in pure Kashmiri.



The Kashmiri poets after him, according to Shivdan Singh Chohan\* have mixed Persian element to a great extent in the Kashmiri language. Saifuddin and Sunaili Pandit's poems are typical examples of the dominating Persian influence. Among the modern Kashmiri poets, Sufi Ghulam Mohd. Mahjoor's Persian poetry has been appreciated and encouraged by Allama Shibli.

Our national poet Tagore, had described Sufi Ghulam Mohd. Mahjoor as "Wordsworth of Kashmir".

In his poetry the critics find a synthesis of the refinement of Persian poetry and the revolutionary spirit of the present progressive trends.

We have seen how Kashmir had been a favourite subject of poets and centre of the scholars.

To day, people are taking interest in Kashmir from a different angle of vision. They are keenly observing how efforts are being made to remove its backwardness and convert it into a heaven of peace and prosperity.

To put it into other words, a new social paradise is being created within this paradise of nature. It is, however, gratifying to note that efforts on the part of the present Government of Jammu and Kashmir headed by Sri Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the Prime Minister, are being made to achieve alround progress, particularly in the field of education. The establishment of the Kashmir University is a landmark in the history of the State which ensures a bright future for the young generation. It is also hoped that adequate arrangements for research work in Arabic and Persian literature in general, and manuscript publication in particular will be made under the aegis of the University and the research department of the State.

The State Research Department under the brilliant guidance of Dr. P. N. Pushp has well begun this type of work with the publication of تاريخ حسن . The Plan shows that the critical editions of historical and poetical works are to be taken up one after the other.

---

\* The Kashmiri Language and Literature by Shivdan Singh in "The Naya Adab" No. 8, 1946.



All of us feel thankful to the Government of India's Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs for the scheme for editing and publication of rare manuscripts.

This scheme breathed a new life among the scholars and institutions concerned.

Being encouraged by this scheme some new institutions have come into existence.

There are valuable manuscripts in Arabic and Persian on the various aspects of the Indian life and culture. The work of publishing some of these manuscripts had already started. It is to be extended. My learned friend Professor Abidi of Delhi University is trying to get *دوست و دشمن* published. What is already done is but a drop in an ocean.

Even the best Diwan of the greatest Persian poet of India, Amir Khusraw, "Ghurratul-Kamal" is not published yet.

I have begun the task of editing this Diwan under the auspices of the Persian Manuscript Society of Hyderabad. Just a word about this Society.

The Persian Manuscript Society of Hyderabad under the able secretaryship of Padma Bhushan Dr. Ghulam Yezdani has been able to render great service by publishing four rare classical texts in Persian.

1. The Tuglaq-Nama of Amir Khusraw *تغلق نامہ*
2. Burhan-e-Maathir of Syed Ali Taba Taba *برهان مآثر*
3. Chach Nama of Ali Bin Hamid al-Kufi *چچ نامہ*
4. Riyazul-Insha of Mahmood Gawan *ریاض الانشا*

In the hope of fresh financial support from the State and Central Governments, we have now launched a new scheme of publications. The Society has been reorganised with Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur as the President of the Executive Committee and Dr. Nizamuddin as the President of Literary Committee. I have been elected the Secretary of this Society. I request co-operation from all of you in this respect.



## SECTION V : ARABIC AND PERSIAN

181

Prof. Nizamuddin has retired after 15 years' glorious service from the Da-i-ratul Ma'arif. Prof. Abdul Moid Khan, the editor of Islamic Culture, has been appointed the Director of this world-famous Academy.

I have referred to the extension work of editing and publishing of the rare manuscripts. But friends! let me suggest here a new important field of work. We are not doing full justice to this line of work which may go long to help the cause of both the national and the international integration.

The great task of acquainting the Middle East with the Indian culture cannot be accomplished merely by publishing a few Arabic and Persian manuscripts on Indian topics.

Apart from Arabic and Persian renderings of some Sanskrit classics, there are some precious gems of international importance in the literature of every Indian language.

Indian culture, in its entirety cannot be valued by the Arabic and Persian speaking people until the masterpieces of every Indian language are competently translated into Arabic and Persian. These translations will open a new world of thought and culture for Arabic and Persian speaking nations.

Fortunately, there are some learned scholars of Arabic and Persian in every State. At least there are lecturers of these subjects in the regional Universities. Many of them can be persuaded to take up some such selected work.

This kind of work, on the one hand, will enlarge the field of interest in Arabic and Persian literature, and on the other hand, widen the horizon of literature in the regional languages of India.

### NATIONAL INTEGRATION THROUGH URDU LITERATURE

The same line of work is to be adopted in the field of Indian languages. Particularly it is to be adopted in the case of all-India



languages like Urdu and Hindi. This type of work will bring new streams of thought and refreshing literary styles, even in Urdu.

Urdu is the State language in Kashmir. I hope that this mutual translation work between Urdu and other Kashmiri languages will receive proper consideration by the concerned institution.

We may be able to see the spring of Kashmir in the valley of Urdu Literature of Kashmir in near future.

The Andhra Government has the credit of recognising Urdu as the regional language of the State. Now, this great task of extending and deepening this integration through Urdu literature falls upon us. Some Urdu and Telugu scholars must co-operate to carry on this revolutionary work of mutual translation. This scheme is to be immediately worked out in every linguistic state.

Without this, the psychological integration of our nation will not bear the necessary sweet fruits. May God help us in this humanizing mission, which will lead us to the "Ideal life" in the words of Sadi :

یاد داری کہ وقت زادن تو  
همه خندان بدند تو گریان

آنچه‌ای زی که وقت مردن تو  
همه گریان شوند تو خندان

'Remember, when you were born, you were weeping while others were smiling. Lead such an ideal life, that when you leave the world, others may weep for you, and you smile in the presence of the Providence.'



## SECTION VI: PALI AND BUDDHISM

Bhikku J. KASHYAP

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I offer my best thanks to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over the Section of Pali & Buddhism at this session. Eighteen years ago, I remember, I had the privilege to work as the secretary of this Section at the 12th session held at the Banaras Hindu University. That was for the first time in the history of the Conference that a separate section was assigned to Pali & Buddhism. Since then, eight learned addresses have been delivered from this chair by scholars of outstanding recognition. They have made searching survey of the progress of scholarship of Pali & Buddhism up to date, and have also enumerated and evaluated the publications by individuals and institutions in the country and abroad. They have also traced how studies in Pali & Buddhism developed in the West and kept making advancement, extensive and intensive, bringing out valuable publications, both of the texts and their translations. I think, it is expected of me, too, to add informations to it, at least of the last two or three years, the period that stands for me to survey. But, I am sorry, I do not find myself in a position to do justice to this responsibility. For the last four years I have been absorbed so very undividedly in preparing the edition of Devanāgarī Pali Tripiṭaka, that it could not be possible for me to keep pace with the up-to-date progress in this direction. With this much of apology, I wish to make mention of the following publications I have come across during this period.

### (A) Publications

1. **Kashi Prasad Jaiswal Research Institute, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series**— (i) *Abidharmadīpa*—a critical edition of the *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāṣāprabhā Vṛtti* prepared by Dr. Padmanabh S. Jaini, Tripiṭakacharya, Lecturer in Pali and Buddhist Saṅskṛit, School of Oriental and African Studies,



University of London, marks a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Buddhism. The editor has adduced sufficient evidence to show that the author of the book is most probably to be identified with *Vimaṇamitra*, a Kashmirian scholar, who, according to Huen Tsang, proceeded to write a work in refutation of Vasubandhu, which probably is none other than *Abhidharma-dīpa*.

(ii) *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī*—edited by Shri Anantalal Thakur, Professor at the Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, on the basis of the photographic copy of a manuscript brought from Tibet by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayana, presents a collection of 12 works of Jñānaśrīmitra. The main importance of the works of Jñānaśrīmitra lies in the fact that they give the Buddhist criticism of the views of Vācaspati Miśra the basis on which Udayana built up his dialectical edifice. Thus, the author becomes a link between the two great Nyāya authors and fills up a gap in the history of Indian Logic.

**2. Mithila Sanskrit Research Institute**—A scheme was sanctioned jointly by the State Government of Bihar and the Government of India, in 1957, for the publication of the texts of Sanskrit Mahayana Buddhism, under the General Editorship of Dr. P. L. Vaidya, the then Director of the Institute. The following books have been brought out so far—(i) *Divyāvadāna*, (ii) *Lalitavistara*, (iii) *Avadānaśataka*, (iv) *Avadānakalpalatā* (in two volumes), and (v) *Jātakamālā*.

**3. Nalanda Pali Institute**—I am glad to say that the Institute has just completed the publication of the entire Pāli Tripiṭaka in Devanāgarī character, in 41 vols. comprising about 20,000 pages. This reminds me of the long efforts of the Saṅgha of India towards it. The first initiative was taken by the well-known Buddhist leader Bhikkhu U. Uttama in 1936 with the collaboration of Bhikkhu Rahula Sankrityayana, Bhikkhu Ananda Kausalyayana and Bhikkhu Jagadish Kashyap. Unfortunately, no progress could be made after bringing out ten books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. The second attempt was made in 1947 by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap and Bhikkhu Dhammarakkhita, under a scheme taken up by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Durgakunda Road,



Varanasi. This too, due to unfavourable circumstances, could not progress beyond one volume of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā. Finally, in 1957, the publication of the Devanāgarī Pāli Tripiṭaka was taken up under the auspices of the Nalanda Pali Institute under a scheme sanctioned jointly by the Government of India and the State Government of Bihar. A Board was set up for the execution of the scheme. The series has been successfully completed within time, as—

1957-58. Vinaya Piṭaka & Dīgha Nikāya.

1958-59. Majjhima Nikāya, Saṃyutta Nikāya and Aṅguttara Nikāya.

1959-60. Khuddaka Nikāya & Dhammasaṅgaṇi.

1960-61., Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

This presents a co-ordinated edition of the text, based on the latest printed editions in Burmese, Siamese, Sinhalese and Roman. All the modern marks of punctuation have been freely used, not in a rigid manner, but with a view to making out the meaning explicit and bringing out clearly the interconnections between the constituent clauses and phrases. Efforts have been made to keep a uniformity and consistency in it. Significant variants, collected from other editions, have been incorporated in the foot-notes. At the end of a volume, an elaborate index has been provided to the proper names, words and to the similes occurring in the book. A 'General Preface' to the series has been written by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Publication. The Introduction written by the General Editor traces the different stages in the compilation of the Tripiṭaka, presents a summary of the book and throws light on its importance as a source of the cultural history of the country. References have been given in the margins to the parallel pages in the Roman and Burmese editions. Headings and sub-headings, constructed with words picked up from the body of the text, have been introduced in a systematic manner.

Besides the Devanāgarī Pāli Tripiṭaka, the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara has made the following two valuable publications—.



(i) Research Publication Vol. 1, 1957, which contains Sanskrit Texts of *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (*Vimśika*), *Vigrahavyāvartinī*, *Prasannapadā* and *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā*; and

(ii) The history and palaeography of Mauryan Brāhmī Script, by Dr. C. S. Upasaka, which has been approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London University.

**4. Delhi University**—Dr. V. V. Gokhale, Head of the Department of Buddhist Studies, has published the following two valuable articles—

(i) The Vedānta philosophy described by Bhavya in his *Madhyamaka-hṛdaya* (Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. I. 1958, No. 3, Leiden), and

(ii) *Madhyamaka-Śālistambasūtra* (published in the series "Buddhist Sanskrit Texts" No. 17, edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 1960).

**5. Calcutta University**—Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Head of the Department of Pāli, has made the following publications—

*Books—*

(i) Sarvāstivāda Literature.

(ii) Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakakathā of Āryaśūra in 27 chapters.

(iii) Aspects of Buddhist Culture from the Chinese sources.

*Papers—*

(i) The background of Buddhism (Mahabodhi, Vaishakha Special Number).

(ii) Missionary life of Gautama Buddha (Calcutta Review).

(iii) Mahāyāna Buddhism (Assam Government Research Society).

(iv) History of Buddhism (Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University).



(v) Expansion of Buddhist Culture in Tibet (Jagajyoti).

**6. Peradeniya University of Ceylon**—has published the following books and papers—

*Books—*

(i) *Therīgāthā-vyākhyā* in Sinhalese.

(ii) The Inception of Discipline, S.B.B., Vol. XXII.

(iii) Buddhist Monastic Discipline— A study of its origin and development in relation to the *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭakas*.

*Papers—*

(i) Sāadhanā in Theravāda Abhidhamma, the Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar, 1958.

(ii) Prepositions and Dispositions—Mahabodhi Journal, 1958.

(iii) Buddhaghosa and the Tradition of the First Council, University of Ceylon Review, XV. 3-4.

(iv) Some Linguistic Peculiarities of the Therīgāthā, U.C.R., XVI. 1-2.

(v) Buddhaghosa and the Traditional Clarification of the Pali Canon, U.C.R., XVII. 1-2.

(vi) A Reference to the Third Council in Aśoka's Edicts, U.C.R. XVII. 3-4.

(vii) The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South East Asia and the Far East, A.I.O.C., 1959.

**7. Some Other Publications**

(i) Dr. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya : *Buddhakālina Bhārata kā Bhūgola*, printed at the Sammelana Mudranalaya, Allahabad.

(ii) V. G. Nayar : Buddhism in Orissa, Cuttak, Utkal University, 1958.

(iii) Bahadur Mul : Heritage of Buddhism, the religion of infinite compassion, New Delhi, Indo-Asian Publications, 1958.

(iv) The Religion of the Buddha and its relation to Upaniṣadic Thought, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshwarananda Institute, 1958.



(v) Dr. Raghuvera : *Gilgitabandhagranthāvaliḥ*, New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959.

(vi) R. P. Anuruddhā : *An introduction into Lamaism, the Mystical Buddhism of Tibet*, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshwarananda Vedic Research Institute, 1959.

(vii) Pāli Aṭṭhakathās in 51 Vols. Rangoon, Buddha Sasana Council of Burma, 1959.

### (B) Further Schemes

#### 1. Hindi Translation of the Tripitaka

It has been learnt that a scheme for the preparation of an authentic Hindi translation of the Pāli Tripiṭaka is receiving the active consideration of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.

#### 2. Atthakathā Mahākośa

The Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, it is learnt, is considering to take up a scheme for compiling the Aṭṭhakathā Mahākośa, an Expository Critical Dictionary of the Pali Tripiṭaka, based on the Aṭṭhakathās, under a scheme to be sanctioned jointly by the Government of India and the State Government of Bihar.

### (C) Teaching of Pali and Buddhology

1. **Universities**—As Pāli language and literature is an important link in the history of Indian philology, philosophy, religion and culture, the universities interested in the subjects, whether in this country or abroad, do generally make some provision for its teaching. In some of them, there are even full-fledged departments of Pali, on a par with any other subject. In India, the universities having this arrangement are Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Bihar, Delhi and the Sanskrit University of Varanasi. In the Banaras Hindu University, though Pali is being taught up to the M. A. standard, there does not exist a department of the subject. The teaching of Pali has been made subservient to Sanskrit. The result is that a national University like the B.H.U. has failed to reach the standard of Pali teaching, research and publication. It is true that a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar is unavoidably helpful in under-



standing the philology of Pāli, but it must be remembered that it would be doing injustice to Pāli scholarship if it is not given an opportunity to have an independent growth.

2. **The Nava Nalanda Mahavihara**—has been fast developing as an international centre of studies in Pali and Buddhology. The establishment of the Huen Tsang Memorial Hall at Nalanda, the construction of which is in full progress, will add all the more to the glory of the regeneration of this ancient international seat of Buddhist learning.

Important Buddhist works have still survived in Chinese translation, the original Sanskrit of which has been lost. The Huen Tsang Memorial Hall may devote itself very profitably to the restoration of these books.

During my last visit to China in 1956, I had discovered the relics of Huen Tsang kept in a beautiful casket at the altar of a shrine in a famous monastery. In response to an appeal of mine, the Saṅgha of China agreed to give it to me to be taken to Nalanda. Upasak Chau Pu Chu, Vice-President, Chinese Buddhist Association, was kind enough to arrange for a presentation of the same on a governmental level when he had come to India leading the Chinese Buddhist delegation during the 2500th Buddha Jayanti Celebration. The Government of China was pleased to make a donation of about 6 lakhs of rupees towards the construction of the Hall, in which the relics would be enshrined. I am glad to say that a suitable plot of land of 48 acres has been acquired for it, and the construction work is in full progress. It is proposed that an academy will be organised in the Memorial Hall for Sino-Indian studies and research.

3. **Sanskrit University**—The mission of Nalanda is being fulfilled also by the newly established Sanskrit University at Varanasi, which has undertaken to organise the Department of Pāli and Buddhist Studies on an international basis. A scheme for the publication of the entire Aṭṭhakathā in Devanāgarī is receiving the active consideration of the authorities. The publication is going to be started with the volumes of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, in view of its being a rich source of the cultural history of ancient India. Besides being a centre of academical studies and research, the Sanskrit University is fast developing as a meeting



ground of the two forms of Buddhism—northern and southern. Students from the Theravāda countries of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos take interest in studying Mahāyāna Buddhism, Chinese and Tibetan. The students of the Mahāyāna countries, like Tibet, Ladakh, Japan etc. offer Pāli and Abhidhamma as special subjects. There was a great need of an institution like this and there could have been no other place fittingly suited for it as Varanasi. At present, the strength of this department is—Tibet 24, Leh 15, Ladakh 1, Japan 1, French 1, Ceylon 4, Burma 2, Thailand 4, Cambodia 4 and Laos 1. Regular classes are being held in Buddhist Philosophy, Buddhist Logic, Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese and Tibetan, under regular professors appointed by the University. This has given a chance to our orthodox Pandits to realise the international glory of Indian Culture and Learning. Traditional Sanskrit students of the University too are taking interest to study the languages of the neighbouring Buddhist countries. Let us hope, a day will come when the graduates of the University, equipped with necessary training and inspiration, will be able to cross over to those countries and establish parallel centres over there with a view to develop exchange in scholarship and culture. The Government of India have been pleased to provide three learned Tibetan Monk-Pandits, Geshe, for the University to work as regular professors of Buddhist Philosophy and Logic. The collaboration of these with our Indian Pandits will be very helpful in restoring the significant links that have been lost particularly in the history of Indian Logic. It is a well known fact that epistemological controversy between the Buddhist and Brahmanical systems, kept burning for centuries together, contributed towards the growth of Indian Logic to the height it has reached. The controversy on the Buddhist side was led by great Acharyas like Nāgārjuna, Dīnnāga, Dharmakīrti and others. Important works of those Acharyas have been lost in their original Sanskrit, though their Tibetan translations are still existing. Attempts should be made for their restoration in Sanskrit.

#### (D) Subjects taken in Hand for Research

Reports received from different institutions reveal that research work is being carried on by their scholars and members of the staff on the following subjects—



**1. Delhi University—**

- (i) Dhammapāla's Commentaries.
- (ii) [Mahākaccāyana's methods of exposition.
- (iii) Saṅkhepatthajotī, a little known Commentary on Buddhaghoṣa's Visuddhimagga, found in Cambodia.
- (iv) Social conditions as found in the Pāli Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas.
- (v) Critical text (with introduction) of a Sanskrit Vinaya Text called Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha, discovered in Tibet.
- (vi) Early Sāṃkhya, with a critical edition of a newly discovered Commentary on the Sāṃkhyakārikā, after comparison with Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan sources.
- (vii) Study of the Lalitavistara on the background of Māhāyānism, with comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese versions.
- (viii) A Sanskrit Commentary of Hevajratāntra, discovered in Tibet compared with its Tibetan version and edited critically.
- (ix) Arthaviniścayasūtra and commentary edited critically from Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese materials.
- (x) A revised and complete Text with word-index of the Abhidharmakośa-kārikā, and
- (xi) An edition of Maitreyanātha's Madhyāntavibhāga with Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya, based on Sanskrit fragments and Chinese and Tibetan versions.

**2. Calcutta University—**

The department of Pāli has undertaken translations of Dutch, French and German works on South-East Asian Buddhism into English.

**3. Poona University—**

Critical edition of the Ratnagotravibhāga attributed to Maitreyanātha.

L—25



Shri Nakada is working on Sāṃkhya Philosophy in Chinese and Tibetan sources.

#### 4. Nava Nalanda Mahavihara—

(i) Comparative study of Ethics with special reference to Buddhism.

(ii) An examination of the concept of Personality in Buddhist thought.

(iii) Space and Time in Buddhist Philosophy.

(iv) A comparative study of the Chinese Mahāyāna Āgama with the Pāli Majjhimanikāya.

#### 5. Sanskrit University, Varanasi—

(i) Bibliography of philosophical works of authors before and after Tsong-kha-pa.

(ii) An exposition in Hindi of the Thu-mi-Sambhoṭa's grammar of Tibetan.

(iii) Sanskrit translation of the Nam-graṅs-ñi-hoḍ, under the title Paryāyālocanam Sūryaraśmi.

(iv) English translation of the Siddhāntaratnamālā.

(v) English translation of the gsañ-ba-sñin-po (an old Tibetan Tantra).

(vi) Hindi translation of Tsong-kha-pa's Survey of Buddhist Logic.

(vii) English translation of Mahāmudrāpranidhāna.

(viii) Devanāgarī edition of the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā.

#### (E) A Question

It is heartening to see that, with the present cultural awakening in the country, Buddhist studies are receiving liberal patronage of the government and due encouragement in the universities. Literature on subjects relevant to us is getting richer every day. But we must not forget that this constitutes only one side of



Buddhism, the *Pariyatti Sāsana*. The Buddha has warned against the danger of being exhausted in it, losing sight of the *Paṭipatti* side of the Dhamma. I wish, at present, to draw your attention to a question concerning the same that has kept occurring to me while editing the books of the Tripiṭaka.

The Buddha negated the existence of an abiding unchanging factor in man—a self, a soul, or a spirit. His spirituality, if we can use the term at all, consists in achieving a discipline of the mind, for which he prescribes a course—definite and distinct. This course consists in freeing the mind from all tensions and developing concentration to the highest perfection, when one is capable of performing wonderful feats, generally known as miracles. The Buddha himself performed such miracles. Mahāmoggallāna was the foremost amongst the disciples who had achieved such powers. A reference to these makes us think—are these miracles nothing but myths of religion, with which a practical and serious scientific enquiry has nothing to do?

Modern science, limiting itself to the physical world, has performed great wonders even before our eyes. If so should we doubt in the possibility of performing greater wonders by unfolding the latent potentialities of the psychic world? If, however, the possibility of it would sometimes attract the attention of a scientific investigation, valuable suggestions and guidance will be derived from the pages of the Tripiṭaka.

*Sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā*



## SECTION VII : PRAKRITS &amp; JAINISM

MUNI SRI PUNYAVIJAYAJI

॥ जयन्तु वीतरागाः ॥

उपस्थित विद्वद्बृन्द !

श्रीनगरमें होनेवाली अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य विद्या परिषदमें मुझे जैसे जैन मुनिकेलिए उपस्थित होना असंभव है, यह जानकर भी आपने मुझे प्राकृत व जैनधर्मविभागके अध्यक्षपद केलिए चुना-एतदर्थ आपके प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूँ। परिषदमें उपस्थित रहकर प्राकृत व जैनधर्मविभाग में जो नया संशोधन पिछले दो वर्षमें हुआ है, तथा विद्वानोंने जो शोधपूर्ण लेख भेजे हैं उन्हें उनके मुखसे सुन न सकनेका तथा विद्वानोंके साथ चर्चा-वार्तासे वंचित रहनेका मुझे हार्दिक दुःख है।

जैन आगमोंका सामान्य परिचय, उनका वर्गीकरण, उनकी निर्युक्ति आदि टीकाएं आदिके विषयमें तथा जैन आगमोंकी विविधवाचनाओंके विषयमें आप परिचित है ही, अतएव मैं उन बातोंको यहां दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मेरे लंबे कालके जैन आगमशास्त्रके अभ्याससे जो तथ्य मेरे सामने आये हैं, उनमें से निम्न विषयों पर ही मैं विशेष चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ।

१. जैन आगमघर स्थविर और आचार्य

२. प्राकृत वाङ्मय

३. प्राकृत आदि भाषायें

४. साहित्यका प्रकाशन



## १. जैन आगमधर स्थविर और आचार्य

जैनागमोंमें द्वादश अंगोंकी सूत्ररचना कालक्रमसे स्थविरोंने की। वीर-निर्वाणके बाद प्रारंभिक शताब्दियोंमें इन आगमोंका पठन-पाठन पुस्तकोंके आधार पर नहीं अपितु गुरुमुखसे होता था। ब्राह्मणोंके समान पढ़ने-पढ़ाने वालोंके बीच पिता-पुत्रके सम्बन्धकी संभावना तो थी ही नहीं। वैराग्यसे दीक्षित होनेवाले व्यक्ति अधिकांशतया ऐसी अवस्थामें होते थे जिन्हें स्वाध्यायकी अपेक्षा बाह्य तपस्यामें अधिक रस मिलता था। अतएव गुरु-शिष्योंका अध्ययन-अध्यापनमूलक सम्बन्ध उत्तरोत्तर विरल होना स्वाभाविक था। जैन आचारकी मर्यादा भी ऐसी थी कि पुस्तकोंका परिग्रह भी नहीं रखा जा सकता था। ऐसी दशामें जैन श्रुतका उत्तरोत्तर विच्छेद होना आश्चर्यकी बात नहीं थी। उसकी जो रक्षा हुई वही आश्चर्यकी बात है। इस आश्चर्यजनक घटनामें जिन श्रुतधर आचार्योंका विशेष योगदान रहा है, जिन्होंने न केवल मूल सूत्रपाठोंको व्यवस्थित करनेका प्रयत्न किया अपितु उन सूत्रोंकी अर्थवाचना भी दी, जिन्होंने निर्युक्ति आदि विविध प्रकारकी व्याख्याएं भी कीं एवं आनेवाली संततिके लिए श्रुतनिधिरूप महत्त्वपूर्ण सम्पत्ति विरासत रूपसे दे गये उन अनेक श्रुतधरोंका परिचय देनेका प्रयत्न करूंगा। इन श्रुतधरोंमेंसे कुछ तो ऐसे हैं जिनका नाम भी हमारे समक्ष नहीं आया है। यह प्रयत्नमात्र है - पूर्ण सफलता मिलना कठिन है। तथापि मैं आपको कुछ नई जानकारी करा सका तो अपना प्रयत्न अंशतः सफल मानूंगा।

### (१) सुधर्मस्वामी (वीर नि० ८ में दिवंगतः)

आचार आदि जो अंग उपलब्ध हैं वे सुधर्मस्वामीकी वाचनानुगत माने जाते हैं। तात्पर्य यह है कि इन्द्रभूति आदि गणधरोंकी शिष्यपरम्परा अन्ततोगत्वा सुधर्मस्वामीके शिष्योंके साथ मिल गई है। जो भी अंगश्रुत उपलब्ध है उसका मूल सुधर्मस्वामीकी वाचनामें माना गया है। भगवती



जैसे आगमोंमें यद्यपि भगवान् महावीर और इन्द्रभूति गौतमके बीच हुए संवाद आते हैं किन्तु उन संवादों की वाचना सुधर्माने अपने शिष्योंको दी जो परम्परा से आज उपलब्ध है, ऐसा मानना चाहिए क्योंकि आगमोंके टीकाकारोंने एक स्वरसे यही अभिप्राय व्यक्त किया है कि तत्तत् आगमकी वाचना सुधर्माने जम्बूको दी ।

यद्यपि सुधर्माकी अंगोंकी वाचनाका अविच्छिन्नरूप आज तक सुरक्षित नहीं रहा है फिर भी जो भी सुरक्षित है उसका सम्बन्ध सुधर्मासे जोड़ा जाता है, यह निर्विवाद है । गणधरोंके वर्णन प्रसंगमें सुधर्माकी जो प्रशंसा आती है उसे स्वयं सुधर्मा तो कर नहीं सकते, यह स्पष्ट है । अतएव तत्तत् सूत्रोंके प्रारंभिक भागकी रचनामें आगमोंके विद्यमान रूपके संकलन-कर्ताका हाथ रहा हो तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं ।

(२) शय्यंभव (वीर नि० ८३ में दिवंगतः)

अपने पुत्र मनकके लिए दशवैकालिककी रचना कर इन्होंने जैन श्रमणोंके आचारका आचारांग के बाद एक नया सीमास्तम्भ डाला है । इसकी रचना के बाद इसका इतना महत्त्व बढ़ा कि आचारांगके बाद जो श्रमणोंको उत्तराध्ययन पढ़ाया जाता था उसके स्थान पर यही पढ़ाया जाने लगा (व्यवहारभाष्य उ. ३. गा. १७६) । इतना ही नहीं, पहले जहां आचारांगके शास्त्र-परिज्ञा अध्ययनके बाद श्रमण उपस्थापनाका अधिकारी होता था वहां अब दशवैकालिकके चौथे षड्जीवनिकायनामक अध्ययनके बाद उपस्थापना करना आवश्यक समझा गया (वही. गा. १७४) । पहले जहां आचारांगके द्वितीय अध्ययनके पंचम उद्देशगत आमगंध सूत्रके अध्ययनके बाद श्रमण पिण्डकल्पी होता था वहां अब दशवैकालिकके पंचम पिण्डैषणा नामक अध्ययनकी वाचनाके बाद श्रमण पिण्डकल्पी होने लगा (वही. गा १७५) ।

दशवैकालिकसूत्र दिगम्बरों (सर्वार्थसिद्धि १-२०) एवं यापनीयोंको भी बहुत समय तक समान रूपसे मान्य रहा है, यह भी इसकी विशेषता है ।



## (३) प्रादेशिक आचार्यः

जिनके नामका तो पता नहीं किन्तु जो विभिन्न देशोंमें आंगमोंकी प्रवर्तमान व्याख्याओंके प्रवर्तक रहे उनका परिचय तत्तद्देश-प्रदेशसे सम्बद्धरूपसे ही मिलता है। अतएव मैंने उन्हें “प्रादेशिक आचार्य” की संज्ञा दी है।

सूत्रकृतांगकी चूर्णिमें (पत्र ९०) “पूर्वदिग्निवासिनामाचार्याणामर्थः। प्रतीच्या-ऽपरदिग्निवासिनस्त्वेवं कथयन्ति” इस प्रकार पौरस्त्य पाश्चात्य एवं दाक्षिणात्य आचार्योंका उल्लेख पाया जाता है।

व्यवहारसूत्रकी चूर्णिमें “एके आचार्या लाटा एवं ब्रुवते—ण्हाण-विज्जं वरणेवच्छं कीरति। अपरे आचार्या दाक्षिणात्या ब्रुवते—युगलं णियंसाविज्जति” इस प्रकार दाक्षिणात्य और लाटदेशमें विचरनेवाले आचार्योंका उल्लेख मिलता है। कल्पचूर्णि एवं निशीथचूर्णिमें (भाग २ पत्र १३४) भी लाटाचार्यका उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। यहां लाटदेश भगवान् महावीरके विहारमें वर्णित लाटदेश नहीं, किन्तु गूजरातमें महीनदी और दमणके बीचके प्रदेशको समझना चाहिए, जिसके प्रमुख नगर भृगुकछ (भरुच) और दर्भावती (डभोई) आदि थे। भारतीय विद्याभवनके आचार्य पद्मश्री मुनिजिनविजय जी सम्पादित पुस्तकप्रशस्तिसंग्रह पृष्ठ १०७ प्रशस्तिक्रमांक ६९ आदिमें “श्रीवोसरि लाटदेशमंडले मही-दमुनयोरन्तराले समस्तव्यापारात् परिपन्थयति” इत्यादि उल्लेख भी पाये जाते हैं।

इसी तरह षट्खण्डागमकी धवला टीकामें उत्तरप्रतिपत्ति व दक्षिण-प्रतिपत्ति रूपसे जो दो प्रकारकी प्रतिपत्तियोंका उल्लेख है वह भी मूलतः तत्तत्प्रदेशके आचार्योंको विशेषरूपसे मान्य होने-वाली परम्पराका ही निर्देश है (षट्खण्डागम भा. १. भूमिका-पृ. ५७ तथा भा. ३, भूमिका पृ. १५)। धवलाकारने इनका जो अर्थ किया है वह इस प्रकार है; “एसा दक्खिणपडिवत्ती। दक्खिणं उज्जुवं आयरियपरंपरागदमिदि एयट्ठो ॥..... एसा उत्तरपडिवत्ती। उत्तरमणुज्जुवं आयरियपरंपराए णागदमिदि एयट्ठो ॥



—षट्खण्डागमः धवला, भा. ५. पृ० ३२ । इससे प्रतीत होता है कि धवलाकारके समक्ष दक्षिणप्रतिपत्तिकी मान्यता परंपरागत थी जबकि उत्तरप्रतिपत्ति परम्परागत नहीं थी ।

#### (४) पांचसौ आदेशोंके स्थापक

स्थविर आर्य भद्रबाहुस्वामीने आवश्यकनिर्युक्तिकी १०२३ वीं गाथामें “पंचसयादेसववणं व” इस गाथांशसे पांचसौ आदेशोंका निर्देश किया है । आवश्यकचूर्णिकार श्री जिनदासमहत्तर तथा वृत्तिकार श्री हरिभद्रसूरिने “पांचसौ आदेश” के विषयमें लिखा है ; “अरिहप्पवयणे पंच आदेस-सताणि । ण वि अंगेणविउवंगे पाढो अत्थि एवं-मरुदेवा अणादिवणस्सइकाइया अणंतरं उत्तवट्ठिता सिध्वत्ति १ । तहा सयंभुरमणमच्छाण पउमपत्ताण य सव्वसंगणाणि वलयसंगण मोत्तुं २ । करड-उक्करडांय कुणालाए एते जघा तघा भणामि-करड-उक्करडाण निधमणमूले वसही, देवयाणुकंपणं, रुट्ठेसु पत्तरसदि-वसवरिसणं, कुणालाणगरिविणासो, ततो ततियवरिसे साएए णगरे दोण्ह वि कालकरणं, अहे सत्तमयुढविकालनरगगमणं, कुणालाणगरिविणासकालाओ तेरसमे वरिसे महावीरस्स केवलनाणुप्पत्ती ३ । एयं अवध्वं ।” आवश्यकचूर्णि, भा० १, पृष्ठ ६०१ ; हरिभद्रवृत्ति, पत्र. ४६५) अर्थात् जिन हकीकतोंका उल्लेख किसी अंग या उपांग आदिमें नहीं मिलता है किन्तु जो स्थविर आचार्योंके मुखोपमुख चली आई हैं उनका संग्रह “पांचसौ आदेश” कहलाता है । इन पांचसौ आदेशोंका कोई संग्रह आज उपलब्ध नहीं है किन्तु आवश्यकचूर्णि, वृत्ति आदिमें इधर-उधर विप्रकीर्णिकरूपमें कुछ-कुछ आदेशोंका उल्लेख पाया जाता है (पत्र ४६५, बृहत्कल्पसूत्रवृत्ति भा. १ पत्र. ४४. टि. ६) ।

#### (५) सैद्धान्तिक, कर्मग्रन्थिकादि

जैन आगमोंकी परम्पराको माननेवाले आचार्य सैद्धान्तिक कहलाते हैं । कर्मवादके शास्त्रोंके पारम्पर्यको माननेवाले आचार्य कर्मग्रन्थिक कहे



जाते हैं। तर्कशास्त्रकी पद्धतिसे आगमिक पदार्थोंका निरूपण करने वाले स्थविर तार्किक माने गये हैं। जैन आगम आदि शस्त्रोंकी व्याख्याओंमें स्थान-स्थान पर इनका उल्लेख किया गया है।

भिन्न-भिन्न कुल, गण आदिकी परम्पराओंमें जो-जो व्याख्याभेद एवं सामाचारी भेद अर्थात् आचारभेद थे उनका उल्लेख तत्तत् कुल, गण आदिके नामसे “नाइलकुलिच्चयाणं आयाराओ आढवेत्ता जाव दसातो ताव णत्थि आयंविंलं, णिव्वीतिणं पढंति” (व्यवहारचूर्णि) इस प्रकार देखा जाता है।

(६) भद्रबाहुस्वामी (वीर नि. १७० में दिवंगतः)

अन्तिम श्रुतकेवलीके रूपमें प्रसिद्ध ये आचार्य अपनी अन्तिम अवस्थामें जब ध्यान करनेके लिए नेपालदेशमें गये थे तब वीर संवत् १६० में श्रुतको व्यवस्थित करनेका सर्व प्रथम प्रयत्न पाटलीपुत्रमें हुआ था, ऐसी परम्परा है। ग्यारह अंगोंके ज्ञाता तो संघमें विद्यमान थे किन्तु बारहवें अंगका ज्ञाता पाटलिपुत्रमें कोई न था। अतएव संघकी आज्ञा शिरोधार्य कर आचार्य भद्रबाहुने कुछ श्रमणोंको बारहवें अंगकी वाचना देना स्वीकार किया, किन्तु सीखने वाले श्रमण श्री स्थूलभद्रके कुतूहलके कारण बारहवां अंग समग्रभावसे सुरक्षित न रह सका। उसके चौदह पूर्वोंमेंसे केवल दस पूर्वोंकी ही परम्परा स्थूलभद्रके शिष्योंको मिली। इस प्रकार आचार्य भद्रबाहुके बाद कोई श्रुतकेवली नहीं हुआ किन्तु दस पूर्वोंकी परम्परा चली अर्थात् बारह अंगोंमेंसे चार पूर्व जितना अंश विच्छिन्न हुआ। यहींसे उत्तरोत्तर विच्छेदकी परम्परा बढ़ी। अन्ततोगत्वा बारहवां अंग ही लुप्त हो गया एवं अंगोंमेंसे केवल ग्यारह अंगही सुरक्षित रहे। ग्यारह अंगोंमेंसे भी जो प्रश्नव्याकरणसूत्र अभी उपलब्ध है वह किसी नई ही वाचनाका फल है क्योंकि प्राचीन समवाय, नन्दी आदि आगमोंमें इसका जो परिचय मिलता है उससे यह भिन्न ही रूपमें उपलब्ध है।



आचार्य भद्रबाहुने दशा, कल्प और व्यवहार—इन तीन ग्रंथोंकी रचना की, यह सर्वसम्मत है किन्तु इन्होंने निशीथकी भी रचना की ऐसा उल्लेख केवल पंचकल्प-चूर्णिकारने ही किया है। फिर भी आज निशीथ-सूत्रकी खंभातके श्रीशान्तिनाथ ज्ञान-भंडारकी वि. सं. १४३० में लिखी हुई प्रतिमें तथा वैसी अन्य प्रतियोंमें इसके प्रणेताका नाम विशाखगणि महत्तर बताया गया है। वह उल्लेख इस प्रकार है :—

दंसण-चरित्तजुत्तो गुत्तो गोत्तीसु सज्जणहिप्पसी ।

खामेण विसाहगणी महत्तरओ णाणमंजूसा ॥ १ ॥

कित्ती-कंतिपिणध्धो जसपत्तपड्हों तिसागरणिरुध्धो ।

पुणरुत्तं भमति महिं ससिब्ब गगणंगणं तस्स ॥ २ ॥

तस्स लिहियं निसीहं धम्मधुराधरणपवरपुज्जस्स ।

आरोगधारगिज्जं सिस्त-पसिस्सोवभोज्जं च ॥ ३ ॥

दिगम्बर परम्परामें धवलाके अनुसार १४ अंगबाह्य अर्थाधिकार हैं। इनमें कल्प और व्यवहारको एक माना गया है तथा निशीथको अलग स्थान दिया गया है। इससे यह तो स्पष्ट होता है कि कल्प, व्यवहार और निशीथकी अंगबाह्य अर्थाधिकारकी परम्परा चली आती थी।

भद्रबाहुकृत कल्प-व्यवहार जिस रूपमें आज श्वेताम्बर परम्परामें मान्य हैं उसी रूपमें दिगम्बर परम्परामें उल्लिखित अंगबाह्य कल्पादि मान्य थे या उससे भिन्न—यह निश्चयपूर्वक कहना कठिन है। किन्तु उनका जो विषय बताया गया है वही विषय उपलब्ध भद्रबाहुकृत कल्पादिमें विद्यमान है। दोनों परम्पराओंके मतसे स्थविरकृत रचनाएं अंगबाह्य मानी जाती रही है। भद्रबाहु तक श्वेताम्बर दिगम्बरका मतभेद स्पष्ट नहीं था। इन तथ्योंके आधार पर संभावना की जासकती है कि कल्प-व्यवहारके जिन अर्थाधिकारोंका उल्लेख-धवलामें है उन अर्थाधिकारोंका सूत्रात्मक व्यवस्थित संकलन सर्वप्रथम



आचार्य भद्रबाहुने किया और वह संघको मान्य हुआ। इस दृष्टिसे धवला में उल्लिखित कल्प-व्यवहार और निशीथ तथा उपलब्ध कल्प-व्यवहार और निशीथमें भेद माननेका कोई कारण नहीं है। फिर भी दोनोंकी एकताका निश्चयपूर्वक विधान करना कठिन है।

आचार्य भद्रबाहुकी जो विशेषता है वह यह है कि इन्होंने अपने उक्त ग्रंथोंमें उत्सर्ग और अपवादोंकी व्यवस्था की है। इतना ही नहीं किन्तु व्यवहार सूत्रमें तो अपराधोंके दण्डकी भी व्यवस्था की गई है। ऐसी दण्डव्यवस्था एवं आचार्य आदि पदवीकी योग्यता आदिके निर्णय सर्व प्रथम इन्हींके ग्रंथोंमें मिलते हैं। संघने इन ग्रंथोंको प्रमाणभूत माना यह आचार्य भद्रबाहुकी महत्ताका सूचक है। श्रमणोंके आचारके विषयमें दशवैकालिकके बाद दशा-कल्प आदि ग्रंथ दूसरा सीमास्तम्भ है। साथ ही एकबार अपवादकी शुरुआत होनेपर अन्य भाष्यकारों व चूर्णिकारोंने भी उत्तरोत्तर अपवादोंमें वृद्धि की। संभव है कि इसी अपवाद-मार्गको लेकर संघमें मत-भेदकी जड़ दृढ़ होती गई और आगे चल कर श्वेताम्बर-दिगम्बरका सम्प्रदाय-भेद भी दृढ़ हुआ।

बृहत्कल्प-भाष्य, भा० ६ की प्रस्तावनामें मैने अनेक प्रमाणोंके आधार पर यह सिद्ध किया है कि उपलब्ध निर्युक्तिओंके कर्ता श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहु नहीं है किन्तु ज्योतिर्विद् वराहमिहिरके भ्राता द्वितीय भद्रबाहु हैं जो विक्रमकी छठी शताब्दिमें हुए हैं। अपने इस कथनका स्पष्टीकरण यहां उचित है। जब मैं यह कहता हूं कि उपलब्ध निर्युक्तियां द्वितीय भद्रबाहुकी हैं, श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुकी नहीं तब इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुने निर्युक्तिओंकी रचना की ही नहीं। मेरा तात्पर्य केवल इतना ही है कि जिस अन्तिम संकलनके रूपमें आज हमारे समक्ष निर्युक्तियां उपलब्ध हैं वे श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुकी नहीं है। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि द्वितीय भद्रबाहुके पूर्व कोई निर्युक्तियां थीं ही नहीं। निर्युक्तिके रूपमें आगम-व्याख्याकी पद्धति बहुत पुरानी है। इसका पता हमें



अनुयोगद्वारसे लगता है। वहां स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि अनुगम दो प्रकारका होता है : सुत्ताणुगम और निज्जुत्तिअणुगम। इतना ही नहीं किन्तु निर्युक्तिरूपसे प्रसिद्ध गाथाएं भी अनुयोगद्वारमें दी गई हैं। पाक्षिकसूत्रमें भी “सनिज्जुत्तिए” ऐसा पाठ मिलता है। द्वितीय भद्रबाहुके पहले भी गोविन्द वाचककी निर्युक्तिका उल्लेख निशीथभाष्य व चूर्णिमें मिलता है। इतना ही नहीं किन्तु वैदिक वाङ्मयमें भी निरुक्त भक्ति प्राचीन है। अतएव यह निश्चयपूर्वक कहा जा सकता है कि जैनागमकी व्याख्याका निर्युक्ति नामक प्रकार प्राचीन है। यह संभव नहीं कि विक्रमकी छठी शताब्दि तक आगमोंकी कोई व्याख्या निर्युक्तिके रूपमें हुई ही न हो। दिगम्बरमान्य मूलाचारमें भी आवश्यक-निर्युक्तिगत कई गाथाएं हैं। इससे भी पता चलता है कि श्वेताम्बर-दिगम्बर सम्प्रदायका स्पष्ट भेद होनेके पूर्व भी निर्युक्तिकी परम्परा थी। ऐसी स्थितिमें श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुने निर्युक्तिकी रचना की है—इस परम्पराको निर्मूल माननेका कोई कारण नहीं है। अतः यही मानना उचित है कि श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुने भी निर्युक्तियोंकी रचना की थी और बादमें गोविन्द वाचक जैसे अन्य आचार्योंने भी। उसी प्रकार क्रमशः बढ़ते-बढ़ते निर्युक्तियोंका जो अन्तिम रूप हुआ वह द्वितीय भद्रबाहुका है। अर्थात् द्वितीय भद्रबाहुने अपने समय तककी उपलब्ध निर्युक्ति-गाथाओंका अपनी निर्युक्तियोंमें संग्रह किया हो, साथ ही अपनी ओर से भी कुछ नई गाथाएं बना कर जोड़ दीं। यही रूप आज हमारे सामने निर्युक्तिके नामसे उपलब्ध है। इस तरह क्रमशः निर्युक्ति-गाथाएं बढ़ती गईं। इसका एक प्रबल प्रमाण यह है कि दशवैकालिककी दोनों चूर्णियोंमें प्रथम अध्ययनकी केवल ५७ निर्युक्ति गाथाएं हैं जब कि हरिभद्रकी वृत्तिमें १५७ हैं। इससे यह भी सिद्ध होता है कि द्वितीय भद्रबाहुने निर्युक्तियोंका अन्तिम संग्रह किया उसके बाद भी उसमें वृद्धि होती रही है। इस स्पष्टीकरणके प्रकाशमें यदि हम श्रुतकेवली भद्रबाहुको भी निर्युक्तिकार मानें तो अनुचित न होगा।



(७) श्यामाचार्य (वीर नि० ३७६ में दिवंगतः)

इन्होंने प्रज्ञापनाउपांगसूत्रकी रचना की है। प्रज्ञापनासूत्रके “वायग-  
वरवंसाओ तेवीसइमेण धीरपुरिसेण” इस प्रारंभिक उल्लेखके अनुसार ये  
वाचकवंशके २३ वें पुरुष थे।

(८, ९, १०) आर्य सुहस्ति (वी. नि. २९१) आर्यसमुद्र (वी. नि.  
४७०) और आर्य मंगु (वी. नि. ४७०)

इन तीन स्थविरोंकी कोई खास कृति हमारे सामने नहीं है, किन्तु  
जैन आगमोंमें, खासकर निर्युक्ति, भाष्य, चूर्णि आदिमें नाम-स्थापना आदि  
निक्षेप द्वारा पदार्थमात्रका जो समग्रभावसे प्रज्ञापन किया जाता है इसमें  
जो द्रव्य-निक्षेप आता है इस विषयमें इन तीन स्थविरोंकी मान्यताका उल्लेख  
कल्पचूर्णिमें किया गया है :-

“किं च आदेसा जहा—अज्जमंगू तिविहं संखं इच्छति, एगभवियं  
बद्धाडयं अभिमुहनाम-गोत्तं च। अज्जसमुदा वा दुविहं, बद्धाडयं अभि-  
मुहनाम-गोत्तं च। अज्जसुहत्थी एगं अभिमुहणाम-गोयं इच्छति”

ये तीन महापुरुष जैन आगमोंके श्रेष्ठ ज्ञाता एवं माननीय स्थविर थे।

(११) पादलिप्ताचार्य (वीर नि. ४६७ के आसपास)

इन आचार्यने तरंगवई नामक प्राकृत-देशी भाषामयी अति रसपूर्ण  
आख्यायिकाकी रचना की है। यह आख्यायिका आज प्राप्त नहीं है  
किन्तु हारिजगच्छीय आचार्य (यश ?) रचित प्रकृत गाथाबद्ध इसका संक्षेप  
प्राप्त है। डा० अन्टर्स लायमानने इस संक्षेपमें समाविष्ट कथांशको पढ़कर  
इसका जर्मनमें अनुवाद किया है। यही इस आख्यायिकाकी मधुरताकी  
प्रतीति है। दाक्षिण्यांक उद्योतनसूरि, महाकवि घनपाल आदिने इस रचनाकी  
मार्मिक स्तुति की है। इन्हीं आचार्यने ज्योतिष्करंडकशास्त्रकी प्राकृत



टिप्पनकरूप छोटीसी वृत्ति लिखी है। इसका उल्लेख आचार्य मलयगिरिने अपनी सूर्यप्रज्ञसिवृत्तिमें (पत्र ७२ व १००) और ज्योतिष्करंडकवृत्तिमें (पत्र. ५२, १२१, २३७) किया है। यद्यपि आचार्य मलयगिरिने ज्योतिष्करंडक-वृत्तिको पादलिप्ताचार्यनिर्मित बतलाया है किन्तु आज जैसलमेर और खंभातमें पंद्रहवीं शतीमें लिखी गई मूल और वृत्ति सहित मूलकी जो इस्त-प्रतियां प्राप्त हैं उन्हें देखते हुए आचार्य मलयगिरिके कथनको कहां तक माना जाय, यह मैं तज्ज्ञ विद्वानों पर छोड़ देता हूं। उपर्युक्त मूलग्रन्थ एवं मूलग्रन्थसहित वृत्तिके अंतमें जो उल्लेख हैं वे क्रमशः इस प्रकार हैं:—

कालण्णाणसमासो पुव्वायरिएहि वणिणओ एसो ।

दिणकरपण्णत्तीतो सिस्सजणहिओ सुहोपायो [....॥....]

पुव्वायरियकयाणं करणाणं जोतिसम्मि समयम्मि ।

पालित्तकेण इणमो रइया गाहाहिं परिवाडी ॥

[ज्योतिष्करण्डक प्रान्तभाग]

२. कालण्णाणसमासो पुव्वायरिएहिं नीणिओ एसो ।

दिणकरपण्णत्तीतो सिस्सजणहिओ पिओ [....॥....]

पुव्वायरियकयाय नीतिसमसमएणं ।

पालित्तएण इणमो रइया गाहाहिं परिवाडी ॥

॥ णमो अरहंताण ॥

कालण्णाणस्सिणमो वित्ती णामेण चंद [....] ति ।

सिवनंदिवायगेहिं तु रोयिगा जिणदेवगतिहेतुणं (?) ॥ छ ॥ १५८० ॥

[ज्योतिष्करंडकवृत्ति प्रान्तभाग]

इन दोनों उल्लेखोंसे तो ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि मूल ज्योतिष्करंडक-प्रकीर्णकके प्रणेता पादलिप्ताचार्य है और उसकी वृत्ति जिसका नाम 'चन्द्र' है शिवनन्दी वाचककी रचना है। आचार्य मलयगिरिने तो सूर्यप्रज्ञसिवृत्ति



एवं ज्योतिष्करण्डकवृत्तिमें इस वृत्तिके प्रणेता पादलिप्तको कहा है। संभव है, आचार्य मलयगिरिके पास कोई अलग कुलकी प्रतियां आई हों जिनमें मूलसूत्र और वृत्तिका आदि-अन्तिम-भाग छूट गया हो। जैसलमेरके ताडपत्रीय संग्रहकी ज्योतिष्करण्डक मूलसूत्रकी प्रतिमें इसका आदि और अन्तका भाग नहीं हैं। आचार्य मलयगिरिको ऐसे ही कुलकी कोई खंडित प्रति मिली होगी जिससे अनुसन्धानकरके उन्होंने अपनी वृत्तिकी रचना की होगी। इन आचार्यने 'शत्रुंजयकल्प' की भी रचना की है। नागार्जुनयोगी इनका उपासक था। इसने उन्हीं आचार्यके नामसे शत्रुंजय-महातीर्थकी तलहटीमें पादलिप्तनगर [पालीताणा] बसाया था, ऐसी अनुश्रुति जैनग्रन्थोंमें पाई जाती है।

(१२) आर्यरक्षित (वीर नि० ५८४ में दिवंगतः)

स्थविर आर्य वज्रस्वामी इनके विद्यागुरु थे। ये जैन आगमोंके अनुयोगका पृथक्त्व भेद करनेवाले, नयों द्वारा होने वाली व्याख्याके आग्रहको शिथिल करनेवाले और अनुयोगद्वारसूत्र के प्रणेता थे। प्राचीन व्याख्यानपद्धति को इन्होंने अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रकी रचना द्वारा शास्त्रबद्ध कर दिया है। ये श्री दुर्बलिका पुष्यमित्र, विन्ध्य आदिके दीक्षागुरु एवं शिक्षागुरु थे।

यहां पर प्रसंगवश अनुयोगका पृथक्त्व क्या है, इसका निर्देश करना उचित होगा।

### अनुयोगका पृथक्त्व

कहा जाता है कि प्राचीन युगमें जैन गीतार्थ स्थविर जैन आगमोंके प्रत्येक छोटे बड़े सूत्रोंकी वाचना शिष्योंको चार अनुयोगोंके मिश्रणसे दिया करते थे। उनका इस वाचना या व्याख्याका क्या ढंग था, यह कहना कठिन है। फिर भी अनुमान होता है कि उस व्याख्यामें—(१) चरण-



करणानुयोग-जीवनके विशुद्ध आचार, (२) धर्मकथानुयोग-विशुद्ध आचारका पालन करनेवालोंकी जीवन-कथा, (३) गणितानुयोग-विशुद्ध आचारका पालन करनेवालोंके अनेक भूगोल-खगोलके स्थान और (४) द्रव्यानुयोग-विशुद्ध जीवन जीने वालोंकी तात्त्विक जीवन-चिन्ता क्या व किस प्रकारकी हो, इसका निरूपण रहता होगा और वे प्रत्येक सूत्रकी नय, प्रमाण व नयजालसे व्याख्या कर उसके हार्दको कई प्रकारसे विस्तृत कर बताते होंगे। समयके प्रभावसे बुद्धिबल व स्मरणशक्तिकी हानि होनेपर क्रमशः इस प्रकारके व्याख्यानमें न्यूनता आती ही गई जिसका साक्षात्कार स्थविर आर्य कालक द्वारा अपने प्रशिष्य सागरचन्द्रको दिये गये धूलिपुंजके उदाहरणसे दो जाता है। जैसे धूलिपुंजको एक जगह रखा जाय, फिर उसीको उठाकर दूसरी जगह रखा जाय, इस प्रकार उसी धूलिपुंजको उठा-उठाकर दूसरी-दूसरी जगह पर रखा जाय। ऐसा करने पर शुरुका बड़ा धूलिपुंज अन्तमें चुटकीमें भी न आवे, ऐसा हो जाता है। इसी प्रकार जैनआगमोंका अनुयोग अर्थात् व्याख्यान कम होते-होते परंपरासे बहुत संक्षिप्त रह गया। ऐसी दशामें बुद्धिबल एवं स्मरणशक्तिकी हानिके कारण जब चतुरनुयोगका व्याख्यान दुर्घट प्रतीत हुआ तब स्थविर आर्यरक्षितने चतुरनुयोगके व्याख्यानके आग्रहको शिथिल कर दिया। इतना ही नहीं, उन्होंने प्रत्येक सूत्रकी जो नयोंके आधारसे तार्किक विचारणा आवश्यक समझी जाती थी उसे भी वैकल्पिक कर दिया। श्री आर्यरक्षितके शिष्यप्रशिष्योंका समुदाय संख्यामें बड़ा था। उनमें जो विद्वान् शिष्य थे उन सबमें दुर्बलिका पुण्यमित्र अधिक बुद्धिमान् एवं स्मृतिशाली थे। वे कारणवशात् कुछ दिन तक स्वाध्याय न करने के कारण ११ अंग, पूर्वशास्त्र आदिको और उनकी नयगर्भित चतुरनुयोगात्मक व्याख्याको विस्मृत करने लगे। इस निमित्तको पाकर स्थविर आर्यरक्षितने सोचा कि ऐसा बुद्धिस्मृतिसम्पन्न भी यदि इस अनुयोगको मूल जाता है तो दूसरेकी तो बात ही क्या? ऐसा सोचकर उन्होंने चतुरनुयोगके स्थान पर सूत्रोंकी व्याख्यामें उनके मूल विषयको ध्यानमें रखकर किसी एक अनुयोगको ही प्राधान्य दिया और नयों द्वारा



व्याख्या करना भी आवश्यक नहीं समझा । वक्ता व श्रोताकी अनुकूलताके अनुसार ही नयों द्वारा व्याख्या की जाय, ऐसी पद्धतिका प्रचलन किया । तदनुसार विद्यमान आगमोंके सूत्रोंको उन्होंने चार अनुयोगोंमें विभक्त कर दिये जिससे तत्-तत् सूत्रकी व्याख्या केवल एक ही अनुयोगका आश्रय लेकर हो । जैसे आचार, दशवैकालिक आदि सूत्रोंकी व्याख्यामें केवल चरणकरणानुयोगका ही आश्रय लिया जाय, शेषका नहीं । इसी प्रकार सूत्रोंको कालिक-उत्कालिक विभागमें भी बांट दिया ।

(१३) कालिकाचार्य (वीर नि० ६०५ के आसपास)

पंचकल्पमहाभाष्यके उल्लेखानुसार ये आचार्य शालिवाहनके समकालीन थे । इन्होंने जैन परम्परागत कथाओंके संग्रहरूप प्रथमानुयोग नामक कथा-संग्रहका पुनरुद्धार किया था । इसके अतिरिक्त गंडिकानुयोग और ज्योतिषशास्त्रविषयक लोकानुयोग नामक शास्त्रोंका भी निर्माण किया था । जैनआगमग्रन्थोंकी संग्रहणियोंकी रचना इन्हींकी है । जैनआगमोंके प्रत्येक छोटे-छोटे विभागमें जिन-जिन विषयोंका समावेश होता था उनका बीजकरूप संग्रह इन संग्रहणी-गाथाओंमें किया गया है । एक प्रकारसे इसे जैनआगमोंका विषयानुक्रम ही समझना चाहिए । आज यह संग्रह व्यवस्थितरूपमें देखनेमें नहीं आता है, तथापि संभव है कि भगवती, प्रज्ञापना, आवश्यक आदि सूत्रोंकी टीकाओंमें टीकाकार आचार्योंने प्रत्येक शतक, अध्ययन, प्रतिपत्ति, पद आदिके प्रारंभमें जो संग्रहणीगाथाएं दी हैं वे यही संग्रहणी-गाथाएं होंगी ।

(१४) गुणधर (वीर नि० ६१४-६८३ के बीच)

दिगम्बर आम्नायमें आगमरूपसे मान्य कसायपाहुडके कर्ता गुणधर आचार्य हैं। उनके समयका निश्चय यथार्थरूपमें करना कठिन है। पं० हीरालालजी का अनुमान है कि ये आचार्य धरसेनसे भी पहले हुए हैं।

L-27



(१५) आचार्य धरसेन, पुष्पदन्त व भूतबलि (वीर नि० ६१४-६८३ के बीच ?)

दिगम्बर आम्नायमें षट्खंडागमके नामसे जो सिद्धान्तग्रन्थ मान्य है उसका श्रेय इन तीनों आचार्योंको है। जिस प्रकार भद्रबाहुने चौदहपूर्वका ज्ञान स्थूलभद्रको दिया उसी प्रकार आचार्य धरसेनने पुष्पदन्त और भूतबलिको श्रुतका लोप न हो, इस दृष्टिसे सिद्धान्त पढ़ाया जिसके आधार पर दोनोंने षट्खण्डागमकी रचना की। इनका समय वीर निर्वाण ६१४ व ६८३ के बीच है, ऐसी संभावना की गई है।

(१६, १७) आर्य मंशु और नागहस्ति

कषायपाहुडकी परम्पराको सुरक्षित रखनेका विशेष कार्य इन आचार्योंने किया और इन्हीके पास अध्ययन करके आचार्य यतिवृषभने कषायपाहुडकी चूर्णिकी रचना की थी। इन आचार्योंको नंदीसूत्रकी पट्टावलीमें भी स्थान मिला है।

नंदिसूत्रकारने आर्य मंगु और नागहस्तिका वर्णन इस प्रकार किया है—

भणगं करगं झरगं पभावगं णाण-दंसण-गुणाणं ।

वंदामि अज्जमंगु सुयसागरपारगं धीरं ॥ २८ ॥

णाणम्मि दंसणम्मिय तव विणए णिच्चकालमुज्जुतं ।

अज्जाणंदिलखमणं सिरसा बंदे पसण्णमणं ॥ २९ ॥

वड्ढउ वायगवंसो जसवंसो अज्जणागहत्थीणं ।

वागरण-करण-भंगिय-कम्मप्पगडीपहाणाणं ॥ ३० ॥

नंदीसूत्रके आर्य मंगु ही आर्य मंशु है, ऐसा निर्णय किया गया है। इससे विद्वानोंका ध्यान इस ओर जाना आवश्यक है कि आज भले ही कुछ ग्रंथोंको हम केवल श्वेताम्बरोंके ही मानें और कुछको केवल दिगम्बरोंके



किन्तु वस्तुतः एककाल ऐसा था जब शास्त्रकार और शास्त्रका ऐसा साम्प्रदायिक विभाजन नहीं हुआ था ।

आर्यमंशुके विषयमें एक खास बात यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि उनके कुछ विशेष मन्तव्योंके विषयमें जयध्वलाकारका कहना है कि ये परम्पराके अनुकूल नहीं (षट्खण्डागम भा० ३ भूमिका पृष्ठ १५) ।

(१८) आचार्य शिवशर्मा (वीर नि० ८२५ से पूर्व)

जैनधर्मकी अनेक विशेषताओंमें एक विशेषता है उसके कर्मसिद्धान्तकी । जिस प्रकार षट्खण्डागम और कसायपाहुड विशेषतः कर्मसिद्धान्तके ही निरूपक हैं उसी प्रकार शिवशर्माकी कम्मपयडी और शतक कर्मसिद्धान्तके ही निरूपक प्राचीन ग्रंथ हैं । इनका समय भाष्य-चूर्णिकालके पहलेका अवश्य है ।

(१९, २०) स्कन्दिलाचार्य व नागार्जुनाचार्य (वीर नि० ८२७ से ८४०)

ये स्थविर क्रमशः माथुरी या स्कान्दिली और वालभी या नागार्जुनी वाचनाके प्रवर्तक थे । दोनों ही समकालीन स्थविर आचार्य थे । इनके युगमें भयंकर दुर्भिक्ष उपस्थित होनेके कारण जैन श्रमणोंको इधर-उधर विप्रकीर्ण छोटे-छोटे समूहोंमें रहना पड़ा । श्रुतधर स्थविरोंकी विप्रकृष्टता एवं भिक्षाकी दुर्लभताके कारण जैनश्रमणोंका अध्ययन-स्वाध्यायादि भी कम हो गया । अनेक श्रुतधर स्थविरोंका इस दुर्भिक्षमें देहावसान हो जानेके कारण जैनआगमोंका बहुत अंश नष्ट-भ्रष्ट, छिन्न-भिन्न एवं अस्त-व्यस्त हो गया । दुर्भिक्षके अन्तमें ये दोनों स्थविर जो कि मुख्य रूपसे श्रुतधर थे, बच रहे थे किन्तु एक-दूसरेसे बहुत दूर थे । आर्य स्कन्दिल मथुराके आस-पास थे और आर्य नागार्जुन सौराष्ट्रमें । दुर्भिक्षके अन्तमें इन दोनों स्थविरोंने वी० सं० ८२७ से ८४० के बीच किसी वर्षमें क्रमशः मथुरा व



बलभीमें संघ समवाय एकत्र करके जैनआगमोंको जिस रूपमें याद था उस रूपमें ग्रन्थरूपसे लिख लिया । दोनों स्थविर वृद्ध होनेके कारण परस्पर मिल न सके । इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि दोनोंके शिष्य-प्रशिष्यादि अपनी-अपनी परम्पराके आगमोंको अपनाते रहे और उनका अध्ययन करते रहे । यह स्थिति लगभग डेढ़सौ वर्ष तक रही । इस समय तक कोई ऐसा प्रतिभासम्पन्न व्यक्ति नहीं हुआ जो आगमोंके इस पाठभेदका समन्वय कर पाता । इसी कारण आगमोंका व्यवस्थित लेखन आदि भी नहीं हो सका । जो कुछ भी हो आज जो जैनागम विद्यमान हैं वे इन दोनों स्थविरोंकी देन हैं ।

(२१) स्थविर आर्य गोविंद (वीर नि० ८५० से पूर्व)

ये पहले बौद्ध आचार्य थे और बादमें इन्होंने जैनधर्म स्वीकार किया था । इन्होंने गोविन्दनिर्युक्तिकी रचना की थी जिसमें पृथ्वी, पानी, अग्नि आदिकी सजीवताका निरूपण किया गया है । यह निर्युक्ति किस आगमको लक्ष्य करके रची गई, इसका कोई उल्लेख नहीं मिलता । फिर भी अनुमान होता है कि यह आचारांगसूत्रके प्रथम अध्ययन शास्त्रपरिज्ञा अथवा दशवैकालिकसूत्रके चतुर्थ अध्ययन छज्जीवणियाको लक्ष्य करके रची गई होगी । आज इस निर्युक्तिका कहीं पर भी पता नहीं मिलता है । आचार्य गोविंदके नामका उल्लेख दशवैकालिकसूत्रके चतुर्थ अध्ययनकी वृत्तिमें आचार्य हरिभद्रने भाष्यगाथाके नामसे जो गाथाएं उद्धृत कर व्याख्या की है उसमें “गोविंदवायगो वि य जह परपक्खं नियत्तेइ” (पत्र. ५३-१ गा० ८२) इस प्रकार उल्लेख आता है । आचार्य हरिभद्र ‘गोविंदवायग’ इस प्राकृतनामका संस्कृतमें परिवर्तन ‘गोपेन्द्र वाचक’ नामसे करते हैं । जैनआगमोंके भाष्यमें इन गोविन्द स्थविरका उल्लेख ‘ज्ञानस्तेन’ के रूपमें किया गया है । इसका कारण यह है कि ये पहले जैन-चार्योंकी-युक्ति-प्रयुक्तियोंको जानकर उनका खण्डन करनेकी दृष्टिसे ही अर्थात् चौर्यकी दृष्टिसे ही दीक्षित हुए थे, किन्तु बादमें उनके हृदयको



जैनाचार्योंकी युक्तिप्रयुक्तियोंने जीत लिया जिससे वे फिरसे दीक्षित हुए और महान् अनुयोगधर हुए । नंदीसूत्रकी प्रारंभिक स्थविरावलीमें इनका परिचय गाथाके द्वारा इस प्रकार दिया है :—

गोविंदाणं पि णमो अणुओगे विउलघारणिदाणं ।

निच्चं खंति-दयाणं परूवणादुल्लभिदाणं ॥

२२, २३. देवर्द्धिगणि व गन्धर्व वादिवेताल शान्तिसूरि (वीर नि० ९९३)

देवर्द्धिगणि क्षमाश्रमण माथुरीवाचनानुयायी प्रतिभासम्पन्न समर्थ आचार्य थे । इन्हींकी अध्यक्षतामें बलभीमें माथुरी एवं नागार्जुनी वाचना-ओंके वाचनाभेदोंका समन्वय करके जैनआगम व्यवस्थित किये गये और लिखे भी गये । गन्धर्व वादिवेताल शान्तिसूरि बालभी वाचनानुयायी मान्य स्थविर थे । इनके विषयमें

बालम्भसंघकज्जे उज्जमियं जुगपहाणतुल्लेहि ।

गंधववाइवेयालसंतिसूरीहिं बलहीए ॥

इस प्रकारका प्राचीन उल्लेख भी पाया जाता है । इस गाथामें 'बलभीमें बालम्भसंघके कार्यके लिए गन्धर्व वादिवेताल शान्तिसूरिने प्रयत्न किया था' ऐसा जो उल्लेख है वह बालम्भसंघकार्य बालभी—वाचनाको लक्ष्य करके ही अधिक संभवित है । अन्यथा 'बालम्भसंघकज्जे' ऐसा उल्लेख न होकर 'संघकज्जे' इतना ही उल्लेख काफी होता । इस उल्लेखसे प्रतीत होता है कि श्रीदेवर्द्धिगणि क्षमाश्रमणको माथुरी-बालभी वाचनाओंको व्यवस्थापित करनेमें इनका प्रमुख साहाय्य रहा होगा । दिगंबराचार्य देवसेनकृत दर्शनसारनामक ग्रन्थमें श्वेतांबरोंकी उत्पत्तिके वर्णनप्रसंगमें—

छत्तीसे वरिससए विक्रमरायस्स मरणपत्तस्स ।

सोरट्ठे उप्पण्णो सेवइसंघो हु बलहीए ॥ ५२ ॥



एक पुण संतिणामो संपत्तो वलहिणामणयरीए  
बहुसीससंपत्तो विसए सोरठुए रम्मे ॥ ५६ ॥

इस प्रकारका उल्लेख है। यद्यपि इस उल्लेखमें दिया हुआ संवत् मिलता नहीं है तथापि उपर्युक्त 'वालम्भसंघकज्जे' गाथामें निर्दिष्ट वालम्भ संघकार्य, शांतिसूरि, वलभी आदि उल्लेखके साथ तुलना करनेके लिये दर्शनसारका यह उल्लेख जरूर उपयुक्त है।

देवर्द्धिगणि जो स्वयं माथुरसंघके युगप्रधान थे, उनकी अध्यक्षतामें वलभीनगरमें एकत्रित संघसमवायमें दोनों वाचनाओंके श्रुतधर स्थविरादि विद्यमान थे। इस संघसमवायमें सर्वसम्मतिसे माथुरी-वाचनाको प्रमुखस्थान दिया गया होगा। इसका कारण यह हो सकता है कि माथुरी वाचनाके जैनआगमोंकी व्यवस्थितता एवं परिमाणाधिकता थी। इसमें ज्योतिष्करंडक जैसे ग्रन्थोंको भी स्थान दिया गया जो केवल वालभी-वाचना में ही थे, इतना ही नहीं अपितु माथुरी-वाचनासे भिन्न एवं अतिरिक्त जो सूत्रपाठ एवं व्याख्यानंतर थे उन सबका उल्लेख नागार्जुनाचार्यके नामसे तत्तत् स्थान पर किया भी गया। आचारांग आदिकी चूर्णिओंमें ऐसे उल्लेख पाये जाते हैं। समझमें नहीं आता कि जिस समय जैन आगमोंको पुस्तकारूढ किया गया होगा उस समय इन वाचनान्तरोंका संग्रह किस ढंगसे किया होगा? आज जैनआगमकी कोई ऐसी हस्तप्रति मौजूद नहीं है जिसमें इन वाचनाभेदोंका संग्रह या उल्लेख हो। आज हमारे सामने इस वाचना-भेदको जाननेका साधन प्राचीन चूर्णिग्रन्थोंके अलावा अन्य एक भी ग्रन्थ नहीं है। चूर्णियां भी सब आगमोंकी नहीं किन्तु केवल आवश्यक, नन्दी, अनुयोगद्वार, दशवैकालिक, उत्तराध्ययन, आचारांग, सूत्रकृतांग, भगवती, जीवाभिगम, जम्बूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति, निशीथ, कल्प, पंचकल्प, व्यवहार एवं दशा-श्रुतस्कन्धकी ही मिलती हैं।

ऊपर जिन आगमोंकी चूर्णिओंके नाम दिये गये हैं उनमेंसे नागार्जुनीय-वाचनाभेदका उल्लेख केवल आचारांग, सूत्रकृतांग व दशवैकालिककी



चूर्णिओंमें ही मिलता है। अन्य आगमोंमें नागार्जुनीय वाचनाकी अपेक्षा न्यूनाधिक्य या व्याख्याभेद क्या था, इसका आज कोई पता नहीं लगता। संभव है, ये वाचनाभेद आगे जाकर पाठभेदके रूपमें परिणत हो गये हों। यही कारण है कि चूर्णिकार और वृत्तिकारोंकी व्याख्यामें पाठोंका कभी-कभी बहुत अन्तर दिखाई देता है।

(१) दशवैकालिकसूत्रकी अनामकर्तृक मुद्रितचूर्णिके पृष्ठ २०४ में “नागाज्जुणिया तु एवं पठंति—एवं तु गुणप्पेही अगुणाऽणविवज्जए” इस प्रकार एक ही नागार्जुनीय वाचनाका उल्लेख पाया गया है। यह उल्लेख पाठभेदमूलक नहीं अपितु व्याख्याभेदमूलक है। माथुरीवाचनावाले “अगुणाण विवज्जए=अगुणानां विवर्जकः” ऐसी सीधी व्याख्या करते हैं, जबकि नागार्जुनीय वाचनावाले “अगुणाऽणविवज्जए=अगुणरिणं अकुधंतो” अर्थात् “अगुणरूप ऋण नहीं करते” ऐसी व्याख्या करते हैं। इस चूर्णिमें नागार्जुनीय नामका यह एक ही उल्लेख देखनेमें आया है। इसी दश-वैकालिकसूत्रकी स्थविर अगस्त्यसिंहकृत एक अन्य प्राचीन चूर्णि पाई गई है जो अभी प्राकृत-टेक्स्ट-सोसायटीकी ओरसे छप रही है। इसमें (पृ० १३६) इस स्थान पर उपर्युक्त वाचनाभेदका उल्लेख किया है किन्तु नागार्जुनीय नामका उल्लेख नहीं है। इससे भी यही प्रतीत होता है कि नागार्जुनीय पाठभेदादि केवल पाठान्तर व मतान्तरके रूपमें ही रह गये हैं। प्राचीन वृत्तिकार आचार्य हरिभद्र भी अपनी वृत्तिमें कहीं पर भी नागार्जुनीय-वाचनाका नामोल्लेख करते नहीं हैं।

(२) आचारांगसूत्रकी चूर्णिमें नागार्जुनीय-वाचनाभेदका उल्लेख पंद्रह जगह पाया जाता है—

१. भदन्त नागार्जुनीयास्तु पठंति	पृ० ६२	वृत्तिपत्र ११८
२. नागज्जुणिया पठंति	„ ६४	
३. भदंतणागज्जुणिया	„ ११३	



४. भदंतणागज्जुणिया	,, १२०	वृत्तिपत्र १६६ पृ० २
५. भदंतणागज्जुणिया पढंति	,, १३९	,, १८३ पृ० २
६. एत्थ सक्खी भदन्तनागार्जुनाः	,, १५७	,, १९८ पृ० २
७. नागार्जुनीयास्तु	,, १६१	,, २०१ पृ० १
८. णागज्जुणीया	,, २०७	,, २३९ पृ० १
९. भदंतणागज्जुणा तु	,, २१९	,, २४५ ,, १
१०. णागज्जुणिया उ	,, २१९	
११. णागज्जुणा	,, २३२	,, २५३ ,, २
१२. णागज्जुणा तु	,, २३७	,, २५६ ,, १
१३. णागज्जुणा	,, २८७	
१४. णागज्जुणा तु पढंति	,, ३०२	,, ३०३ ,, १
१५. भदन्तनागार्जुनीया तु	,, ३१३	

यहां पर आचारांगचूर्णि और शीलांकाचार्य रचित वृत्तिके जो पृष्ठ-पत्रांक आदि दिये गये हैं वे पूज्य आगमोद्धारक आचार्य श्रीसागरानन्दसूरि सम्पादित आवृत्तिके हैं ।

उपर्युक्त पंद्रह उल्लेखोंमेंसे पांच उल्लेख शीलांकीयवृत्तिमें नहीं हैं । बाकीके दस उल्लेख शीलांकाचार्यने दिये हैं । ये सभी उल्लेख आचारांगके प्रथम श्रुतस्कन्धकी चूर्णि-वृत्तिमें ही हैं । द्वितीय श्रुतस्कन्धकी चूर्णि-वृत्तिमें नागार्जुनीयवाचनाका कोई उल्लेख नहीं है ।

यहां आचारांग-चूर्णिमेंसे नागार्जुनीयवाचनाके जो पंद्रह उल्लेख उद्धृत किये गये हैं उनमें सात जगह अतिपूज्यतासूचक 'भदंत' विशेषणका प्रयोग किया गया है जो अन्य किसी चूर्णि-वृत्ति आदिमें नहीं है । इससे



अनुमान होता है कि इस चूर्णिके प्रणेता जिनके नामका उल्लेख कहीं भी नहीं मिलता, कमसे कम नागार्जुनीय परंपराके प्रति आदर रखनेवाले थे ।

(३) सूत्रकृतांगकी चूर्णिमें नागार्जुनीयवाचनाके जो उल्लेख मिलते हैं उन सभी स्थानों पर 'नागार्जुनीयास्तु' ऐसा लिखकर ही नागार्जुनीय-वाचनाभेदका उल्लेख किया गया है जो प्रथम श्रुतस्कन्धमें चार जगह व दूसरे श्रुतस्कन्धमें नौ जगह पाया गया है । आचार्य शीलांकने अपनी वृत्तिमें 'नागार्जुनीयास्तु पठन्ति' लिखकर नागार्जुनीय-वाचनाका उल्लेख चार जगह किया है । संभव है, पिछले जमानेमें नागार्जुनीय वाचनाभेदका कोई खास महत्त्व रहा न होगा ।

प्रसंगवशात् एक बातकी सूचना करना हम यहां उचित समझते हैं कि सूत्रकृतांगचूर्णिकार "अणुत्तरणाणी अणुत्तरदंसी अणुत्तरणाण-दंसणधरो, एतेण एकत्वं णाण-दंसणाणं ख्यापितं भवति" [श्रुत. १. अध्या० २. उ० ३ गा० २२] इस उल्लेखसे एकोपयोगवादी आचार्य सिद्धसेनके अनुयायी मालुम होते हैं ।

कुछ विद्वान् स्थविर आर्य देवर्द्धिगणिके आगम-व्यवस्थापन व आगम-लेखनको वालभी वाचनारूपसे बतलाते हैं किन्तु ऊपर वालभीवाचनाके विषयमें जो कुछ कहा गया है उससे उनका यह कथन भ्रान्त सिद्ध होता है । वास्तवमें वालभीवाचना वही है जो माथुरीवाचनाके ही समयमें स्थविर आर्य नागार्जुनने वलभीनगरमें संघसमवाय एकत्र कर जैन आगमोंका संकलन किया था ।

स्थविर आर्य देवर्द्धिगणिने वालभीमें संघसमवायको एकत्रित कर जैन आगमोंको व्यवस्थित किया व लिखवाया । उस समय लेखनकी प्रारंभिक प्रवृत्ति किस रूपमें हुई इसका स्पष्ट उल्लेख कहीं भी नहीं मिलता । सामान्य-तया मुखोपमुख कहा जाता है कि वलभीमें हजारोंकी संख्यामें ग्रन्थ लिखे गये थे, किन्तु हमारे सामने शीलांकाचार्य, नवाङ्गवृत्तिकार अभयदेवसूरि



आदि व्याख्याकार आचार्योंके जो विषादपूर्ण उल्लेख विद्यमान हैं उनसे तो यह माना नहीं जा सकता कि इतने प्रमाणमें ग्रंथलेखन हुआ होगा ।

श्री शीलांकाचार्यने सूत्रकृतांगकी अपनी वृत्तिमें इस प्रकार लिखा है:-

“इह च प्रायः सूत्रादर्शेषु नानाविधानि सूत्राणि दृश्यन्ते, न च टीकासंवादी एकोऽप्यादर्शः समुपलब्धः अत एकमादर्शमङ्गीकृत्यास्माभिर्विवरणं क्रियत इति, एतदवगम्य सूत्रविसंवाददर्शनाच्चित्तव्यामोहो न विधेय इति ।” [मुद्रित पत्र ३३६-१]

अर्थात् चूर्णिसंमत मूलसूत्रके साथ तुलना की जाय ऐसी एक भी मूलसूत्रकी हस्तप्रति आचार्य शीलांकको नहीं मिली थी ।

श्री अभयदेवाचार्यने भी स्थानांग, समवायांग व प्रश्नव्याकरण—इन तीनों अंग आगमोंकी वृत्तिके प्रारंभ एवं अन्तमें इसी आशयका उल्लेख किया है जो क्रमशः इस प्रकार है :—

१. वाचनानामनेकत्वात्, पुस्तकानामशुद्धितः ।  
सूत्राणामतिगांभीर्याद्, मतभेदाच्च कुत्रचित् ॥ २ ॥
२. यस्य ग्रन्थवरस्य वाक्यजलधेरुल्लेखं सहस्राणि च  
चत्वारिंशदहो ! चतुर्भिरधिका मानं पदानामभूत् ।  
तस्योच्चैश्चुल्लकाकृतिं विदधतः कालादिदोषात् तथा  
दुर्लेखात् खिलतां गतस्य कुधियः कुर्वन्तु किं मादृशाः ॥ २ ॥
३. अज्ञा वयं शास्त्रमिदं गभीरं प्रायोऽस्य कूटानि च पुस्तकानि ।  
सूत्रं व्यवस्थाप्यमतो विमृश्य व्याख्यानकरपादित एव नैव ॥ २ ॥

ऊपर उदाहरणके रूपमें श्री शीलांकाचार्य व श्री अभयदेवाचार्यके जो उल्लेख दिये हैं उनसे प्रतीत होता है कि बलभीमें स्थविर आर्य देवर्द्धिगणि



गंधर्ववादिवेताल शान्तिसूरि आदिके प्रयत्नसे जो जैनआगमोंका संकलन एवं व्यवस्थापन हुआ और उन्हें पुस्तकारूढ किया गया, यह कार्य जैन स्थविर श्रमणोंकी जैनआगमादिको ग्रन्थारूढ करनेकी अलपरुचिके कारण बहुत संक्षिप्तरूपमें ही वह व्यवस्थित किया हुआ आगमोंका लिखित छोटासा ग्रंथ-संग्रह नष्ट हो गया होगा। परिणाम यह हुआ कि आखिर जो स्थविर आर्य स्कन्दिल एवं स्थविर आर्य नागार्जुनके समयकी हस्तप्रतियां होंगी। उन्हींकी शरण व्याख्याकारोंको लेनी पड़ी होगी। यही कारण है कि प्राचीन चूर्णियां एवं व्याख्याग्रंथोंमें सैकड़ों पाठभेद उल्लिखित पाये जाते हैं जिनका उदाहरणके रूपमें मैं यहां संक्षेपमें उल्लेख करता हूं।

आचारांगसूत्रकी चूर्णिमें चूर्णिकारने नागार्जुनीय वाचनाके उल्लेखके अलावा 'पठिज्जइ य' ऐसा लिख कर उन्नीस स्थानों पर पाठभेदका उल्लेख किया है। आचार्य श्रीशीलांकने भी अपनी वृत्तिमें उपलब्ध हस्तप्रतियोंके अनुसार कितने ही सूत्रपाठभेद दिये हैं।

इसी प्रकार सूत्रकृतांगचूर्णिमें भी नागार्जुनीय वाचनाभेदके अलावा 'पठ्यते च, पठ्यते चान्यथा सद्धिः, अधवा, अथवा, इह तु, मूलपाठस्तु, पाठविशेषस्तु, अन्यथा पाठस्तु, अयमपरकल्पः, पाठान्तरम्' आदि वाक्योंका उल्लेख कर केवल प्रथमश्रुतस्कन्धकी चूर्णिमें ही लगभग सवासौ जगह जिन्हें वास्तविक पाठभेद माने जाय ऐसे उल्लेखोंकी गाथाकी गाथाएं, पूर्वार्धके पूर्वार्ध व चरणके चरण पाये जाते हैं। द्वितीय श्रुतस्कन्धके पाठभेद तो इसमें शामिल ही नहीं किये गये हैं। आचार्य शीलांकने भी बहुतसे पाठभेद दिये हैं, फिर भी चूर्णिकारकी अपेक्षा ये बहुत कम हैं। यहां पर एक बात खास ध्यान देने योग्य है कि खुद आचार्य शीलांकने स्वीकार किया है कि 'हमें चूर्णिकारस्वीकृत आदर्श मिलाही नहीं'। यही कारण है कि उनकी टीकामें चूर्णिकी अपेक्षा मूल सूत्रपाठ एवं व्याख्यामें बहुत अन्तर पड़ गया है। इसके साथ मेरा यह भी कथन है कि आज हमारे सामने जो प्राचीनसूत्रप्रतियां विद्यमान हैं उनके पाठभेदोंका संग्रह किया जाय तो



सीमातीत पाठभेद मिलेंगे। इनमें अगर भाषाप्रयोगके पाठभेदोंको शामिल किया जाय तो मैं समझता हूं कि पाठभेदोंका संग्रह करनेवालेका दम निकल जाय। फिर भी वह कार्य कम महत्त्वका नहीं है। प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटीकी ओरसे जो आगमोंका सम्पादन किया जा रहा है उसमें इस प्रकारकी महत्त्वपूर्ण सब बातोंको समाविष्ट करनेका यथासंभव पूरा ध्यान रखा जाता है।

दशवैकालिकसूत्र पर स्थविर अगस्त्यसिंहकृत चूर्णि, अज्ञातनामकर्तृक दूसरी चूर्णि और आचार्य हरिभद्रकृत शिष्यहितावृत्ति—ये तीन व्याख्याग्रन्थ मौलिक व्याख्यारूप हैं। इनके अलावा जो अन्य वृत्तियां विद्यमान हैं उन सबका मूलस्रोत आचार्य हरिभद्रकी वृहद्वृत्ति ही है। आचार्य हरिभद्रने अपनी वृत्तिमें “तत्रापि ‘कथं, कदाऽहं, कथमहं’ इत्याद्यदृश्यपाठान्तरपरित्यागेन दृश्यं व्याख्यायते” (पत्र. ८५-१) ऐसा कह कर पाठभेदोंकी झंझटसे छुटकारा ही पा लिया। अनामकर्तृक चूर्णि जिसका उल्लेख आचार्य हरिभद्र अपनी वृत्तिमें वृद्ध-विवरणके नामसे करते हैं, उसमें कहीं-कहीं पाठभेदोंका उल्लेख होने पर भी उनका कोई खास संग्रह नहीं है, किन्तु स्थविर अगस्त्यसिंह विरचित चूर्णिमें सूत्रपाठोंका न्यूनाधिक्य, पाठभेद, व्याख्याभेद आदिका संग्रह काफ़ी मात्रामें किया गया है। मूलसूत्रकी भाषाका स्वरूप भी वृद्धविवरण एवं आचार्य हरिभद्रकी वृत्तिकी अपेक्षा बहुत ही भिन्न है। वृद्धविवरण व आचार्य हरिभद्रकी वृत्तिमें मूलसूत्रकी भाषाका स्वरूप आजकी प्राचीन ताडपत्रीय प्रतियोंमें जैसा पाया जाता है, करीब-करीब उससे मिलता-जुलता ही है।

यहां पर प्राचीन चूर्णियों एवं उनमें प्राप्त होने वाले पाठभेदादिका उल्लेख कर आपका जो समय लिया है उसका कारण यह है कि बलभी नगरमें स्थविर आर्य देवर्दिगणि क्षमाश्रमण प्रमुख जैनसंघने जो जैनआगमोंका व्यवस्थापन किया था और इन्हें ग्रन्थारूढ किया था वह यदि विस्तृतरूपमें होता तो बालभीग्रन्थलेखनके निकट भविष्यमें होने वाले चूर्णिकार, आचार्य



हरिभद्र, आचार्य शीलोक, श्री अभयदेवसूरि आदिको विकृतातिविकृत आदर्श न मिलते। जैसे आज हमें चारसौ, पांचसौ, यावत् हजार वर्ष पुरानी शुद्धप्रायः हस्तप्रतियां मिल जाती हैं उसी प्रकार चूर्णिकार आदिको भी बलभी-व्यवस्थापित शुद्ध एवं प्रामाणिक पाठवाले आदर्श अवश्य ही मिलते, किन्तु वैसा नहीं हुआ। इसके लिये उन्होंने विषाद ही प्रकट किया है। अतः मुझे तो यही लगता है कि देवर्द्धिगणि क्षमाश्रमणका ग्रन्थलेखन बहुत संक्षिप्तरूपमें हुआ होगा जो बलभीके भंगके साथ ही नष्ट हो गया।

### (२४) भदियायरिय

सूत्रकृतांगचूर्णि, पत्र ४०५ के “अत्र दूषगणिक्षमाश्रमणशिष्य-भदियाचार्या ब्रुवते” इस उल्लेख के अनुसार स्थविर दूषगणिके शिष्य थे। इनके नामका उल्लेख एवं मतका संग्रह अगस्त्यसिंहविरचित दशवैकालिक-चूर्णि पत्र ३ में भी पाया जाता है।

### (२५) दत्तिलायरिय

इनके नामका निर्देश एवं मतका संग्रह उपर्युक्त दोनों दशवैकालिक चूर्णियोंके क्रमशः ३ व ४ पत्रमें है।

अज्ञातकर्तृक दशवैकालिकचूर्णिमें भदियायरिय एवं दत्तिलायरिय—इन दोनों स्थविरोके नामोंका उल्लेख व इनके मतका संग्रह सामान्यतया किया गया है जबकि अगस्त्यसिंहविरचितचूर्णिमें “इह कथरेण एकेण अहिकारो ? सधण्णुभासिए का एक्कीयमयवियारणा ? तहा वि वक्खाणभेदपदरिसणत्थं कित्तिनिमित्तं गुरुणं भण्णति-भदियायरिओवएसेणं भिन्नरूवा एका दससद्देण संगिहीया भवंति त्ति संगहेक्ककेण अहिकारो, दत्तिलायरिओवएसेण सुयनाणं खओवसभिए भावे वट्ठति त्ति भावेक्ककेण अहिगारो” इस प्रकार है। इस तरह इन दोनों स्थविरोके नामका उल्लेख ‘कित्तिनिमित्तं गुरुणं’ इस वाक्यसे बड़े आदर से किया गया है। संभव है, चूर्णिकारका इन स्थविरोके साथ अनुयोगविषयक कोई खास घनिष्ठ संबंध होगा।



## (२६) गंधहस्ती

आचार्य शीलांकके आचारांगसूत्रकी वृत्तिके प्रारंभमें “शस्त्रपरिज्ञाविवरणमतिबहुगहनं च गन्धहस्तिकृतम्” इस उल्लेख से गन्धहस्ति आचार्यको आचारांगसूत्रके प्रथम अध्ययन शस्त्रपरिज्ञाका विवरणकार बताया है। हिमवंतस्थविरावलिके आचार्य गन्धहस्तिके विषयमें इस प्रकारका निर्देश है—

“तेषामार्यसिंहानां स्थविराणां मधुमित्रा-ऽऽर्यस्कन्दिलाचार्य-  
नामानौ द्वौ शिष्यावभूताम् । आर्यमधुमित्राणां शिष्या आर्यगन्धहस्तिनोऽ-  
तीव द्विजांसः प्रभावकाश्चाभवन् । तैश्च पूर्वस्थविरोत्तंसोमास्वातिवाचकविरचित-  
तत्त्वार्थोपरि अशीतिसहस्रश्लोकप्रमाणं महाभाष्यं रचितम् । एकादशाङ्गोपरि  
चार्यस्कन्दिलस्थविराणामुपरोधतस्तैर्विवरणानि रचितानि । यदुक्तं तद्र-  
चिताचाराङ्गविवरणान्ते—

थेरस्स महुभित्तस्स सेहेहिं तिपुधनाणजुत्तेहि ।

मुणिगणविवंदिएहिं ववगयरागाद् दोसेहिं ॥

बंभदीवियसाहामउडेहिं गंधहत्थिविबुहेहिं ।

विवरणमेयं रहयं दोसयवासेसु विक्कमओ ॥ ”

हिमवंतस्थविरावलिके इस अंशमें आचार्य गन्धहस्तिको तत्त्वार्थ-  
गन्धहस्तिमहाभाष्यके प्रणेता एवं ग्यारह जैन अंग आगमों के विवरणकार  
बतलाया है जब कि आचार्य शीलांकने इन्हें केवल आचाराङ्गके  
प्रथम अध्ययनके रचयिता ही कहा है। दूसरी बात यह है कि-  
इन की ग्यारह अंगकी वृत्तियोंके उद्धरण या नामोल्लेख भाष्य-चूर्णि  
वृत्तियोंमें कहीं भी दिखाई नहीं देते। ऐसी स्थितिमें पट्टावलिके  
इस उल्लेख को कहां तक माना जाय, यह एक प्रश्न है। यहां पर गन्ध-  
हस्ती—यह विशेषनाम है, विशेषण नहीं। शीलांकाचार्यनिर्दिष्ट गंधहस्ती  
हिमवंतस्थविरावलिनिर्दिष्ट गंधहस्ती ही हैं या अन्य, इसका निर्णय करना  
कठिन है। स्थविरावलीमें जो आचारांगविवरण की अंतिम प्रशस्तिका



उद्धरण दिया गया है वह कहां तक ठीक है, यह कहना भी जरा कठिन है। इस विशेषनामके साथ रहे हुए गौरवको देखकर ही बादमें इस नामका उपयोग विशेषण के रूपमें होने लगा। तत्त्वार्थसूत्र-वृत्तिके प्रणेता सिद्ध-सेनाचार्य 'गन्धहस्ती' कहे जाते थे। ये हिमवन्तस्थविरावलिद्वारा निर्दिष्ट गन्धहस्ती-से अन्य ही हैं क्योंकि इनका समय विक्रम आठवींके बाद है जबकि स्थविरावलिनिर्दिष्ट गन्धहस्तीका समय विक्रम २०० है। श्रीयशो-विजयजी उपाध्यायने अपनी गुरुतत्त्वविनिश्चयकी स्वोपज्ञवृत्ति में सन्मतितर्कके प्रणेता सिद्धसेनाचार्यको भी 'गन्ध हस्ती' लिखा है।

### (२७, २८) मित्तवायग खमासण व साधुरक्षितगणि क्षमाश्रमण

इन दोनों स्थविरोकी मान्यता एवं नामका उल्लेख व्यवहार भाष्य गा. ४९२ की चूर्णिमें चूर्णिकारने किया है।

### (२९) धम्मगणि खमासमण

इन क्षमाश्रमण के मंतव्यका उल्लेख कल्पविशेषचूर्णि-में "अहवा धम्मगणि खमासमणादेसेण सव्वेसु वि पदेसु इमा सोही-थेराईसुं अहवा० गाहाद्वयम्" इस प्रकार है।

### (३०) अगस्त्यसिंह (भाष्यकारोंके पूर्व)

ये स्थविर आर्य वज्रकी शाखा में हुए हैं। इन्होंने दशवैकालिकसूत्र पर चूर्णिकी रचना की है। यह चूर्णि दशवैकालिकसूत्रके विविध पाठभेद एवं भाषाकी दृष्टिसे बहुत महत्त्वकी है। इस चूर्णिमें भाष्यकारकी गाथाओंका उल्लेख न होने से इसकी रचना भाष्यकारोंके पूर्वकी प्रतीत होती है। इसमें कई उल्लेख ऐसे भी हैं जो चालु साम्प्रदायिक प्रणालीसे भिन्न प्रकार के हैं। आचार्य श्रीहरिभद्रने अपनी वृत्ति में कहीं भी इस चूर्णिका उल्लेख नहीं किया है इसका कारण यही प्रतीत होता है। विद्वानोंकी भी



ज्ञातियां होती हैं। इसमें कल्किविषयक जो मान्यता चलती है और जिसका विस्तृत वर्णन तिथोगालियपइण्णयमें पाया भी जाता है इस विषयमें “अणागतमहं ण णिद्धारेज्ज—जघा कक्की असुको वा एवं गुणो राया भविस्सइ” ऐसा लिखकर कल्किविषयक मान्यताको आदर नहीं दिया है। इस चूर्णिमें “भणितं च वररुचिणा—‘अंघ फलाणं मम दालिमं पियं” [पृ. १७३] इस प्रकार वररुचिके कोई प्राकृत ग्रंथका उद्धरण मिलता है। वररुचिका यह प्राकृत उद्धरण प्राकृतव्याकरण प्रणेता वररुचिके समयनिर्णयके लिये उपयुक्त होनेकी संभावना है। इस चूर्णिकी प्रति जैसलमेरके जिनभद्रीय ज्ञानभंडारमें सुरक्षित है। इसका प्रकाशन प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसाइटीकी ओरसे मेरे द्वारा सम्पादित हो कर शीघ्र ही प्रकाशित होगा।

### (३१) संघदासगणि क्षमाश्रमण (वि. ५ वीं शताब्दि)

ये आचार्य वसुदेवहिंडी-प्रथम खंड के प्रणेता संघदासगणि वाचकसे भिन्न हैं एवं इनके बादके भी हैं। इन्होंने कल्पलघुभाष्य और पंचकल्प-महाभाष्यकी रचना की है। वे महाभाष्यकार जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमणके पूर्ववर्ती हैं।

### (३२) जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमण (वि. की ६ठी शती)

ये सैद्धान्तिक आचार्य थे। इनकी महाभाष्यकार एवं भाष्यकारके रूप में प्रसिद्धि है। दार्शनिकगंभीरचिन्तन परिपूर्ण विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्यकी रचनाने इन्हें बहुत प्रसिद्ध किया है। केवलज्ञान और केवलदर्शन विषयक युगपदुपयोगद्वयवाद एवं अमेदवाद को माननेवाले तार्किक आचार्य सिद्धसेन दिवाकर और मलवादीके मतका इन्होंने उपर्युक्त भाष्य एवं विशेषणवती ग्रन्थमें निरसन किया है। जीतकल्पसूत्र, बृहत्संग्रहणी, बृहत्क्षेत्रसमास, अनुयोगद्वारचूर्णिगत अंगुलपदचूर्णि और विशेषावश्यक स्वोपज्ञवृत्ति-षष्ठगणधरवाद व्याख्यानपर्यन्त—इनके इतने ग्रंथ अज्ञ उपलब्ध हैं।



## (३३) कोट्टार्यवादिगणी क्षमाश्रमण (वि० ५४० के बाद)

इन आचार्यने दिनभद्रगणिकी स्वोपज्ञ वृत्तिकी अपूर्णरचनाको पूर्ण किया है। इन्होंने अनुसन्धित अपनी इस वृत्तिमें यह सूचित किया है “निर्माप्य षष्ठगणधर व्याख्यानं किल दिवंगताः पूज्याः” अर्थात् छठे गणधरवाद का व्याख्यान करके पूज्य जिनभद्रगणी स्वर्गवासी हुए। आगेकी वृत्तिका अनुसन्धान इन्होंने किया है। इस रचनाके अतिरिक्त इनकी अन्य कोई रचना नहीं मिली है। यह स्वोपज्ञवृत्ति ला. द. विद्यामंदिर, अहमदाबादकी ओरसे प्रकाशित होगी।

## (३४) सिद्धसेनगणि क्षमाश्रमण (वि - ६ ठी शती)

इनकी आज कोई स्वतन्त्ररचना प्राप्त नहीं है। इनके रचे हुए कुछ सन्दर्भ जो निर्युक्ति, भाष्य आदिके व्याख्यानरूप गाथासन्दर्भ हैं, निशीथचूर्णि व आवश्यकचूर्णिमें मिलते हैं। निशीथचूर्णिमें इनका नाम एवं गाथाएं छः जगह उल्लिखित हैं जिनके भद्रबाहुकृत निर्युक्तिगाथाओं तथा पुरातनगाथाओं के व्याख्यानरूप होनेका निर्देश है। आवश्यकचूर्णिमें (विभाग २, पत्र २३२) इनके नामके साथ दो व्याख्यानगाथाएं दी गई हैं। पंचकल्पचूर्णिमें भी “उक्तं च सिद्धसेनक्षमाश्रमणगुरुभिः” ऐसा लिख कर इनकी एक गाथाका उदाहरण दिया है। इन उल्लेखोंसे पता चलता है कि इनकी आगमिक व्याख्यान-गर्भित कोई कृति अवश्य होनी चाहिए जो आज उपलब्ध नहीं है।

## (३५) सिद्धसेनगणी (वि. सं. ६ ठी शती)

इनकी एक ही कृति प्राप्त हुई है जिनभद्रगणिक्षमाश्रमणकृत जीतकल्प पर रचित चूर्णि। उपर्युक्त सिद्धसेनगणिक्षमाश्रमणसे ये सिद्धसेनगणी भिन्न हैं।

## (३६) जिनदासगणी महत्तर (वि. ७ वीं शताब्दि)

निशीथचूर्णिके प्रारंभिक उल्लेखानुसार इनके विद्यागुरु प्रद्युम्नगणी क्षमाश्रमण थे। आज जो चूर्णियां उपलब्ध हैं इनमेंसे आवश्यक, नन्दी, अनुयोगद्वार और निशीथकी चूर्णियां इन्हींकी रचनाएं हैं।



## (३७) गोपालिक महत्तरशिष्य (वि. ७ वीं शताब्दी)

उत्तराध्ययनचूर्णिके रचयिता आचार्यने अपने नामका निर्देश न कर 'गोपालिकमहत्तरशिष्य' इतना ही उल्लेख किया है। इनकी अन्य कोई रचना उपलब्ध नहीं है।

## (३८) जिनभट या जिन भद्र (वि. ८ वीं शताब्दी)

ये हरिभद्रके विद्यागुरु थे। आवश्यकवृत्तिके अन्तमें आचार्य हरिभद्रने इनका नामोल्लेख किया है। एतद्विषयक पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है—“कृतिः सिताम्बराचार्य जिनभटनिगदानुसारिणो विद्याधरकुलतिलकाचार्यजिनदत्तशिष्यस्य धर्मतो याकिनीमहत्तरासूनोरल्पमतेराचार्यहरिभद्रस्य।” इस उल्लेख में 'जिनभटनिगदानुसारिणः' वाक्य विद्यागुरुत्वका सूचक है। प्रत्यन्तरोमे 'जिनभट' के बजाय 'जिनभद्र' नाम भी मिलता है। “गुरवस्तु व्याचक्षते” ऐसा लिखकर कई जगह हरिभद्रसूरिने अपनी कृतियोंमें इनके मन्तव्यका निर्देश किया है।

## (३९) हरिभद्रसूरि (वि. ८ वीं शताब्दी)

इनका उपनाम 'भवविरह' भी है। अपनी कृतियोंमें इन्होंने 'भवविरह' पदका कई जगह प्रयोग किया है। कहीं कहीं इनकी कृतियोंमें केवल 'विरह' पदका प्रयोग होनेके कारण इन्हें विरहाङ्क भी कहते हैं। ये अपनेको अनेक ग्रन्थोंकी अन्तिम पुष्पिकामें “धर्मतो याकिनीपहतरासूनु” के रूपमें भी लिखते हैं। ये जैन आगमोंके पारंगत आचार्य थे एवं दर्शनशास्त्रोंके प्रखर ज्ञाता थे। 'इन्होंने १४४४ ग्रन्थोंकी रचना की' ऐसा प्रघोष चला आता है। इन्होंने अपनी कृतियोंमें अपनी जिन जिन रचनाओं के नाम निर्दिष्ट किये हैं उनमेंसे भी बहुतसे ग्रन्थ आज अप्राप्य हैं। फिर भी प्राचीन ज्ञानभंडारोंको टटोलनेसे इनकी नई रचनाएं प्राप्त होती हैं। कुछ वर्ष पहले ही खंभातके प्राचीन ताडपत्रीय भंडारमेंसे इनका रचा हुआ योगशतक नामक ग्रन्थ प्राप्त हुआ था। अभी हाल ही में कच्छ-मांडवीके



खरतरगच्छीय प्राचीन ज्ञानभंडारमें से इसी ग्रन्थकी स्वोपज्ञ टीकाकी वि सं. ११६५ में लिखी हुई ताडपत्रीय प्रति प्राप्त हुई है। इसी प्रकार आज अपने पास जो लाखोंकी तादादमें हस्तप्रतियां विद्यमान हैं जिनकी व्यवस्थित सूचियां अभी तक नहीं बनी हैं, उन्हें टटोला जाय तो बहुत संभव है कि अपनी कल्पनामें भी न हों ऐसी प्राचीनतम अनेक कृतियां प्राप्त हों। आचार्य-हरिभद्रने तत्त्वविचार और आचारके निरूपणमें समन्वयशैलीको विशिष्टरूपसे आदर दिया है, अतः इनकी रचनाओंमें प्रचुर गांभीर्य आया है। इनके विषयमें विद्वानोंने अनेक दृष्टियोंसे काफ़ी लिखा है, तथापि प्रसंगवश यहां कुछ कहना अनुचित न होगा। इन्होंने आवश्यक, नन्दी, अनुयोगद्वारा दशवैकालिक, प्रज्ञापना, जीवाभिगम और पिण्डनिर्युक्ति—इन जैन आगमों पर अप्रतिम एवं मौलिक वृत्तियोंका निर्माण किया है। आवश्यकसूत्र पर तो इन्होंने दो वृत्तियां लिखी थीं। इनमेंसे शिष्यहिता नामक २२००० श्लोक परिमित लघुवृत्ति ही प्राप्त है। दुर्भाग्य है कि दार्शनिक चिन्तनोंके महासागर जैसी वह बृहद्वृत्ति अनुपलब्ध है। इस वृत्तिका इन्होंने अपनी शिष्यहिता लघुवृत्तिके प्रारंभमें “यद्यपि मया तथान्यैः कृताऽस्य विवृतिस्तथापि संक्षेपात्” इस प्रकार निर्देश किया है। इसी बृहद्वृत्तिको लक्ष्य करके इन्होंने नन्दीसूत्रकी वृत्तिमें भी “साङ्केतिकशब्दार्थसम्बन्धवादिमतमप्यावश्यकै विचारयिष्यामः” इस प्रकारका उल्लेख किया है। इस उल्लेख से ही पता लगता है कि इस बृहद्वृत्तिमें इन्होंने कितने दार्शनिक वादोंकी गहरी समीक्षा की होगी। इस बृहद्वृत्तिका प्रमाण मलधारी आचार्य हेमचन्द्रने अपने आवश्यकहारिभद्री वृत्ति के टिप्पणमें (पत्र २-१) “यद्यपि मया वृत्तिः कृता इत्येवं वादिनि वृत्तिकारे चतुरशीतिसहस्रप्रमाणाऽनेनैवावश्यकवृत्तिरपरा कृताऽऽसीदिति प्रवादः” इस उल्लेख द्वारा ८४००० श्लोक बतलाया है। आचार्य हरिभद्र अनेक विषयोंके महान् ज्ञाता थे। इनकी ग्रन्थरचनाओंका प्रवाह देखनेसे अनुमान होता है कि ये पूर्वावस्थामें सांख्यमतानुयायी रहे होंगे। इन्होंने उस युगके भारतीय दर्शनशास्त्रोंका गहराईसे अध्ययन करनेमें कोई कमी नहीं रखी थी। यही कारण है कि इन्होंने अतिगंभीरतापूर्वक



समस्त दार्शनिक तत्त्वोंका जैन दर्शनके साथ समन्वय करनेका प्रयत्न किया है। इन्होंने धर्मसंग्रहणी, पंचवस्तुक, उपदेशपद, विंशतिविंशिका, पंचाशक, योगशतक, श्रावकधर्मविधितंत्र, दिनशुद्धि आदि शास्त्रोंका तथा समराइच्चकहा धूर्ताख्यान आदि कथाओंका प्राकृत भाषामें निर्माण कर प्राकृतभाषाको समृद्ध किया है। इन ग्रन्थोंमें दार्शनिक, शास्त्रीय, ज्योतिष, योग, चरित्र आदि अनेक विषयोंका संग्रह है। इस प्रकार प्राकृत भाषाको इनकी बड़ी देन है। इसी प्रकार संस्कृतमें भी इन्होंने अनेकान्तवाद, अनेकान्तजयपताका, न्यायप्रवेश, शास्त्रवार्तासमुच्चय, षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय, अष्टकप्रकरण, षोडशक-प्रकरण, धर्मबिन्दु, योगबिन्दु, योगदृष्टिसमुच्चय, लोकतत्त्वनिर्णय आदि ग्रन्थ बनाये हैं। इस प्रकार संस्कृतभाषाको भी इनको बड़ी देन है।

(४०) कौट्याचार्य (वि. ९ वीं शताब्दी)

इन्होंने विशेषावश्यकमहाभाष्य पर टीका की है। इसके अलावा इनकी अन्य कोई रचना नहीं मिली है।

(४१) वीराचार्ययुगल (१ वि. ९-१० शताब्दी और २ वि. १३ श.)

आचार्य हरिभद्र उपर्युक्त पिण्डनिर्युक्तिवृत्तिको पूर्ण किये बिना ही दिवंगत हो गये थे। इसकी पूर्ति वीराचार्यने की थी। वीराचार्य दो हुए हैं। एक आचार्य हरिभद्रकी अपूर्ण वृत्तिको पूर्ण करनेवाले और दूसरे पिण्डनिर्युक्तिकी स्वतन्त्र वृत्ति बनानेवाले। इन दूसरे वीराचार्यने अपनी वृत्तिके प्रारंभमें इस प्रकार लिखा है—

“पञ्चाशकादिशास्त्रव्यूहप्रविधायका विवृतिमस्याः ।

आरेभिरे विधातुं पूर्वं हरिभद्रस्वरिवराः ॥ ७ ॥

ते स्थापनाख्यदोषं यावद् विवृतिं विधाय दिवमगमन् ।

तदुपरितनी तु कैश्चिद् वीराचार्यैः समाप्येषा ॥ ८ ॥

तत्रामीभिरमुष्याः सुगमा गाथा इमा इति विभाव्य ।

काश्चिन्न व्याख्याताः, या विवृतास्ता अपि स्तोकम् ॥ ९ ॥



ताः सम्प्रति मन्दधियां दुर्बोधा इति मया समस्तानाम् ।  
तासां व्यक्तव्याख्याहेतोः क्रियते प्रयासोऽयम् ॥ १० ॥

(४२) शीलांकाचार्य (वि. १० श०)

इन्होंने आचारांग व सूत्रकृतांगकी टीका की है। इन दो टीकाओंमें दार्शनिक पदार्थोंकी अनेक प्रकारसे विचारणा की गई है। आचारांगप्रथम-श्रुतस्कंधटीकाकी समाप्ति वि. सं. ९०७ में हुई है और द्वितीय श्रुतस्कन्धटीकाकी समाप्ति वि. सं. ९१९ या ९३३ में हुई है। चउप्पन्नमहा-पुरिसचरिय के प्रणेता शीलांक से ये शीलांक भिन्न हैं।

(४३) वादिवेताल शान्तिसूरि (वि. ११ वीं शताब्दी)

उत्तराध्ययनसूत्रकी पाइयटीकाके प्रणेता यही आचार्य हैं। ये विक्रमकी ग्यारहवीं शताब्दीमें हुए हैं। गोपालिकमहत्तरशिष्यप्रणीत चूर्णिके बाद अनेक दार्शनिक वादोंसे पूर्ण समर्थ टीका यही है। इसके बाद जो अनेक टीकाएं लिखी गईं उन सबका मूल स्रोत यही टीका है। इसमें प्राकृत अंशकी अधिकता है अतः इसका नाम 'पाइय टीका' प्रचलित हो गया है। आचार्य हरिभद्रविरचित और आचार्य मलयगिरिविरचित आवश्यक-सूत्रकी टीकाएं, द्रोणाचार्यकी ओघनिर्युक्तिवृत्ति व नेमिचन्द्रसूरिकी उत्तराध्ययनसूत्रकी सुखबोधा टीका प्राकृतप्रधान ही है।

(४४) द्रोणाचार्य (वि. १२ श०)

ये जैन आगमोंके अतिरिक्त स्व-परदर्शनशास्त्रोंके भी ज्ञाता आचार्य थे। इन्होंने अभयदेवाचार्यविरचित जैन अंग आगमोंकी टीकाओंके अतिरिक्त अन्य टीकाग्रंथोंका भी संशोधन आदि किया है। इनकी अपनी एक ही कृति है और वह है ओघनिर्युक्तिवृत्ति।

(४५) अभयदेवसूरि (वि. १२ वीं श०)

इन्होंने स्थानांग आदि नौ अंगसूत्रों पर वृत्तियां बनाई हैं अतः ये 'नवाङ्गवृत्तिकार'के नामसे पहचाने जाते हैं। इन अंग आगमोंमें जगह जगह



वर्णक-संदर्भोंका निर्देश किया गया है। अतः सर्वप्रथम इन्होंने औपपातिक उपांगसूत्रकी वृत्ति बनाई जिससे बार-बार आनेवाले निर्दिष्ट वर्णकस्थानोंमें एकवाक्यकी बनी रहे। आचार्य अभयदेवसूरिकी इन वृत्तियोंका संशोधन व परिवर्धन उपर्युक्त चैत्यवासी श्रीद्रोणाचार्यने किया है जो उस युगके एक महान् आगमधर आचार्य थे। आचार्य अभयदेवसूरिने अपनी इन वृत्तियोंमें काफ़ी दत्तचित्त होकर अपने युगमें प्राप्त अनेकानेक प्राचीन-प्राचीनतम सूत्र-प्रतियोंको एकत्र कर अंगसूत्रोंके पाठोंको व्यवस्थित करनेका महान् कार्य किया है, अतः इनकी वृत्तियोंमें पाठभेद एवं वाचनान्तर आदिका काफ़ी संग्रह हुआ है। इस कार्यमें इनके अनेक विद्वान् शिष्य-प्रशिष्योंने इन्हें सहायता दी है, इस प्रकारका उल्लेख इन्होंने अपनी ग्रन्थप्रशस्तियोंमें किया है।

#### (४६) मलधारी हेमचन्द्रसूरि (वि. १२ श०)

ये आचार्य जैन आगमोंके समर्थ ज्ञाता थे। इन्होंने जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमणविरचित विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्य पर २८००० श्लोकपरिमित विस्तृत विवरणकी रचना वि. सं. ११७५ में की। अनुयोगद्वारसूत्र पर इन्होंने विस्तृत व्याख्या रची है। आवश्यकसूत्रकी हारिभद्रीवृत्ति पर विस्तृत टिप्पण भी इन्होंने लिखा है। ये रचनाएं इनके प्रखर पाण्डित्यकी सूचक हैं। इन विवरणोंके अतिरिक्त इन्होंने प्राचीन शतककर्मग्रन्थवृत्ति, जीवसमास-प्रकरणवृत्ति, पुष्पमालाप्रकरण स्वोपज्ञवृत्तियुक्त, भवभावनाप्रकरण स्वोपज्ञवृत्तियुक्त आदि भी बनाये हैं।

#### (४७) आचार्य मलयगिरि (वि. १२-१३ श०)

इनके गुरु, गच्छ आदिके नामका कोई पता नहीं लगता। ये गुर्जेश्वर चौलुकाराज जयसिंहदेवके माननीय और महाराजा कुमारपालदेवके धर्मगुरु श्रीहेमचन्द्राचार्यके विद्या-आराधनाके सहचारी थे। आचार्य हेमचन्द्रके साथ इनका सम्बन्ध अति गहरे पूज्यभावका था। इसीलिए



इन्होंने अपनी आवश्यकवृत्तिमें आचार्य हेमचन्द्रकी द्वात्रिंशिकाका उद्धरण देते हुए “आह च स्तुतिषु गुरवः” इस प्रकार उनके लिए अत्यादरगर्भित शब्दप्रयोग किया है। इन्होंने नन्दीसूत्र, भगवती—द्वितीयशतक, राजप्रश्नीय, प्रज्ञापना, जीवाभिगम, सूर्यप्रज्ञप्ति, चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्ति, व्यवहारसूत्र, बृहत्कल्प, आवश्यक, पिण्डनिर्युक्ति एवं ज्योतिष्करण्डक-इन जैन आगमों पर सपादलक्ष श्लोकप्रमाण वृत्तियोंकी रचना की है। इनकी इन वृत्तियों और धर्मसंग्रहणी, कर्मप्रकृति, पंचसंग्रह आदि की वृत्तिओंके अवगाहनसे पता लगता है कि ये केवल जैन आगमोंके ही धुरंधर ज्ञाता एवं पारंगत विद्वान् न थे अपितु दर्शनशास्त्र एवं कर्मसिद्धान्तमें भी पारंगत थे। इन्होंने मलयगिरिशब्दानुशासन नामक व्याकरणकी भी रचना की थी। अपने वृत्तिग्रन्थोंमें ये इसी व्याकरणके सूत्रोंका उल्लेख करते हैं। इनके जम्बूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्तिटीका, ओषधनिर्युक्तिटीका, विशेषावश्यकवृत्ति, तत्त्वार्थसूत्रटीका, धर्मसारप्रकरणटीका, देवेन्द्रनरकेन्द्रप्रकरणटीका आदि कई ग्रन्थ आज प्राप्त नहीं हैं। उनकी कोई मौलिक कृति उपलब्ध नहीं है। देखा जाता है कि ये व्याख्याकार ही रहे हैं। व्याख्याकारों में इनका स्थान सर्वोत्कृष्ट है।

(४८) श्रीचन्द्रसूरि (वि. १२-१३ श०)

ये उपर्युक्त मलधारी हेमचन्द्रसूरिके विद्वान् शिष्य थे। पंचोपांगवृत्ति, श्रावकप्रतिकमणवृत्ति, नन्दीहारिमद्रीवृत्तिटिप्पनक, जीतकल्पचूर्णिटिप्पनक, निशीथचूर्णिविशोद्देशकव्याख्या आदि इन्हींकी रचनाएं हैं। इनका संग्रहणी-प्रकरण आज ख्यातिप्राप्त है।

(४९) आचार्य क्षेमकीर्ति (वि० १३३२)

ये तपागच्छके मान्य गीतार्थ आचार्य थे। आचार्य मलयगिरिप्रारब्ध-बृहत्कल्पवृत्तिकी पूर्ति इन्होंने बड़ी योग्यताके साथ की है। आचार्य मलयगिरिने जो वृत्ति केवल पीडिकाकी गाथा ६०६ पर्यन्त ही लिखी थी उसकी पूर्ति लगभग सौ वर्ष इन्होंने वि. सं. १३३२ में की। इस वृत्तिके अतिरिक्त इनकी अन्य कोई कृति प्राप्त नहीं हुई है।



### बृहद्भाष्यकारादि (वि. ८ वी श०)

यहां पर अनेकानेक प्राचीन स्थविरोका जो महान् आगमधर थे तथा जिनके पास प्राचीन गुरुपरम्पराओंकी विरासत थी, संक्षेपमें परिचय दिया गया। ऐसे भी अनेक गीतार्थ स्थविर हैं जिनके नामका कोई पता नहीं है। कल्पबृहद्भाष्यकार आदि एवं कल्पविशेषचूर्णिकार आदि इसी प्रकारके स्थविर हैं जिनकी विद्वत्ताकी परिचायक कृतियां आज हमारे सामने विद्यमान हैं।

### अवचूर्णिकारादि (वि. १२ श० से १८ श०)

ऊपर जैन आगमोंके धुरंधर स्थविरोका परिचय दिया गया है। इनके बाद एक छोटा किन्तु महत्त्वका कार्य करनेवाले जो प्रकीर्णकार, अवचूर्णिकार आदि आचार्य हुए हैं वे भी चिरस्मरणीय हैं। यहां संक्षेपमें इनके नामादिका उल्लेख कर देता हूँ—

१. पार्श्वसाधु (वि. सं. ९५६), २. वीर भद्रगणी (वि. सं. १०७८ में आराधनापताका, बृहच्चतुः शरण आदिके प्रणेता), ३. नमि-साधु (सं. ११२३), ४. नेमिचन्द्रसूरि (सं. ११२९), ५. मुनिचन्द्रसूरि (वि. १२ वीं शताब्दी; ललितविस्तरापञ्जिका, उपदेशपदटीका, देवेन्द्रनरकेन्द्रप्रकरणवृत्ति, अनेकसंख्य प्रकरण, कुलक आदिके प्रणेता), ६. यशोदेवसूरि (सं. ११८०), ७. विजयसिंहसूरि (सं. ११८३, श्रावकप्रतिक्रमणचूर्णिके प्रणेता), ८. तिलकाचार्य (सं. १२९६), ९. सुम-तिसाधु (वि. १३वीं श०), १०. पृथ्वीचन्द्रसूरि (वि. १३ वीं श०), ११. जिनप्रभसूरि (सं. १३६४), १२. भुवनतुंगसूरि (वि. १४ वीं शती), १३. ज्ञानसागरसूरि (सं. १४४०), १४. गुणरत्नसूरि (वि. १५ वीं श०), १५. रत्नशेखरसूरि (सं. १४९६), १६. कमलसंयमोपाध्याय (सं. १५४४), १७. विनयहंसगणी (सं. १५७२), १८. जिनहंससूरि (सं. १५८२), १९. हर्षकुल (सं. १५८३), २०. ब्रह्मर्षि (वि. १६ वीं श०), २१. विजय-विमलगणी - वानर्षि (सं. १६३४), २२. समयसुंदरोपाध्याय (वि. १७



वीं श०), २३. धर्मसागरोपाध्याय (सं. १६३९), २४. पुण्यसागरोपाध्याय (सं. १६४५), २५. शान्तिचन्द्रोपाध्याय (सं. १६५०), २६. भावविजयगणि (वि. १७ वीं श०), २७. ज्ञानविमलसूरि (वि. १७ वीं श०), २८. लक्ष्मीवल्लभगणि (वि. १७ वीं श०), २९-३०. सुमतिकलोलगणि व हर्षनन्दनगणि (सं. १७०५, स्थानांग सूत्रवृत्तिगतगाथावृत्तिके रचयिता), ३१. नगर्षि (वि. १८ वीं श०) इत्यादि। इन विद्वान् आचार्योंने जैन आगमों पर छोटी बड़ी महत्त्वकी वृत्ति, लघुवृत्ति, पंजिका, अवचूरि, अवचूर्णि, दीपिका, दीपक, टिप्पन, विषमपदपर्याय आदि भिन्न-भिन्न नामोंवाली व्याख्याएं लिखी है जो मूलसूत्रोंका अर्थ समझनेमें बड़ी सहायक है। ये व्याख्याएं प्राचीन वृत्तियोंके अंशोंका शब्दशः संग्रहरूप होने पर भी कभी कभी इन व्याख्याओंमें पारिभाषिक संकेतोंको समझानेके लिए प्रचलित देशीभाषाका भी उपयोग किया गया है। कहीं प्राचीन वृत्तिओंमें 'सुगम' 'स्पष्ट' 'पाठसिद्ध' आदि लिख कर छोड़ दिये गये स्थानों की व्याख्या भी इनमें पाई जाती है। इस दृष्टिसे इन व्याख्याकारोंके भी हम सभी बहुत कृतज्ञ हैं।

### प्राकृत वाङ्मय

भारतीय प्राकृत वाङ्मय अनेक विषयोंमें विभक्त है। सामान्यतः इनका विभाग इस प्रकार किया जा सकता है :—जैन आगम, जैन प्रकरण, जैन चरित कथा, स्तुतिस्तोत्रादि, व्याकरण, कोष, छंद, शास्त्र, अलंकार, काव्य, नाटक, सुभाषित आदि। यहां पर इन सबका संक्षेपमें परिचय दिया जायगा।

**जैन आगम :**—जिस प्रकार वैदिक और बौद्ध साहित्य मुख्य और अवान्तर अनेक विभागोंमें विभक्त है उसी प्रकार जैन आगम भी अनेक विभागोंमें विभक्त है। प्राचीन कालमें आगमों के अंग आगम और अंगबाह्य आगम या कालिक, आगम और उत्कालिक आगम इस तरह विभाग किये जाते



थे। अंग आगम वे हैं जिनको श्रमण भगवान् महावीरके ग्यारह गणधर-पट्टशिष्योंने निर्माण किया है। अंग बाह्य आगम वे हैं जिनकी रचना श्रमण भगवान् महावीरके अन्य गीतार्थ स्थविरो, शिष्यों-प्रशिष्यों एवं उनके परंपरागत स्थविरोने की थी। स्थविरोने इन्हीं आगमोंके कालिक और उत्कालिक ऐसे दो विभाग किये हैं। निश्चित किये गये समयमें पढ़े जाने वाले आगम कालिक हैं और किसी भी समयमें पढ़े जाने वाले आगम उत्कालिक हैं। आज सैकड़ों वर्षोंसे इनके मुख्य विभाग अंग, उपांग, छेद, मूल आगम, शेष आगम एवं प्रकीर्णकके रूपमें रूढ़ हैं। प्राचीन युगमें इन आगमोंकी संख्या नंदी-सूत्र और पाक्षिकसूत्रके अनुसार चौरासी थी परन्तु आज पैंतालीस हैं। नंदीसूत्रमें एवं पाक्षिक सूत्रमें जिन आगमोंके नाम दिये हैं उनमेंसे आज बहुतसे आगम अप्राप्य हैं जब कि आज माने जाने वाले आगमोंकी संख्यामें नये नाम भी दाखिल हो गये हैं जो बहुत पीछेके अर्थात् ग्यारहवीं शताब्दीके प्रथम चरणके भी हैं। आज माने जानेवाले पैंतालीस आगमोंमेंसे बयालीस आगमोंके नाम नंदीसूत्र और पाक्षिक सूत्रमें पाये जाते हैं किन्तु आज आगमोंका जो क्रम प्रचलित है वह ग्यारह अंगोंको छोड़कर शेष आगमोंका नंदीसूत्र और पाक्षिकसूत्रमें नहीं पाया जाता। नंदीसूत्रकारने अंग आगमको छोड़कर शेष सभी आगमोंको प्रकीर्णकोंमें समाविष्ट किया है। आगमके अंग उपांग, छेद, प्रकीर्णक, आदि विभागोंमेंसे अंगोंके बारह होनेका समर्थन स्वयं अंग ग्रंथ भी करते हैं। उपांग आज बारह माने जाते हैं किन्तु स्वयं निरयावलिका नामक उपांगमें उपांगके पांच वर्ग होनेका उल्लेख है। छेद शब्द निर्युक्तियोंमें निशीथादिके लिए प्रयुक्त है। प्रकीर्णक शब्द भी नंदीसूत्र जितना तो पुराना है ही किन्तु उसमें अंगेतर सभी आगमोंको प्रकीर्णक कहा गया है।

अंग आगमोंको छोड़कर दूसरे आगमोंका निर्माण अलग अलग समयमें हुआ है। पण्णवणा सूत्र श्यामार्य प्रणीत है। दशा, कल्प एवं व्यवहार-सूत्रके प्रणेता चतुर्दश पूर्वधर स्थविर आर्य भद्रबाहु हैं। निशीथ सूत्रके प्रणेता आर्य भद्रबाहु या विशाख गणि महत्तर हैं। अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रके



निर्माता स्थविर आर्य रक्षित हैं। नंदीसूत्रके कर्ता पं. श्री कल्याणविजयजीने निश्चित किया है तदनुसार देवर्द्धिगणि क्षमाश्रमण हैं। प्रकीर्णकोंमें गिने जाने वाले चउसरण, आउर पच्चक्खाण, भत्तपरिण्णा और आराधना पताकाके रचयिता वीरभद्रगणि हैं। ये आराधना पताकाकी प्रशस्तिके “विक्रम निवकालाओ अट्ठुत्तरिमे समा सहस्समि” और “अट्ठुत्तरिमे समासहस्सामि” पाठभेदके अनुसार विक्रम संवत् १००८ या १०७८ में हुए हैं। बृह-द्विप्पणिकाकारने आराधना पताकाका रचनाकाल “आराधना पताका १०७८ वर्षे वीरभद्राचार्यकृता” अर्थात् सं० १०७८ कहा है। ‘आराधनापताका’ में ग्रंथकारने “आराहणाविहिं पुण भत्तपरिण्णाइ वणिमो पुंवि” (गाथा-५१) अर्थात् “आराधना विधिका वर्णन हमने पहिले भक्त-परिज्ञामें कर दिया है” ऐसा लिखा है। इस निर्देशसे यह ग्रन्थ इन्हींका रचा हुआ सिद्ध होता है। आजके चउसरण एवं आउर पच्चक्खाणके रचना-क्रमको देखनेसे ये प्रकीर्णक भी इन्हींके रचे हुए प्रतीत होते हैं। वीरभद्रकी यह आराधना पताका यापनीय आचार्य प्रणीत आराधना भगवतीका अनुकरण करके रची गई है। नंदीसूत्रमें ‘आउर पच्चक्खाणका जो नाम आता है वह आजके’ आउर-पच्चक्खाणसे अलग है। सामान्यतः वीरभद्राचार्यको भगवान् महावीरका शिष्य मानते हैं परंतु उपरोक्त प्रमाणको पढ़नेके बाद यह मान्यता भ्रान्त सिद्ध होती है। इस प्रकार दूसरे आगम भी अलग अलग समयमें रचे हुए हैं। हो सकता है कि—रायपसेणीय सूत्र भगवान् महावीरके समयही में रचा गया हो।

नंदी-पाक्षिक सूत्रोंके अनुसार आगमोंके चोरासी नामों व आजके प्रचलित आगमोंके नामोंसे विद्वान् परिचित हैं ही अतः उनका उल्लेख न करके मैं मुद्देकी बात कह देता हूँ कि—आज अंगसूत्रोंमें जो प्रश्नव्याकरण सूत्र है वह मौलिक नहीं किंतु तत्स्थानापन्न कोई नया ही सूत्र है। इस बातका पता नंदीसूत्र व समवायांग सूत्रके आगम-परिचयसे लगता है। आचार्य श्रीमुनिचंद्रसूरिने देवेन्द्र-नरकेन्द्र प्रकरणकी अपनी वृत्तिमें राजप्रश्रीय सूत्रका नाम ‘राज प्रसेनजित्’ लिखा है जो नंदी-पाक्षिक सूत्रमें दिये हुए ‘रायप्प-



सेणइयं' इस प्राकृत नामसे संगति बैठानेके लिए है। वैसे राजप्रश्रीयमें प्रदेश राजका चरित्र है। इस आगमको पढ़ते हुए पेतवत्थु नामक बौद्ध ग्रन्थ का स्मरण हो आता है।

**प्रकीर्णक :—**सामान्यतया प्रकीर्णक दस माने जाते हैं किन्तु इनकी कोई निश्चित नामावली न होनेके कारण ये नाम कई प्रकारसे गिनाये जाते हैं। इन सब प्रकारोंके में से संग्रह किया जाय तो कुल बाईस नाम प्राप्त होते हैं जो इस प्रकार है :—

१ चउसरण, २ आउरपच्चक्खाण, ३ भत्तपरिण्णा, ४ संथारय, ५ तंदुलवेयालिय, ६ चंदावेज्झय, ७ देविदत्थय, ८ गणिविज्जा, ९ महापच्चक्खाण, १० वीरत्थय, ११ इसिभासियाइं, १२ अजीवकप्प, १३ गच्छा-यार, १४ मरणसमाधि, १५ तिथ्योगालि, १६ आराहणपडागा, १७ दीव-सागरपण्णत्ति, १८ जोइसकरंडय, १९ अंगविज्जा, २० सिद्धपाहुड, २१ सारावली, २२ जीवविभत्ति। इन प्रकीर्णकोंके नामोंमेंसे नंदी-पाक्षिक-सूत्रमें उत्कालिकसूत्रविभागमें देविदत्थय, तंदुलवेयालिय, चंदावेज्झय, गणि-विज्जा, मरणविभत्ति-मरणसमाधि, आउरपच्चक्खाण, महापच्चक्खाण ये ७ नाम और कालिकविभागमें इसिभासियाइं, दीवसागरपण्णत्ति ये दो नाम इसप्रकार ९ नाम पाये जाते हैं। फिर भी चउसरण, आजका आउरपच्चक्खाण, भत्त-परिण्णा, संथारय और आराहणपडागा—इन प्रकीर्णकोंको छोड़कर दूसरे प्रकीर्णक, बहुत प्राचीन है, जिनका उल्लेख चूर्णिकारोंने अपनी चूर्णियोंमें किया है।

जैसे कर्मप्रकृति शास्त्रका कम्मप्पगडी संगहणी नाम कहा जाता है, इसीप्रकार दीवसागरपण्णत्तिका दीवसागरपण्णत्ति संगहणी यह नाम संभवित है।

श्वेतांबर मूर्तिपूजक वर्ग तिथ्योगालि पङ्णयको प्रकीर्णकोंकी गिनती में शामिल करता है, किन्तु इस प्रकीर्णकमें ऐसी बहुतसी बातें हैं जो श्वेतां-



बरोको स्वप्नेमें भी मान्य नहीं है और अनुभवसे देखा जाय तो उसमें आगमोंके नष्ट होनेका जो क्रम दिया है वह संगत भी नहीं है ।

अंगविज्ञापइणय एक फलादेशका ९००० श्लोक परिमित महत्त्वका ग्रन्थ है । इसमें ग्रह-नक्षत्रादि या रेखादि लक्षणों के आधारपर फलादेशका विचार नहीं किया गया है । किन्तु मानवकी अनेकविध चेष्टाएं एवं क्रियाओंके आधारपर फलादेश दिया गया है । एक तरह माना जाय तो मानसशास्त्र एवं अंगशास्त्रको लक्ष्यमें रखकर इस ग्रंथकी रचना की गई है । भारतीय वाङ्मयमें इस विषयका ऐसा एवं इतना महाकाव्य ग्रंथ दूसरा कोई भी उपलब्ध नहीं हुआ है ।

### आगमोंकी व्याख्या

ऊपर जिन जैन मूल आगमसूत्रोंका संक्षेपमें परिचय दिया गया है उनके ऊपर प्राकृत भाषामें अनेक प्रकारकी व्याख्यायें लिखी गई हैं । इनके नाम क्रमशः—निर्युक्ति, संग्रहणी, भाष्य, महाभाष्य ये गाथाबद्ध-पद्यबद्ध व्याख्याग्रंथ हैं और चूर्णि, विशेष चूर्णि एवं प्राचीन वृत्तियाँ गद्यबद्ध व्याख्याग्रंथ हैं ।

**निर्युक्तियाँ**—स्थविर आर्य भद्रबाहु स्वामिने दस आगमों पर निर्युक्तियाँ रची हैं, जिनके नाम इन्होंने आवश्यक निर्युक्तिमें इस प्रकार लिखे हैं—

आवस्सयस्स १ दसकालियस्स २ तह उत्तरज्झ ३ मायारे ४ ।

सूयगडे णिज्जुत्ति ५ वोच्छामि तहा दसाणं च ६ ॥

कप्पस्स य णिज्जुत्ति ७ ववहारस्सेव परमनिण्णस्स ८ ।

सूरियपण्णत्तीए ९ वोच्छं इसि भासियाणं च १० ॥

इन गाथाओं में सूचित किया है तदनुसार इन्होंने दस आगमोंकी निर्युक्तियाँ रची थीं, आगमोंकी अस्तव्यस्त दशा, अनुयोगकी पृथक्त्वता



आदि कारणों से इन निर्युक्तियोंका मूल स्वरूप कायम न रहकर आज इनमें काफ़ी परिवर्तन और हानि-वृद्धि हो चुके हैं। इन परिवर्तित एवं परिवर्द्धित निर्युक्तियोंका मौलिक परिणाम क्या था ? यह समझना आज कठिन है। खास करके जिनपर भाष्य-महाभाष्य रचे गये उनका मिश्रण तो ऐसा हो गया है कि—स्वयं आचार्य श्री मलयगिरिको बृहत्कल्पकी वृत्ति (पत्र १) में यह कहना पड़ा कि—‘सूत्रस्पर्शिक निर्युक्तिर्भाष्यं चैको ग्रन्थो जातः’ और उन्होंने अपनी वृत्तिमें निर्युक्ति-भाष्यको कहीं भी पृथक् करनेका प्रयत्न नहीं किया है।

सूर्यप्रज्ञप्ति और ऋषिभाषितसूत्रकी निर्युक्तियाँ उपलब्ध नहीं है उत्तराध्ययन, आचारांग, सूत्रकृतांग, दशा इन आगमोंकी निर्युक्तियोंका परिमाण स्पष्टरूपसे मालूम हो जाता है आवश्यक, दशकालिक आदिकी निर्युक्तियोंका परिमाण भाष्य-गाथाओंका मिश्रण हो जानेसे निश्चित करना कठिन जरूर है, तथापि परिश्रम करनेसे इसका निश्चय हो सकता है किन्तु कल्प व व्यवहारसूत्रकी निर्युक्तियोंका परिमाण किसी भी प्रकार निश्चित नहीं किया जा सकता। हाँ, इतना अवश्य है कि-चूर्णि-विशेष चूर्णिकारोंने कहीं ‘पुरातनगाथा, निर्युक्तिगाथा’ इत्यादि लिखा है, जिससे निर्युक्तिगाथा-ओंका कुछ खयाल आ सकता है तो भी संपूर्णतया निर्युक्तिगाथाओंका विवेक या पृथक्करण करना मुश्किल ही है।

ऊपर जिन निर्युक्तियोंका उल्लेख किया है इनके अतिरिक्त ओषनिर्युक्ति, पिंडनिर्युक्ति और संसक्तनिर्युक्ति ये तीन निर्युक्तियाँ और मिलती हैं। इनमेंसे ओषनिर्युक्ति आवश्यकनिर्युक्तिमेंसे और पिंडनिर्युक्ति दशवैकालिकनिर्युक्तिमेंसे अलग किये गये अंश है। संसक्तनिर्युक्ति बहुत बादकी एवं विसंगत रचना है।

स्थविर आर्य भद्रबाहु विरचित निर्युक्तियोंके अलावा भाष्य और चूर्णियोंमें गोविंदनिज्जुत्तिका भी उल्लेख आता है, जो स्थविर आर्य गोविंदकी रची हुई थी। आज इस निर्युक्तिका पता नहीं है। यह नष्ट हो गई या



किसी निर्युक्तिमें समाविष्ट हो गई ? यह कहा नहीं जा सकता । निशीथ-चूर्णिमें इसप्रकारका उल्लेख मिलता है—“तेण एगिंदयजीवमाहणं गोविंद-निज्जुत्ती कया ।” इनके अलावा और किसी निर्युक्तिकारका निर्देश नहीं मिलता है । निर्युक्तिओंकी रचना मूलसूत्रोंके अंशोंके व्याख्यानरूप होती है ।

**संग्रहणियाँ**—संग्रहणियोंकी रचना पंचकल्प महाभाष्यके उल्लेखानुसार स्थविर आर्य कालक की है । पाक्षिकसूत्रमें भी “ससुत्ते सअत्थे सनिज्जुत्ति ए ससंगहणि ए” इस सूत्रांशमें संग्रहणीका उल्लेख है । इससे भी प्रतीत होता है कि—संग्रहणियोंकी रचना काफ़ी प्राचीन है । आज स्पष्टरूपसे पता नहीं चलता है कि—स्थविर आर्य कालकने कौनसे आगमोंकी संग्रहणियोंकी रचना की थी ? और उनका परिमाण क्या था ? । तो भी अनुमान होता है कि—भगवतीसूत्र, जीवाभिगमोपांग, प्रज्ञापनासूत्र, श्रमणप्रतिक्रमणसूत्र आदिमें जो संग्रहणियाँ पाई जाती हैं वे ही ये हों । इससे अधिक कहना कठिन है ।

**भाष्य-महाभाष्य**—जैन सूत्रोंके भाष्य-महाभाष्य कारके रूपमें दो क्षमाश्रमणोंके नाम पाये जाते हैं—१ संघदास गणि क्षमाश्रमण और जिनभद्र-गणि क्षमाश्रमण । जैन आगमोंके महाकाय भाष्य-महाभाष्य निम्नोक्त आठ प्राप्य हैं—१ विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्य २ कल्पलघुभाष्य ३ कल्पवृहद्भाष्य ४ पंचकल्पमहाभाष्य ५ व्यवहारभाष्य ६ निशीथ भाष्य ७ जीतकल्पभाष्य ८ ओषनिर्युक्तिमहाभाष्य । कल्पलघुभाष्य एवं पंचकल्पमहाभाष्यके प्रणेता संघदासगणि क्षमाश्रमण है व विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्यके रचयिता जिनभद्र-गणि क्षमाश्रमण हैं । दूसरे भाष्य-महाभाष्योंके कर्ता कौन है इसका पता अभी तक नहीं लगा है । संघदासगणि जिनभद्रगणिसे पूर्ववर्ती हैं । श्री जिनभद्रगणि महाभाष्यकारके नामसे लब्धप्रतिष्ठ हैं । जिन आगमों पर निर्युक्तियोंकी रचना है उनके भाष्य मूल, सूत्र व निर्युक्तिको लक्ष्यमें रखकर रचे गये हैं । जिनकी निर्युक्तियाँ नहीं हैं उनके भाष्य सूत्रको ही लक्षित-करके रचे गये हैं । उदाहरण के रूपमें जीतकल्पसूत्र और उसका भाष्य



समझना चाहिए। महाभाष्यके दो प्रकार हैं—पहला प्रकार विशेषावश्यक महाभाष्य, ओघनिर्युक्ति महाभाष्य आदि हैं, जिनके लघुभाष्य नहीं हैं। वे सीधे निर्युक्ति ऊपर ही स्वतंत्र महाभाष्य हैं। दूसरा प्रकार लघुभाष्यको लक्षित करके रचे हुए महाभाष्य हैं। इसका उदाहरण कल्प बृहद् भाष्यको समझना चाहिए। यह महाभाष्य अपूर्ण ही मिलता है। निशीथ और व्यवहारके भी महाभाष्य थे, ऐसा प्रघोष चला आता है, किंतु आज वे प्राप्त नहीं हैं। निशीथ महाभाष्यके अस्तित्वका उल्लेख बृहद्विष्णुनिकाकार—प्राचीन ग्रंथसूचीकारने अपनी सूचीमें भी किया है।

ऊपर जिन महाकायभाष्य—महाभाष्यका परिचय दिया गया है उनके अलावा आवश्यक, ओघनिर्युक्ति, पिंडनिर्युक्ति, दशवैकालिक सूत्र आदि ऊपर भी लघुभाष्य प्राप्त होते हैं, किन्तु इनका मिश्रण निर्युक्तियोंके साथ ऐसा हो गया है कि—कई जगह निर्युक्ति-भाष्यगाथा कौनसी एवं कितनी हैं? इसका निर्णय करना कठिन हो जाता है। इनमेंसे भी जब मैंने आवश्यक सूत्रकी चूर्णि और हरिभद्री वृत्तिको देखा तब तो मैं असमंजसमें पड़ गया। चूर्णिकार कहीं भी 'भाष्यगाथा' नामका उल्लेख नहीं करते हैं, जब कि आचार्य हरिभद्र स्थान-स्थान पर 'भाष्य और मूलभाष्य' के नामसे अवतरण देते हैं। आचार्य श्रीहरिभद्र जिनगाथाओंको मूलभाष्यकी गाथाएं फरमाते हैं उनमेंसे बहुतसी गाथाओंका उल्लेख या उनपर चूर्णि चूर्णिकारने की ही नहीं है यद्यपि उनमेंसे कई गाथाओंकी चूर्णि पाई जाती है। फिर भी चूर्णिकारने कहीं पर भी उन गाथाओंका 'मूल भाष्य' के रूपमें उल्लेख नहीं किया है। प्रतीत होता है कि—आचार्य श्रीहरिभद्रने दशवैकालिक निर्युक्तिकी तरह इस वृत्तिमें भी काफी गाथाओंका संग्रह कर लिया है।

**चूर्णि-विशेषचूर्णि**—आचारांग, सूत्रकृतांग, भगवती सूत्र, जीवा-भिगम, जंबूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति, प्रज्ञापनासूत्र, दशा कल्प, व्यवहार, निशीथ, पंचकल्प, जीनकल्प, आवश्यक, दशवैकालिक, उत्तराध्ययन, पिंडनिर्युक्ति, नंदीसूत्र,



अनुयोगद्वार—अंगुलपदचूर्णि, श्रावकप्रतिक्रमण, ईर्यापथिकी आदिसूत्र-इन आगमोंकी चूर्णियाँ अभी प्राप्त हैं। निशीथसूत्रकी आज विशेषचूर्णि ही प्राप्त है। कल्पकी चूर्णि-विशेषचूर्णि दोनों ही प्राप्त हैं। दशवैकालिक सूत्रकी दो चूर्णियाँ प्राप्त हैं। एक स्थविर अगस्त्यसिंहकी और दूसरी अज्ञातकर्तृक है। आचार्य श्री हरिभद्रने इस चूर्णिका 'वृद्ध विवरण' नाम दिया है। अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रमें जो अंगुलपद है उसपर आचार्य श्री जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमणने चूर्णि रची है। चूर्णिकार श्री जिनदास गणि महत्तर और आचार्य श्री हरिभद्रने अपनी अनुयोगद्वारसूत्रकी चूर्णि-वृत्तिमें श्री जिनभद्रके नामसे इसी चूर्णिको अक्षरशः ले लिया है। ईर्यापथिकी सूत्रादिकी चूर्णिके प्रणेता यशोदेवसूरि हैं, इसका रचनाकाल सं. ११७४ से ११८० का है। श्रावक प्रतिक्रमण चूर्णि श्री विजयसिंहसूरिकी रचना है, जो वि० सं० ११८२ की है।

ज्योतिष्करंडक प्रकीर्णकपर शिवनंदि वाचकविरचित 'प्राकृत वृत्ति' पाई जाती है, जो चूर्णिमें शामिल हो सकती है। आम तौरसे देखाजाय तो पिछले जमानेमें प्राकृत वृत्तियोंको 'चूर्णि' नाम दिया गया है। फिर भी ऐसे भी प्रमाण अपने सामने मौजूद हैं जिससे पता चलता है कि प्रचीन कालमें प्राकृत व्याख्याओंको 'वृत्ति' नाम भी दिया जाता था। दशवैकालिकसूत्रके दोनों चूर्णिकारोंने अपनी चूर्णियों में प्राचीन दशवैकालिकव्याख्याका 'वृत्ति'के नामसे जगह जगह उल्लेख किया है।

ऊपर जिनचूर्णियोंका उल्लेख किया गया है, उनमेंसे प्रायः बहुतसी चूर्णियाँ महाकाय हैं इन सब चूर्णियोंके प्रणेताओंके नाम प्राप्त नहीं होते हैं, फिर भी स्थविर अगस्त्यसिंह, शिवनंदि वाचक, जिनभद्रगणि क्षमाश्रमण, जिनदास महत्तर, गोपालिकमहत्तर—ये चूर्णिकार आचार्योंके नाम मिलते हैं।

चूर्णि-निर्युक्तिओंकी रचना पिछले जमानेमें बंद हो गई किंतु संग्रहणी, भाष्य-महाभाष्य, चूर्णिकी रचनाका प्रचार बादमें भी चालू रहा



है। संस्कृतवृत्तियोंकी रचनाके बाद यद्यपि आगमों पर ऐसा कोई प्रयत्न नहीं हुआ है तो भी आगमोंके विषयोंको लेकर तथा छोटे-मोटे प्रकरणों पर भाष्य-महाभाष्य-चूर्णिलिखनेका प्रयत्न चालू ही रहा है, यह आगे प्रकरणोंके प्रसंगमें मालूम होगा।

यहां पर जैन आगम और प्राकृत व्याख्याग्रन्थोंका परिचय दिया गया है ये बहुत प्राचीन एवं प्राकृत भाषाके सर्वोत्कृष्ट अधिकारियोंके रचे हुए हैं। प्राकृतादि भाषा-ओंकी दृष्टिसे बहुत ही महत्त्वके हैं।

### प्रकरण

प्रकरण किसी खास विषयको ध्यानमें रखकर रचे गये हैं। मेरी दृष्टिसे प्रकरणोंको तीन विभागमें विभक्त किया जा सकता है—तार्किक, आगमिक और औपदेशिक।

**तार्किक प्रकरण**—आचार्य श्री सिद्धसेनका सन्मतितर्क, आचार्य श्री हरिभद्रका धर्मसंग्रहणी प्रकरण, उपाध्याय श्री यशोविजय कृत श्री पूज्य-लेख, तत्त्वविवेक, धर्मपरीक्षा आदिका इस कोटिके प्रकरणोंमें समावेश होता है। यद्यपि ऐसे तार्किक प्रकरण बहुत कम हैं, फिर भी इन प्रकरणोंका प्राकृत भाषाके अतिरिक्त तत्त्वज्ञानकी दृष्टिसे भी बहुत महत्त्व है।

**आगमिक प्रकरण**—आगमिक प्रकरणोंका अर्थ जैन आगमोंमें जो द्रव्यानुयोग व गणितानुयोगके साथ संबंध रखनेवाले विविध विषय है उनमें से किसी एको पसंद करके उसका विस्तृतरूपमें निरूपण करनेवाले या संग्रहकरनेवाले ग्रन्थप्रकरण हैं। ऐसे प्रकरणोंके रचनेवाले शिवशर्म, जिनभद्र क्षमाश्रमण, हरिभद्रसूरि, चन्द्रर्षि महत्तर, गर्गर्षि मुनिचंद्रसूरि, सिद्धसेनसूरि, जिनवल्लभ गणि, अभयदेवसूरि, श्री चंद्र-सूरि, चक्रेश्वरसूरि, देवेन्द्रसूरि, सोमतिलकसूरि, रत्नशेखरसूरि, विजय विमल-गणि आदि अनेक आचार्य हुए हैं। इनमेंसे आचार्य शिवशर्म, चंद्रर्षि महत्तर,



गर्गर्षि, जिनवल्लभगणि, देवेन्द्रसूरि आदि कर्मवादविषयक कर्मप्रकृति, पंच-संग्रह, प्राचीन कर्मग्रन्थ और नव्यकर्मग्रन्थ शास्त्रोंके प्रणेता हैं। इनमें भी शिवशर्मप्रणीत कर्मप्रकृति और चन्द्रर्षि प्रणीत पंचसंग्रह व इनकी चूर्णि-वृत्तियाँ महाकाय ग्रन्थ हैं। ये दो शास्त्र आगमकोटिके महामान्य ग्रंथ माने जाते हैं। इनके अलावा आचार्य जिनभद्रके संग्रहणी-क्षेत्रसमास-विशेषणवती, हरिभद्रसूरिके पंचाशक-विंशति विंशिका-पंचवस्तुक-उपदेशपद-श्रावकधर्म-विधि तंत्र-योगशतक-संबोधप्रकरण आदि, मुनिचंद्रसूरिके अंगुलसप्तति, वनस्पति सप्तति, आवश्यक सप्तति तथा संख्या बंध कुलक आदि, सिद्धसेनसूरिका १६०६ गाथा परिमित प्रवचनसारोद्धारप्रकरण, अभय-देवसूरिके पंचनिर्ग्रन्थी संग्रहणी, प्रज्ञापना तृतीयपदसंग्रहणी, सप्ततिका-भाष्य, षट्स्थानक भाष्य, नवतत्त्वभाष्य, आराधना प्रकरण, श्री चंद्रसूरिका संग्रहणीप्रकरण, चक्रेश्वरसूरिके ११२३ गाथा परिमित शतकमहाभाष्य, सिद्धान्तसारोद्धार, पदार्थस्थापना, सूक्ष्मार्थसप्तति, चरण करण सप्तति, सभा-पंचकस्वरूपप्रकरण आदि, देवेन्द्रसूरिके देववंदनादि भाष्यत्रय, नव्यकर्मग्रन्थ-पंचक, सिद्धदंडिका, सिद्ध पंचाशिका आदि, सोमतिलकसूरिका नव्य बृहत्क्षेत्रसमासप्रकरण, रत्नशेखरसूरिके क्षेत्रसमास, गुरुगुण षट्त्रिंशिका आदि प्रकरण हैं। यहां मुख्य मुख्य प्रकरणकार आचार्योंके नाम और उनके प्रकरणोंका संक्षेपमें दिग्दर्शन कराया गया है। अन्यथा प्रकरणकार आचार्य और इनके रचे हुए प्रकरणोंकी संख्या बहुत बड़ी है। इनमें कितनेक प्रकरणों पर भाष्य, महाभाष्य और चूर्णियाँ भी रची गई हैं।

**औपदेशिक प्रकरण**—औपदेशिक प्रकरण वे हैं, जिनमें मानव जीवनकी शुद्धिके लिए अनेकविध मार्ग दिखलाये गये हैं। ऐसे प्रकरण भी अनेक रचे गये हैं। आचार्य धर्मदासकी उपदेशमाला, प्रद्युम्नाचार्यका मूलशुद्धिप्रकरण, श्री शान्तिसूरिका धर्मरत्नप्रकरण, देवेन्द्रसूरिका श्राद्धविधि-प्रकरण, मलधारी हेमचंद्रसूरिका भवभावना और पुष्पमाला प्रकरण, चंद्रप्रभ-महत्तरका दर्शनशुद्धिप्रकरण, वर्द्धमानसूरिका धर्मोपदेशमालाप्रकरण, यशोदेव-सूरिका नवपदप्रकरण, आसडके उपदेशकंदली, विवेकमंजरीप्रकरण, धर्मघोष-



सूरिका ऋषिमंडलप्रकरण आदि बहुतसे औपदेशिक छोटेमोटे प्रकरण हैं, जिनपर महाकाय टीकाएं भी रची गई हैं, जिनमें प्राकृत-संस्कृत-अपभ्रंश भाषाओंमें अनेक कथाओंका संग्रह किया गया है। एक रीतिसे माना जाय तो ये टीकाएं कथाकोशरूप ही हैं।

## धर्मकथासाहित्य

जैनाचार्योंने प्राकृत कथा साहित्यके विषयमें भी अपनी लेखनीका उपयोग काफ़ी किया है। जैनाचार्योंने काव्यमय कथाएं लिखनेका प्रयत्न विक्रमसंवत् प्रारंभके पूर्व ही शुरू किया है। आचार्य पादलिप्तकी तरंगवती, मलयवती, मगधसेना, संघदासगणि वाचक विरचित वसुदेवहिंडी, धूर्ताख्यान आदि कथाओंका उल्लेख विक्रमकी पांचवीं छठी सदीमें रचे गए भाष्योंमें आता है। धूर्ताख्यान तो निशीथचूर्णिकारने अपनी चूर्णिमें [गा. २९६ पत्र १०२-१०५] भाष्यगाथाओं के अनुसार संक्षेपमें दिया भी है और आख्या-नके अंतमें उन्होंने “सेसं धुत्तक्खाणगाणुसारेण णेयमिति” ऐसा उल्लेख भी किया है। इससे पता चलता है कि—प्राचीनकालमें ‘धूर्ताख्यान’ नामक व्यंसक कथाग्रन्थ था, जिसका आधार लेकर आचार्य श्री हरिभद्रने प्राकृत धूर्ताख्यानकी रचना की है। प्राचीन भाष्य आदिमें जिन कथाग्रन्थोंका उल्लेख पाया जाता है उनमें से आज सिर्फ़ एक श्रीसंघदासगणिका वसुदेव-हिंडी ग्रन्थ ही प्राप्त है, जो भी खण्डित है। दाक्षिण्याङ्क आचार्य श्री उद्योतनसूरिने अपनी कुवलयमाला कथाकी [र. सं. शाके ७००] प्रस्तावनामें पादलिप्त, शालवाहन, षट्पर्णक, गुणाढ्य, विमलाङ्क, देवगुप्त, रविषेण, भवविरह, हरिभद्र आदिके नामोंके साथ उनकी जिन रचनाओंका निर्देश किया है उनमेंसे कुछ रचनाएं प्राप्त हैं, किन्तु पादलिप्तकी तरंग-वती, षट्पर्णकके सुभाषित आदि रचनाएं गुणाढ्यकी पिशाचभाषामयी बृहत्कथा, विमलाङ्कका हरिवंश, देवगुप्तका त्रिपुरुषचरित्र आदि कृतियाँ आज प्राप्त नहीं हैं। संघदासकी वसुदेव हिंडी, धर्मसेनमहत्तरका शौरसेनी भाषामय वसुदेव-हिंडी द्वितीय खंड, विमलाङ्कका पउमचरिय, हरिभद्रसूरिकी समराइच्च कहा,



शीलाङ्कविमलमतिका चउप्पन्न महापुरिसचरिय, भद्रेश्वरकी कहावली आदि प्राचीन कथाएं आज प्राप्त हैं। ये सब रचनाएं विक्रमकी प्रथम सहस्राब्दीमें हुई हैं। इनके बादमें अर्थात् विक्रमकी बारहवीं शताब्दीमें चौवीस तीर्थ-करोंके चरित्र आदि अनेक चरितोंकी रचना हुई है, जो अनुमानतः दो तीन शताब्दियोंमें हुई हैं। वर्धमानसूरि - आदिनाथचरित्र और मणोरमा कहा, सोमप्रभाचार्य सुमतिनाथ चरित और कुमारपालप्रतिबोध, गुणचंद्रसूरि अपरनाम देवभद्रसूरि-पार्श्वनाथ चारित, महावीरचरिय और कहारयण कोस, लक्ष्मणगणि-सुपासनाह चरिय, बृहद्गच्छीय हरिभद्रसूरि - चंद्रप्रभचरित्र और नेमिनाहचरित अपभ्रंश, देवसूरि - पद्मप्रभचरित, अजितदेवसूरि - श्रेयांसचरित, देवचंद्रसूरि-शांतिनाथचरित्र और मूलशुद्धिप्रकरणटीका, नेमिचंद्रसूरि-अनंतनाथ चरित्र और महावीरचरिय, श्री चंद्रसूरि-मुनिसुव्रतस्वामिचरित, पद्मप्रभसूरि-मुनिसुव्रतचरित्र, मलघारी हेमचंद्रसूरि-अरिष्टनेमिचरित्र (भवभावना वृत्त्यन्तर्गत), रत्नप्रभसूरि-अरिष्टनेमि चरित, यशोदेवसूरि-चंद्रप्रभचरित, चंद्रप्रभोपाध्याय-वासुपूज्य चरित्र, चंद्रप्रभसूरि-विजयचंद्रकेवलचरित्र, शांतिसूरि-पृथ्वीचंद्रचरित्र, विजयसिंहसूरि-भुवनसुंदरी कहा, धनेश्वर-सुरसुंदरीकहा आदि प्राकृत कथा-चरित्रग्रंथ प्रायः महाकाय ग्रंथ हैं और विक्रमकी ग्यारहवीं बारहवीं शताब्दीमें ही रचे गये हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त दूसरी भी दश श्रावक चरित, वर्द्धमानदेशना, शालिभद्रादि चरित, ऋषिदत्ताचरित जिनदत्ताख्यान, कलावई चरिय, दवदंती कहा, सुसढकहा, मणीवई चरिय, सणकुमारचरिय, तरंगवती संक्षेप, सीया चरिया, सिरिवाल-कहा, कुम्मापुत्तचरिय, मौन एकादशी कहा, जबूसामी चरिय, कालिकाचार्य-कथा, सिद्धसेनाचार्यादि प्रबंध आदि अनेक छोटी - मोटी प्राकृत रचनाएं प्राप्त होती हैं। ये स्वतंत्र साधुचरित स्त्री-पुरुषके कथाचरित होने पर भी इनमें प्रसंग-प्रसंगपर अवान्तर कथाएं काफ़ी प्रमाणमें आती है। इन महाकाय कथाचरितोंकी तरह संक्षिप्त कथा चरितके संग्रहरूप महाकाय कथा-कोशोंकी रचना भी बहुत हुई हैं। वे रचनाएं भद्रेश्वरसूरिकी कहावली, जिनेश्वरसूरिका कथाकोश, नेमिचंद्र-आम्रदेव सूरिका आख्यानकमणिकोश, धर्म-घोषका ऋषिमंडलप्रकरण, भरतेश्वर बाहुबलि स्वाध्याय आदि हैं।



अपभ्रंशमें श्वेताम्बर जैन संप्रदायमें महाकवि धनपालका सत्यपुरमहा-वीरस्तोत्र, घाहिलका पउमसिचरिउ, जिनप्रभसूरिका वइरसामिचरिउ आदि छोटी छोटी रचनाएं बहुत पाई जाती हैं, किन्तु बड़ी रचनाएं श्री सिद्धसेन-सूरि अपरनाम साधारण कविकृत विलासवई कहा [ग्रं. ३६२० रचना सं. ११२३] और हरिभद्रसूरिका नेमिनाहचरिउ [ग्रंथाग्र ८०३२ रचना सं. १२१६] ये दो ही देखनेमें आती हैं। आचार्य श्री हेमचन्द्रने सिद्धहेम-चन्द्र व्याकरण-अष्टमाध्यायमें प्राकृतादि भाषाओंके साथ अपभ्रंश भाषाको शामिल किया है फिर भी श्वेतांबर सम्प्रदायमें अपभ्रंश भाषाका प्रयोग विशेष नहीं हुआ है।

सामान्यतया श्वेताम्बर आचार्योंने अपने ग्रन्थोंमें सुभाषित और प्रसंगागत कथाओंके लिए इस भाषाका उपयोग किया है। मूलशुद्धिप्रकरणवृत्ति, भवभावनाप्रकरणवृत्ति, आख्यानक-मणिकोशवृत्ति, उपदेशमाला दोषद्विवृति, कुमारपालप्रतिषेध आदिमें अपभ्रंशकथाएं आती हैं, जो दोसौ-चारसौ श्लोकसे अधिक परिमाणवाली नहीं होती हैं।

दिगम्बरजैनसम्प्रदायमें इससे विपरीत बात है। दिगम्बर आचार्यों ने धर्मकथाओंके लिए प्राकृत-मागधीके स्थानमें अपभ्रंश भाषाका ही विशेष-रूपसे उपयोग किया है। दिगम्बरसम्प्रदायमें शास्त्रीयग्रंथोंके लिए प्राचीन-आचार्योंने शौरसेनीभाषाका बहुत उपयोग किया है। उन्होंने अतिमहाकाय माने जाय ऐसे धवल, जयधवल, महाधवल शास्त्रोंकी रचना की है। समयसार, पंचास्तिकाय आदि सैंकड़ो शास्त्र भी शौरसेनीमें लिखे गये हैं।

### जैन स्तुति - स्तोत्रादि

जैनाचार्योंने स्तुति-स्तोत्रादि साहित्य, काफ़ी लिखा है। फिर भी प्रमाणकी दृष्टिसे देखा जाय तो प्राकृत भाषामें वह बहुत ही कम है। आचार्य पादलिप्त, आचार्य अभयदेव, देवभद्रसूरि, जिनेश्वरसूरि, जिनवल्लभ



आदिका समग्र स्तुति-स्तोत्रादि साहित्य एकत्र किया जाय तो मेरा अनुमान है कि वह दो-चार हजार श्लोकोंसे अधिक नहीं होगा। इन स्तोत्रोंमें यमक, समसंस्कृतप्राकृत, षड्भाषामय स्तोत्रोंका समावेश कर लेना चाहिए।

### व्याकरण व कोश

प्राकृतादि भाषाओंके व्याकरणों एवं देशी आदि कोशोंका विस्तृत परिचय प्राकृत भाषाके पारंगत डॉ. पिशलने अपने 'कम्पेरेटिव ग्रामर ऑफ़ दी प्राकृत लैंग्वेज' ग्रंथमें पर्याप्तमात्रामें दिया है अतः मैं विशेष कुछ नहीं कहता हूँ। इस युगमें महत्वपूर्ण चार प्राकृत शब्दकोश जैन विद्वानोंने तैयार किये हैं।

१. त्रिस्तुतिक आचार्य श्री राजेन्द्रसूरिका अभिधान राजेन्द्र।
२. पंडित हरगोविंददासका पाह्य सद्द भण्णव।
३. स्थानकवासी मुनि रत्नचंद्रजीका पांच भागोंमें प्रकाशित अर्ध-मागधी कोश।
४. श्री सागरानंदसूरिका अल्प परिचित सैद्धान्तिकशब्दकोश।

### काव्य और सुभाषित

प्राकृत भाषामें रचित प्रवरसेनके सेतुबंध महाकाव्य, वाक्पतिराजके गौडवहो, हेमचन्द्रके प्राकृत व्याश्रय महाकाव्य आदिके आप परिचित ही हैं। सेतुबंध महाकाव्यका उल्लेख निशीथ सूत्रकी चूर्णिमें भी पाया जाता है। महाकवि घनपालने (वि. ११ वीं शती) अपनी तिलकमंजरी आख्यायिकामें सेतुबंध महाकाव्य व वाक्पतिराजके गउडवहो की स्तुति—

जितं प्रवरसेनेन रामेणेव महात्मना ।  
तरत्युपरि यत् कीर्त्तिसेतुर्वाङ्मयवारिधेः ॥



दृष्ट्वा वाक्पतिराजस्य शक्तिं गौडवधोद्धुराम् ।

बुद्धिः साध्वसरुद्धेव वाचं न प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

इन शब्दोंमें की है । इसी कविने अपनी इस आख्यायिकामें—

प्राकृतेषु प्रबन्धेषु रसनिःप्यन्दिभिः पदैः ।

राजन्ते जीवदेवस्य वाचः पल्लविता इव ॥ २४ ॥

इस प्रकार आचार्य जीवदेवकी प्राकृत कृतिका उल्लेख किया है जो आज उपलब्ध नहीं है ।

आचार्य दाक्षिण्यांक श्री उद्योतनकी कुवलयमाला प्राकृत महाकाव्यकी सर्वोत्कृष्ट रसपूर्ण रचना है ।

हाल कविकी गाथासप्तशती, वज्जालग आदिको आप सभी जानते हैं । इसीप्रकार लक्ष्मणकविका गाथा कोश भी उपलब्ध है । समयसुंदरका गाथाकोश भी मुद्रित हो चुका है । बृहट्टिप्पनिकाकारने “सुधाकलशाख्यः सुभाषितकोशः पं. रामचंद्र कृतः” इसप्रकार श्रीहेमचंद्रके शिष्य रामचंद्र के सुभाषितकोशका नामोल्लेख किया है जो आज अलभ्य है ।

ऊपर जिन कथा-चरितादि ग्रंथोंके नाम दिये हैं उन सबमें सुभाषितोंकी भरमार है । यदि इन सबका विभागशः संग्रह किया जाय तो प्राकृत भाषाका अलंकार स्वरूप एक बड़ा भारी सुभाषित भंडार तैयार हो सकता है ।

### अलंकार शास्त्र

जैसलमेरके श्री जिनभद्रीय ताडपत्र ज्ञानभंडारमें प्राकृतभाषामें रचित अलंकार दर्पण नामक एक अलंकारग्रंथ है जिसके प्रारंभमें ग्रंथकारने—

सुंदरपयविण्णासं विमलालंकाररेहिअसरीरं ।

सुइदेविअं च कव्वं च पणविअं पवरवण्णह्ठं ॥ १ ॥



इस आर्यामें 'श्रुतदेवता' को प्रणाम किया है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि-यह किसी जैनाचार्यकी कृति है। इसका प्रमाण १३४ आर्या हैं तथा यह हस्तप्रति विक्रमकी तेरहवीं शताब्दीके पूर्वार्धमें लिखी प्रतीत होती है।

### नाटक व नाट्यशास्त्र

राजा आदि उच्चवर्गके व्यक्तियोंको छोड़कर नाटकोंमें शेष सभी पात्र प्राकृत भाषाका ही प्रयोग करते हैं। यदि हिसाब लगाया जाय तो पता लगेगा कि-सब मिलाकर नाटकोंमें संस्कृतकी अपेक्षा प्राकृत नहीं तो कम भी प्रयुक्त नहीं हुई है। अत एव प्राकृत भाषाके साहित्यकी चर्चामें नाटकोंको मूलाया नहीं जा सकता। स्वतंत्ररूपसे लिखे गये नाटकोंसे तो आप परिचित है ही, किंतु कथा ग्रंथोंके अन्तर्गत जो नाटक आये हैं उन्हींकी विशेष चर्चा यहां अभीष्ट है। प्रसंगवशात् यह भी कह दूं कि-आवश्यक चूर्णमें प्राचीन जैन नाटकोंके होनेका उल्लेख है। शीलंकके चउप्पन्नमहापुरिसचरियं में (वि. १० वीं शती) विबुधानंद नामक एकांकी नाटक है। देवेन्द्रसूरिने चन्द्रप्रभचरितमें वज्रायुध नाटक लिखा है। आचार्य भद्रेश्वरने कहावलीमें व देवभद्रसूरिने कहारयणकोसमें नाटकाभास नाटक दिये हैं। ये सब कथा चरितान्तर्गत नाटक हैं।

स्वतंत्र नाटकोंकी रचना भी जैनाचार्योंने काफ़ी मात्रामें की है। आचार्य देवचंद्रके चंदलेखाविजयप्रकरण, विलासवती नाटिका और मानमुद्रा-भंजन ये तीन नाटक हैं। मानमुद्राभंजन अभी अप्राप्य है। यशश्चन्द्रका मुद्रित कुमुदचंद्र और राजीमती नाटिका, यशःपालका मोहराजपराजय, नयसिंहसूरिका हम्मीरमदमर्दन, रामभद्रका प्रबुद्धरौहिणेय, मेघप्रभका घर्माभ्युदय व बालचंद्रका करुणा वज्रायुध नाटक प्राप्त हैं। रामचंद्रसूरिके कौमुदीमित्राणंद, नलविलास, निर्भयभीमव्यायोग, मल्लिकामकरंद, रघुविलास व सत्य हरिश्चन्द्रनाटक उपलब्ध हैं; राघवाभ्युदय, यादवाभ्युदय, यदुविलास आदि अनुपलब्ध हैं। इन्होंने नाटकोंके अलावा नाट्यविषयक स्वोपज्ञटीका युक्त



नाट्यदर्पण की भी रचना की है। इसके प्रणेता रामचंद्र व गुणचंद्र दो हैं। इन दोनोंने मिलकर स्वोपज्ञ टीकायुक्त द्रव्यालंकारकी भी रचना की है। नाट्यदर्पणके अतिरिक्त रामचंद्रका नाट्यशास्त्र विषयक 'प्रबंधशत' नामक अन्य ग्रंथ भी या जो अनुपलब्ध है। यद्यपि बहुतसे विद्वान् 'प्रबंधशत' का अर्थ 'शिकीर्षित सौ ग्रंथ' ऐसा कहते हैं किन्तु प्राचीन ग्रंथसूचीमें "रामचंद्रकृतं प्रबन्धशतं द्वादशरूपक नाटकादि स्वरूपज्ञापकम्" ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है इससे ज्ञात होता है कि 'प्रबंध शत' नामकी इन्की कोई नाट्यविषयक रचना थी।

इनके अतिरिक्त ज्योतिष, रत्नपरीक्षा शास्त्र, अंगलक्षण, आयुर्वेद आदि विषयक प्राकृत ग्रंथ मिलते हैं। आयुर्वेदविषयक एक प्राकृत ग्रंथ मेरे संग्रहमें हैं जिसका नाम 'योगनिधान' है। पं. अमृतलालके संग्रहमें प्राकृत-भाषामें रचित कामशास्त्रका 'मयण मउड' नामक ग्रंथ भी है।

यहांपर मैंने आगम और उनकी व्याख्यासे प्रारंभकर विविध विषयोंके महत्त्वपूर्ण प्राकृत वाङ्मयका अति संक्षिप्त परिचय देनेका प्रयत्न किया है। इससे आपको पता लगेगा कि-प्राकृत भाषामें कितना विस्तृत एवं विपुल साहित्य है और विद्वानोंने इस भाषाको समृद्ध करनेके लिए क्या क्या नहीं लिखा? अपने अपने विषयकी दृष्टिसे तो इस समग्र साहित्यका मूल्य है ही, किन्तु इस वाङ्मयमें जो सांस्कृतिक एवं ऐतिहासिक विपुलसामग्री भरी पड़ी है, उसका पता सटीक बृहत्कल्प-सूत्र, निशीथ चूर्णि, अंगविज्ञा, चउप्पन्न महापुरिस चरियके आदिके परिशिष्टोंको देखनेसे लग सकता है। प्राकृत भाषा और उसके सर्वांगीणकोशकी सामग्री इस वाङ्मयमें से ही पर्याप्तमात्रामें प्राप्त हो सकती है। पूर्वोक्त प्राकृतकोशोंमें नहीं आये हुए हजारों शब्द इस वाङ्मयमें से प्राप्त हो सकते हैं। इसी तरह आचार्य हेमचंद्रकी 'देसीनाममाला' में असंगृहीत सैकड़ों देशी शब्द इस वाङ्मयमें दिखाई देते हैं। इसके लिए विद्वानोंको इसी वर्ष प्रकाशित डॉ ए. एन. उपाध्ये द्वारा संपादित प्राकृत कुवलयमाला एवं पं. अमृतलाल भोजक द्वारा



संपादित 'चडपन्नमहा पुरिस चरिय' की प्रस्तावना एवं शब्दकोशोंका परिशिष्ट देखना चाहिए। मेरा मत है कि—भविष्यमें प्राकृत भाषाके सर्वांगीण कोशके निर्माताओंको यह समग्र वाङ्मय देखना होगा। यही नहीं अपि तु संस्कृत भाषाके कोशके निर्माताओंको भी यह वाङ्मय देखना व शब्दोंका संग्रह करना अति आवश्यक है। इसका कारण यह है कि—प्राकृत व संस्कृत भाषाको अपनाने वाले विद्वानोंका चिरकालसे अति नैक्य रहा है। इतना ही नहीं अपि तु जो प्राकृत वाङ्मयके निर्माता रहे हैं वे ही संस्कृत वाङ्मयके निर्माता भी रहे हैं। अतः दोनों कोशकारोंको एक-दूसरा साहित्य देखना आवश्यक है। अन्यथा दोनों अपूर्ण ही होंगे।

इस आगमादि साहित्यसे विद्वानोंको आन्तरिक व बाह्य अथवा व्यावहारिक व पारमार्थिक जीवनके साथ संबंध रखनेवाले अनेक विषयोंका ज्ञान प्राप्त हो सकता है यद्यपि भारतीय आर्य ऋषि, मुनि एवं विद्वानोंका मुख्य आकर्षण हमेशा धार्मिक साहित्यकी ओर ही रहा है। तथापि इनकी कुशलता यही है कि—इन्होंने लोकमानसको कभी भी नहीं ठुकराया। इसीलिए इन्होंने प्रत्येक विषयको लेकर साहित्यका निर्माण किया है। साहित्यका कोई अंग इन्होंने छोड़ा नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं अपि तु अपनी धर्मकथाओंमें भी समय-समयपर साहित्यके विविध अंगोंको याद किया है। यही कारण है कि—अपनी प्राचीन धर्मकथाओंमें धार्मिक सामग्रीके अतिरिक्त लोकव्यवहारको स्पर्शकरनेवाले अनेक विषय प्राप्त होते हैं। उदाहरणके तौरपर कथा-साहित्यमें राजनीति, रत्नपरीक्षा, अंगलक्षण, स्वप्न शास्त्र, शकुन शास्त्र, मृत्युज्ञान आदि अनेक विषय आते हैं। पुत्र-पुत्रियोंको पठन, विवाह, अधिकारप्रदान, परदेशगमन आदि अनेक प्रसंगों पर शिक्षा, राजकुमारोंको युद्धगमन, राज्यपदारोहण आदि प्रसंगोंपर हितशिक्षा, पुत्र-पुत्रियोंके जन्मोत्सव, झुलाने, विवाह आदि करनेका वर्णन, ऋतुवर्णन, वनविहार, अनंगलेख, धर्मशास्त्र, नीतिशास्त्र, अलंकारशास्त्र, साहित्यचर्चा आदि विविध प्रसंग, साहूकारोंका वाणिज्य-व्यापार, उनकी पद्धति, उनके नियम, भूमि व समुद्रमें वाणिज्यके लिए जाना, भूमि व समुद्रके वाहन, व जहाज के प्रकार



तद्विषयक विविध सामग्री, जीवनके सदगुण-दुर्गुण, नीति-अनीति, सदाचार-दुराचार आदिका वर्णन-इत्यादि सैकड़ों विषयोंका इस साहित्यमें वर्णन है। ये सभी सांस्कृतिक साधन हैं।

वसुदेवहिंडी प्रथम खंड (पत्र १४५) में चारुदत्त के चरितमें चारुदत्तकी स्थलसंबंधी व सासुद्रिक व्यापारिकयात्राका अतिरसिक वर्णन है जिसमें देश-विदेशोंका परिभ्रमण, सूत्रकृतांगकी मार्गाध्ययन-निर्युक्तिमें (गा० १०२) वर्णित शंकुपथ, अजपथ, लतामार्ग आदिका निर्देश किया गया है। इसमें यात्राके साधनोंका भी निर्देश है। परलोकसिद्धि, प्रकृति पुरुषविचार, वनस्पतिमें जीवत्वकी सिद्धि, मांसभक्षणके दोष आदि अनेक दार्शनिकधार्मिक विषय भी पाये जाते हैं। इसी वसुदेवहिंडीके साथ जुड़ी हुई घम्मिलहिंडीमें “अत्थसत्थे य भणियं—‘विसेसेण मायाए सत्थेण य हंतव्वो अप्पणो विवद्ढ-माणो सत्थु’त्ति” (पृ० ४५) ऐसा उल्लेख आता है जो बहुत महत्वका है। इससे सूचित होता है कि—प्राचीन युगमें अपने यहां प्राकृत भाषामें रचित अर्थशास्त्र था। श्रीद्रोणाचार्यने ओषनिर्युक्तिवृत्तिमें “चाणक्ये वि भणियं—‘जइ काइयं न वोसिरइ तो अदोसो’त्ति” (पत्र १५२.२) ऐसा उल्लेख किया है यह भी प्राकृत अर्थशास्त्र होनेकी साक्षी देता है जो आज प्राप्त नहीं है। इसी ग्रंथमें पाकशास्त्रका उल्लेख भी है जिसका नाम पोरगमसत्थ दिया है।

आजके युगमें प्रसिद्ध पिन्स ऑफ वेल्स, किन मेरी, द्युटानिया आदि जहाजोंके समान युद्ध, विनोद, भोग आदि सबप्रकारकी सामग्रीसे संपन्न राजभोग्य एवं घनाढ्योके योग्य जहाजोंका वर्णन प्राकृत श्रीपालचरित आदिमें मिलता है रत्नप्रभसूरिविरचित नेमिनाथ चरितमें अलंकारशास्त्रकी विस्तृत चर्चा आती है। प्रहेलिकाएं, प्रश्नोत्तर, चित्रकाव्य आदिका वर्णन तो अनेक कथाग्रंथोंमें पाया जाता है। श्रावक प्रतिक्रमणसूत्रकी अर्थदीपिका वृत्तिमें (पृ. १२७) मंत्रीपुत्री कथानकमें किसी वादीने मंत्रीपुत्रीको ५६ प्रश्नोंका उत्तर प्राकृतभाषामें चार अक्षरोंमें देनेका वादाकिया है। मंत्रीपुत्रीने



भी 'परवाया' इन चार अक्षरोमें उत्तरदिया है। ऐसी क्लृप्तातिक्लृष्ट प्रहेलियां भी इन कथाग्रंथोंमें पाई जाती है।

संक्षेपमें कहना यही है कि—प्राकृतके इस वाङ्मयमें विपुल ऐतिहासिक एवं सांस्कृतिक सामग्री मिलसकती है। यदि इसका पृथक्करण किया जाय तो बहुत महत्त्वकी सामग्री एकत्र हो सकती है।

### प्राकृतादि भाषाएं

जहाँ आज तक पाश्चात्य और एतद्देशीय विद्वानोंने प्राकृत भाषाके विषयमें पर्याप्त विचार किया, इसमें भी प्राकृतादि भाषाके प्रकाण्ड विद्वान् डाँ. पिशल महाशयने वर्षों तक इन भाषाओंका अध्ययन करके और चारों दिशाओंके तत्तद्विषयक सैकड़ों ग्रन्थोंका अवलोकन, अध्ययन चिन्तन आदि करके प्राकृत आदि भाषाओंका महाकाय व्याकरण तैयार किया है वहाँ इस विषयमें कुछ भी कहना एक दुस्साहस ही है। मैं कोई प्राकृतादि भाषाओंका विद्वान् नहीं हूँ, फिर भी प्राकृत आदि भाषा एवं साहित्यके अभ्यासी विद्यार्थीकी हैसियतसे मुझे जो तथ्य प्रतीत हुए हैं उनको मैं आपके सामने रखता हूँ।

प्राकृत आदि भाषाओंके विद्वानोंने १ प्राचीन व्याकरण २ प्राचीन ग्रन्थोंमें आनेवाले प्राकृत भाषाके संक्षिप्त लक्षण और ३ प्राचीन ग्रन्थोंमें आनेवाले प्राकृत भाषाओंके प्रयोगोंको ध्यानमें रख कर प्राकृतादि भाषाओंके विषयमें जो विचार और निर्णय किया है वह पर्याप्त नहीं है। इसके कारण ये हैं—

१. व्याकरणकारोंका उद्देश भाषाको नियमबद्ध करनेका होता है, अतः वे अपने युगके प्रचलित सर्वमान्य तत्तद् भाषाप्रयोगों एवं तत्संवादी प्राचीन मान्य ग्रन्थोंके प्रयोगोंकी अपनी दृष्टिसे तुलना करके व्याकरणका निर्माण करते हैं। खास कर उनकी दृष्टि अपने युगकी ओर ही रहती है।



आज के व्याकरणोंको देख कर हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंच सकते हैं। अतः इन व्याकरणों से प्राचीन युगकी भाषाका पूर्ण पता लगाना असंभव है।

२. प्राचीन व्याख्या ग्रन्थ आदिमें अर्धमागधी आदिके जो एक दो पंक्तिओंमें लक्षण पाये जाते हैं उन से भी प्राकृत भाषाओंके वास्तविक स्वरूपका पता लगाना पर्याप्त नहीं है। डाँ. पिशलने अर्धमागधी और मागधीके विषयमें जैन व्याख्याकारोंके अनेक उल्लेखों को दे कर प्रमाणपुरस्सर विस्तृत चर्चा की है। उसमें मैं इतनी पूर्ति करता हूँ कि—स्वर-व्यञ्जनोंके परिवर्तन और विभक्ति प्रयोग आदिके अतिरिक्त तत्कालीन भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तीय (जहाँ भगवान् महावीर और उनके निर्ग्रन्थोंने विहार, धर्मोपदेश आदि किया था) शब्दोंका स्वीकार या मिश्रण भी अर्धमागधीका लक्षण होनेकी सम्भावना है। जैन निर्ग्रन्थोंको विहार-पाद-भ्रमण, भिक्षा, धर्मोपदेश, तत्तत्प्रान्तीय शिष्य-प्रशिष्यों के अध्ययन-अध्यापन आदिके निमित्त तत्तद्देशीय जनताके संपर्क में रहना पड़ता है। अतः इनकी भाषामें सहज ही भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तीय भाषाओंके स्वर-व्यञ्जनपरिवर्तन, विभक्ति-कारक आदिके प्रयोगोंके साथ प्रान्तीय शब्द-प्रयोग भी आ जाते हैं। भाषाका इस प्रकारका प्रभाव प्राचीन युगकी तरह आजके जैन निर्ग्रन्थों की भाषामें भी देखा जाता है। जैन आगमोंके निर्यु-क्ति-भाष्य-चूर्णि आदिमें अनेक स्थान पर एकार्थक शब्द दिये जाते हैं और वहाँ कहा भी जाता है कि—“भिन्न भिन्न देशोंमें रहनेवाले शिष्योंको मतिभ्रम न हो इस लिये एकार्थक शब्द दिये जाते हैं।” इस उल्लेख से भी यही प्रतीत होता है कि—अर्धमागधीका स्वर-व्यञ्जनादि परिवर्तन आदिके अतिरिक्त ‘तत्तत्प्रान्तीय भाषाओंके शब्दोंका संग्रह’ यह भी एक प्रमुख लक्षण है।

३. वास्तवमें प्राकृत भाषाओंके प्राचीन ग्रन्थ ही इन भाषाओंके पृथक्करणके लिये अकाट्य साधन हैं और सचमुच ही उपर्युक्त दो साधनोंकी अपेक्षा यह साधन ही अति उपयुक्त साधन है। इसका उपयोग डाँ. पिशल आदि विद्वानोंने अतिसावधानीसे किया भी है, तथापि, मैं मानता हूँ कि,



वह अपर्याप्त है। क्यों कि डॉ. पिशल आदिने जिस विशाल साहित्यका उपयोग किया है वह प्रायः अर्वाचीन प्रतियोंके आधार पर तैयार किया गया साहित्य था जिसमें भाषाके मौलिक स्वरूप आदिका काफ़ी परिवर्तन हो गया है। इसी साहित्यकी प्राचीन प्रतियोंको देखते हैं तब भाषा और प्रयोगोंका महान् वैलक्षण्य नजर आता है। खुद डॉ. पिशल महाशयने भी इस विषयका उल्लेख किया है। दूसरी बात यह है कि—डॉ. पिशल आदि विद्वानोंने ऐतिहासिक तथ्यके आधार पर जिनमें प्राकृत भाषाप्रवाहोंके मौलिक अंश होनेकी अधिक संभावना है और जो प्राकृत भाषाओंके स्वरूप-निर्णयके लिये अनिवार्यसाधनकी भूमिकारूप हैं ऐसे प्राचीनतम जैन आगमोंका जो प्राचीन प्राकृतव्याख्यासाहित्य है उसका उपयोग बिल्कुल किया ही नहीं है। ऐसा अतिप्राचीन श्वेतांबरीय प्राकृत व्याख्या साहित्य जैन आगमोंकी निर्युक्ति-भाष्य-महाभाष्य-चूर्णियाँ हैं और इतर साहित्यमें कुवल्यमालाकहा, वसुदेवहिंडी, चउप्पन्नमहापुरिसचरिय आदि हैं। तथा दिगंबरीय साहित्यमें धवल, जयधवल, महाधवल, तिलोयपण्णत्ती आदि महाशास्त्र हैं। यद्यपि दिगंबर आचार्योंके ग्रन्थ ऐतिहासिक तथ्यके आधार पर श्वेतांबर जैन आगमादिग्रन्थोंकी अपेक्षा कुछ अर्वाचीन भी है तथापि प्राकृतभाषाओंके निर्णयमें सहायक जरूर हैं। मुझे तो प्रतीत होता है कि—प्राकृत भाषाओंके विद्वानोंको प्राकृत भाषाओंको व्यवस्थित करनेके लिये डॉ. पिशलके प्राकृतव्याकरणकी भूमिकाके आधार पर पुनः प्रयत्न करना होगा।

यहाँ पर जिस निर्युक्ति-भाष्य-चूर्णि-कथाग्रन्थ आदि श्वेतांबर-दिगंबर साहित्यका निर्देश किया है वह अतिविस्तृतप्रमाणमें है और इसके प्रणेता स्थविर केवल धर्मतत्त्वोंके ही ज्ञाता थे ऐसा नहीं किन्तु वे प्राकृतभाषाओंके भी उत्कृष्ट ज्ञाता थे। प्राचीन प्राकृत भाषाओंकी इनके पास मौलिक विरासत भी थी।

जैन आगमोंकी मौलिक भाषा अर्धमागधी कही जाती है। उसके स्वरूपका पता लगाना आज शक्य नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं किन्तु वल-



भीमें आगमोंका जो अन्तिम व्यवस्थापन हुआ उस समय भाषाका स्वरूप क्या था इसका पता लगाना भी आज कठिन है। इसका कारण यह है कि—आज हमारे सामने उस समयकी या उसके निकटके समयकी जैन आगमोंकी एक भी प्राचीन हस्तप्रति विद्यमान नहीं है। इस दशामें भी आज हमारे सामने आचाराङ्ग, सूत्रकृताङ्ग, दशवैकालिक आदि आगमोंकी चूर्णियाँ और कुछ जैन आगमोंके भाष्य-महाभाष्य ऐसे रह गये हैं जिनके आधार पर वलभीपुस्तकालेखनके युगकी भाषा और इसके पहलेके युगकी भाषाके स्वरूपके निकट पहुँच सकते हैं। क्यों कि इन चूर्णियोंमें मूलसूत्रपाठको चूर्णिकारोंने व्याख्या करनेके लिये प्रायः अक्षरशः प्रतीकरूपसे उद्धृत किया है, जो भाषाके विचार और निर्णयके लिये बहुत उपयोगी है। कुछ भाष्य महाभाष्य और चूर्णियाँ ऐसी भी आज विद्यमान हैं जो अपने प्राचीन रूपको धारण किये हुए हैं। वे भी भाषाके विचार और निर्णयके लिये उपयुक्त हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त प्राचीन चूर्णि आदि व्याख्याग्रन्थोंमें उद्धरणरूपसे उद्धृत जैन आगम और सन्मति, विशेषणवती, संग्रहणी आदि प्रकरणोंके पाठ भी भाषाके विचारके लिये साधन हो सकते हैं।

आचार्य श्री हेमचन्द्रने प्राचीन प्राकृत व्याकरण एवं प्राचीन प्राकृत वाङ्मयका अवलोकन करके और देशी धातुप्रयोगोंका धात्वादेशोंमें संग्रह करके जो अतिविस्तृत सर्वोत्कृष्ट प्राकृत भाषाओंके व्याकरणकी रचना की है वह अपने युगके प्राकृत भाषाके व्याकरण और साहित्यिक भाषाप्रवाहको लक्ष्यमें रख कर ही की है। यद्यपि उसमें कहीं कहीं जैन आगमादि साहित्यको लक्ष्यमें रख कर कुछ प्रयोगों आदिकी चर्चा की है तथापि वह बहुत ही अल्प प्रमाणमें है। इस बातका निर्देश मैंने सारा भाई नवाब-अहमदाबाद द्वारा प्रकाशित कल्पसूत्रकी प्रस्तावनामें [पृ. १४-१५] किया भी है। आचार्य श्रीहेमचन्द्रने जैन आगम आदिकी भाषा और प्रयोगोंके विषयमें विशेष कुछ नहीं किया है तो भी उन्होंने अपने व्याकरणमें जैन आगमोंके भाष्य आदि में आनेवाले कुछ व्यापक प्रयोगोंका और युष्मद्-अस्मद्-आदि शब्द एवं धातुओंके रूपोंका संग्रह ज़रूर कर लिया है।



डॉ. पिशलने कई रूप नहीं मिलनेका अपने व्याकरणमें निर्देश किया है उनमेंसे बहुतसे रूप और प्रयोग जैन आगमोंकी भाष्य-चूर्णियोंमें नज़र आते हैं। इस दृष्टिसे प्राकृत भाषाओंके विद्वानोंको ये ग्रन्थ देखना अत्यावश्यक है। इन ग्रन्थोंमें कई प्रकारके स्वर-व्यञ्जनके विकारवाले प्रयोग, नये नये शब्द एवं धातु, नये नये शब्द-धातुओंके रूप, आजके व्याकरणोंसे सिद्ध न होनेवाले आर्ष प्रयोग और नये नये देशीशब्द पाये जाते हैं जिनका उल्लेख पिशलके व्याकरणमें नहीं हुआ है। व्याकरण, देशीनाममाला आदि शास्त्र रचनेवालोंकी अमुक निश्चित मर्यादा होती है, इस परसे उनके जमानेमें अमुक शब्द, धातु, प्रयोग आदि नहीं थे या उनके खयालमें अमुक नहीं आया था, यह कहना या मान लेना संगत नहीं। डॉ. पिशलने 'खंभ' शब्दका निष्पादन वेदमें आनेवाले 'स्कंभ' शब्दसे किया है। इस विषयमें पिशलके व्याकरणके हिंदी अनुवादके आमुखमें श्रीयुक्त जोषीजीने प्राकृत वैयाकरणोंको इस बातका पता नहीं लगा इत्यादि लिखा है यह उनका पिशलके व्याकरणका हिंदी अनुवाद करनेके आनन्दका भावावेश मात्र है। हमेशा युगयुगमें साहित्य-निर्माणका अलग अलग प्रकारका तरीका होता है। उसके अनुसार ही साहित्यकी रचना होती है। आजका युग ऐतिहासिक परीक्षणको आधार मानता है, प्राचीन युग साम्प्रदायिकताको आधार मानकर चलता था। आजके युगके साधन व्यापक एवं सुलभ हैं। प्राचीन युगमें ऐसा नहीं था। इन बातोंको ध्यानमें रखा जाय तो वह युग और उस युगके साहित्यके निर्माता लेश भी उपालम्भ या आक्षेपके पात्र नहीं हैं। अगर देखा जाय तो साधनोंकी दुर्लभताके युगमें प्राचीन महर्षि और विद्वानोंने कुछ कम कार्य नहीं किया है। पिशलके व्याकरणके हिंदी अनुवादक श्रीयुक्त जोषीजीको पाश्चात्य और एतद्देशीय विद्वानोंकी विपुल विचार-सामग्रीमेंसे प्राकृत भाषाओंके संबंधमें ज्ञातव्य कोई लेखादि नज़रमें नहीं आया, सिर्फ उनकी नज़रमें विदुषी श्रीमती डोस्त्री नित्तिके ग्रन्थका आचार्य श्री हेमचन्द्र एवं डॉ. पिशलके व्याकरणकी अतिकटु टीका जितना अंश आया



है जिसका साराका सारा हिंदी अनुवाद आमुखमें उन्होंने दिया है जो पिशलके व्याकरणके साथ असंगत है। एक और जोषीजी स्वयं डॉ पिशलको प्राकृतादि भाषाओंके महर्षि आदि विशेषण देते हैं और दूसरी ओर डोज्जी नित्तिके लेखका अनुवाद देते हैं जो प्राकृतभाषाके विद्वानोंको समग्रभावसे मान्य नहीं है यह विलकुल असंगत है। एक दृष्टिसे ऐसा कहा जा सकता है कि—श्रीयुक्त जोषीजीने ऐसा निकृष्ट कोटिका आमुख, जिसमें आप प्राकृत भाषाओंके विषयमें ज्ञातव्य एक भी बात लिख नहीं पाये हैं, लिख कर अपने पाण्डित्यपूर्ण अनुवादको एवं इस प्रकाशनको दूषित किया है।

डॉ पिशलका 'प्राकृत भाषाओंका व्याकरण' जिसका हिंदी अनुवाद डॉ हेमचन्द्र जोषी डी. लिटने किया है और जो 'बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्' की ओरसे प्रकाशित हुआ है, उसमें अनुवादक और प्रकाशकोंने बहुत अशुद्ध छपनेके लिये खेद व्यक्त किया है और विस्तृत शुद्धिपत्र देनेका अनुग्रह भी किया है, तो भी परिषद्के मान्य कुशल नियामकोंसे मेरा अनुरोध है कि—६८ पन्नेका शुद्धिपत्र देने पर भी प्राकृत प्रयोग और पाठोंमें अब भी काफ़ी अशुद्धियाँ विद्यमान हैं, खासकर जैन आगमोंके प्रयोग और पाठोंकी तो अनर्गल अशुद्धियाँ रही हैं। इनका किसी जैन आगमज्ञ और प्राकृतभाषाभिज्ञ विद्वानसे परिमार्जन विना कराये इसका दूसरा संस्करण न निकाला जाय। शब्दोंकी सूचीको कुछ विस्तृत रूप दिया जाय एवं ग्रन्थ और ग्रन्थकारोंके नामोंके परिशिष्ट भी दिये जाय।

### साहित्यका प्रकाशन

आधुनिक संशोधन पद्धतिसे प्रकाशनकार्य दीर्घकालसे चल रहा है किन्तु अभी तक समग्र जैन आगमोंकी संशोधित आवृत्ति हमें नहीं मिली यह दुःखका विषय है फिर भी पिछले वर्षोंमें विद्वानोंका इस ओर विशेष ध्यान गया है यह निर्विवाद है। प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटीकी योजना समग्र आगमोंको उनकी टीकाओंके साथ प्रकाशित करना यह बनी ही है और



वह अपना कार्य उचित ढंगसे कर रही है। किन्तु विशेष हर्ष इस बातका है कि महावीर जैनविद्यालय बंबईने भी अपनी एक योजना शुरू करदी है; जिसमें समग्र आगमोंका मूलमात्र २० भागोंमें प्रकाशित होगा। इन आगमोंका संपादन आधुनिक संशोधन पद्धतिसे ही होनेवाला है। यह जानकारी भी मैं आपके समक्ष रखना चाहता हूँ।

मुनिश्री अमरचंद्रजी तथा मुनिश्री कनैयालालजी द्वारा संपादित निशीथसूत्र-चूर्णिके चारों भाग प्रकाशित हो गये हैं। चौथे भागमें पं० दलसुखभाई मालवणियाकी प्रस्तावना है। यह प्रकाशन आगमोंके छेद-विभागकी कमीको संपूर्ण करता है। मुनिद्वयका इस दिशामें प्रयत्न नया है अतएव संपादनकी क्षतियोंके विषयमें हम विशेष कहना उचित नहीं समझते किन्तु उनके सत्साहसकी प्रशंसा करेंगे। इस लिये कि बहुत समयसे विद्वानोंकी इस ग्रन्थके विषयमें जो जिज्ञासा जागृत थी किन्तु ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित नहीं होनेसे विद्वान् उसके अध्ययनसे वंचित थे। इस कमीकी पूर्ति इन्होंने की है।

श्रीविजयमुनि द्वारा हिन्दीमें अनूदित होकर पं० श्री बेचरदासजीकी तथा संपादक उक्त मुनिकी प्रस्तावना, परिशिष्टोंके साथ अनुत्तरोपपातिकदशा (सटीक) का जो प्रकाशन हुआ है वह एक अच्छे संपादनका नमूना है, इसमें संदेह नहीं।

सूयगढांगसूत्रकी श्रीसाधुरंगकृत दीपिकाका संपादन मुनिश्री बुद्धिसागरने किया है और दे० ला० सुरत द्वारा उसका प्रकाशन हुआ है यह प्रथम भाग प्रथम श्रुतस्कन्ध पर्यंत प्रकाशित हुआ है।

चैत्यवंदनसूत्रकी श्रीहरिभद्राचार्यकृत ललितविस्तरावृत्तिका विस्तृत गुजराती भाषान्तर श्री डॉ० भगवानदासने बहुत सुंदर किया है और प्रकाशन जैनएसोशिएशनने किया है। पं० श्री भद्रकरविजयजी और पं० श्रीभानुविजयजीने भी अपने अपने ढंगसे इस ललितविस्तरा ग्रन्थका अनुवाद



बड़ी योग्यताके साथ किया है, जो अध्ययन करने वालोंके लिये बहुत उपयुक्त है।

नमस्कारमंत्रके विषयमें प्राकृत भाषामें जो लिखा गया है उसका संग्रह करके गुजराती अनुवादके साथ 'नमस्कार स्वाध्याय' के नामसे जैन-साहित्यविकासमंडलने प्रकाशित किया है जिज्ञासुके लिये यह एक अच्छा संग्रह साबित होगा।

आगमप्रकाशनके पूर्वप्रयत्न जो हुए हैं वे अपने क्षेत्रमें बहुमूल्य हैं किन्तु उनसे आधुनिक जिज्ञासुका काम नहीं चलता। आजकल स्थान-कवासी संप्रदायके श्री आचार्य घासीलालजी हिन्दी-गुजराती अनुवादके साथ आगमोंका प्रकाशन कर रहे हैं किन्तु बिना मूलपाठोंकी शुद्धि और संकलनके ये प्रयत्न अधूरे ही साबित होंगे और विद्वद्भोग्य तो बनेंगे ही नहीं। श्री घासीलालजी नई संस्कृत टीकाओंका भी निर्माण करके अपने आगमोंमें दे रहे हैं। ये टीकाएं प्राचीनटीकाओंका आधार ले कर तो रची गई हैं किन्तु ऋणस्वीकार नहीं और अनेक स्थलोंमें अपना मनमाना अर्थ करके अपने संप्रदायकी इष्ट बातोंका समावेश भी बिना किसी आधारके टीकाओंमें कर देते हैं। उनकी यह प्रवृत्ति विद्वानोंको भ्रममें डालनेवाली है। टीकाओंमें सैद्धान्तिक क्षतियां भी नज़र आती हैं।

कलकत्ता युनिवर्सिटी द्वारा श्रीपूरणचन्द्र शामसुखा तथा श्री अजितरंजन भट्टाचार्य द्वारा बंगला भाषामें उत्तराध्ययनका २३ अध्ययन तक अनुवाद प्रकाशित हुआ है वह उस दिशामें अच्छा प्रयत्न है।

आगमोंमें तथा उनकी प्राकृत-संस्कृत-प्राचीन टीकाओंमें भारतीय इतिहासकी जो बहुविध सामग्री है उसका संकलन आगमकोषके रूपमें लालभाई दलपतभाई भारतीय संस्कृति विद्यामंदिरमें हो रहा है। उस कोषका प्रथम भाग प्राकृत विशेषनामोंके संकलनके रूपमें होगा और उसके बाद विविधविषयोंके शब्दोंका संग्रह किया जायगा-यह शुभ संवाद भी मैं आपके समक्ष रखनेमें आनंदका अनुभव करता हूँ।



सिद्धान्तग्रंथ षट्खंडागम-धवला तथा कसायपाहुड जयधवला के प्रकाशनका कार्य बड़े परिश्रमसे किया गया है और अब वह पूरा हो गया है यह जान कर संतोष होता है। इसके लिये डा० हीरालालजी तथा प० कैलाशचन्द्रजी और प० फुलचंदजी आदि हमारे धन्यवादके पात्र हैं।

अन्य प्राकृत और जैनग्रन्थोंके प्रकाशनमें जो बहुमूल्यग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुए हैं उनमेंसे कुछका निर्देश यहां मैं कर देता हूँ।

डॉ० ए. एन. उपाध्येने स्वामिकार्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षाको सुसंपादित किया है इतना ही नहीं किन्तु उसकी विद्वत्तापूर्ण प्रस्तावनामें उन्होंने अनुप्रेक्षाके विषयमें ऐतिहासिक और तुलनात्मक दृष्टिसे विवेचन किया है। अनुप्रेक्षाके साहित्यका परिचय तथा लेखक और टीकाकारके विषयमें भी खोजपूर्ण सामग्री दी है।

प० अमृतलाल भोजक द्वारा सुसंपादित 'चउप्पन्न महापुरिस चरिय' का प्रकाशन प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटीने किया है इसकी प्रस्तावना संपादकके उपरांत डा० ब्रुनने भी लिखी है इसमें जैनो द्वारा मान्य चौवन महापुरुषोंके चरितका वर्णन महापुरुषोंके चरितका वर्णन होनेसे उसकी सामग्रीका ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिसे मूल खोजनेका प्रयत्न डॉ० ब्रूनने किया है और वैसे चरितोंकी जो विविध परंपराएं हैं उनका तुलनात्मक विश्लेषण भी किया गया है। प० अमृतलालने अपनी प्रस्तावनामें लेखक शीलांकके परिचयके अतिरिक्त, ग्रन्थकी भाषा और वस्तुकी विशेषताकी ओर भी विद्वानोंका ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। विविधविषयोंके परिशिष्ट संपादककी पैनी दृष्टि और परिश्रमको सूचित करते हैं।

डा० उपाध्ये द्वारा संपादित कुवलयमाला उनके दीर्घकालीन अध्य-वसाय और परिश्रमके फलके रूपमें हमारे समक्ष हैं। प्राकृत कथासाहित्यका यह अनमोल रत्न डा० उपाध्येकी संपादनकलाका भी सिरमौर बनकर रहेगा इसमें संदेह नहीं।



डा० भायाणी संपादित 'पउम चरिउ' का तृतीय भाग प्रकाशित हो जानेसे अपभ्रंशकी यह रामकथा अब संपूर्ण उपलब्ध हो गई है। डा० भायाणीने अपने इस प्रकाशनसे अपभ्रंश प्रेमी विद्वानों को अपभ्रंशके शास्त्रीय संपादनका सुंदर नमूना पेश किया है। प्रस्तावनामें उन्होंने प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थगत छन्दोंका विश्लेषण किया है।

कुमारी प्रतिमा त्रिवेदी द्वारा संपादित होकर 'नम्मया सुंदरी कहा' सिंघीजैनग्रन्थमालासे प्रकाशित हुई है।

प्राकृत टेक्स्ट सोसायटीसे 'प्राकृतपैंगलम्' का डा० भोलाशंकर व्यास द्वारा संपादित होकर हिन्दी अनुवादके साथ प्रकाशन हुआ है तथा डा० वेलणकर द्वारा संपादित हेमचन्द्रके छन्दोनुशासन का प्रकाशन सिंघी जैन सिरिज़में हुआ है, ये दोनों छन्दोग्रन्थ महत्त्वके हैं और दुर्लभ थे अतएव उनका यह पुनः संस्करण आदरपात्र है।

भद्रबाहुसंहिताके नामसे फलित ज्योतिषका संस्कृत श्लोकबद्ध संकलन जो किसी अज्ञात व्यक्तिने किया है उसका हिन्दी विवेचनके साथ प्रो० नेमिचन्द्र जैन द्वारा संपादित होकर भारतीय ज्ञानपीठसे प्रकाशन हुआ है।

आनंदका विषय है कि नयचक्रका संपादन जो आचार्य विजयलब्धिसूरि द्वारा शुरू हुआथा वह अब चार भागोंमें संपूर्ण हो चुका है, इससे विद्वानोंको जैनदर्शनका एक प्राचीनग्रन्थ सहजमें उपलब्ध हुआ है, इसमें संदेह नहीं।

प्राकृत साहित्यके सुसंकलित इतिहासकी कमी अखरती रही किन्तु डा० जगदीशचन्द्र जैनने उस कमीको पूरा किया है। अभी हालमें ही उनका 'प्राकृत साहित्यका इतिहास' प्रकाशित हुआ है। इस इतिहाससे विद्वानोंका ध्यान प्राकृतभाषाकी विविधविषयोंकी समृद्धिकी ओर जायगा



तथा प्राकृत भाषाके अध्ययनको विशेष बल मिलेगा इसमें संदेह नहीं। परिशिष्टमें डा० जैनने अलंकारग्रन्थोंमें आनेवाले प्राकृतपद्योंका संकलन तथा हिन्दी अनुवाद करके आलंकारिकोंकी बड़ी सहायता की है।

श्री शांतिनाथ जैन भंडारकी ताडपत्रीय हस्तप्रतोंका सूचीपत्र मेरे द्वारा संपादित होकर गायकवाडसिरिजमें प्रकाशित हुआ है उसमें मैंने हस्तप्रतोंके आदि और अंत भाग भी दिये हैं।

‘जैनपरंपरानो इतिहास’ का दूसरा भाग त्रिपुटी महाराज द्वारा प्रकाशित हुआ है उसमें विक्रम १२ वीं से लेकर १४ वीं शताब्दी तकके जो जैनाचार्यादि हुए हैं उनकी माहिती दी गई है।

मुनिश्री विशालविजयजी द्वारा विविधजैनतीर्थों के परिचय देनेवाली जो अनेक पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हुई हैं वे ये हैं—श्रीकुंभारियाजी तीर्थ, श्रीभीलडिया पार्श्वनाथजी तीर्थ, श्रीराधनपुर प्रतिमालेख संग्रह। इनमें तत्त्व तीर्थोंका इतिहास देनेका अच्छा प्रयत्न हुआ है।

सिंधीजैनसिरिज द्वारा मुनिश्री जिनविजयजी द्वारा संपादित “विज्ञप्ति लेख संग्रह-प्रथम भाग” प्रकाशित हुआ है। इसमें विक्रम १४४१ से लेकर १८ वींके प्रारंभ तकके उपलब्ध विज्ञप्ति लेख दिये हैं।

श्री पूरणचन्द्र शामसुखाने जैनसाहित्यकी जो सेवा की है उसका समादर करनेके लिये ‘श्रीपूरणचन्द्र शामसुखा अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ’ प्रकाशित हुआ है, उसमें उनके विषयमें कई विद्वानोंने लेख लिखे हैं साथ ही स्वयं शामसुखाजीके लेखोंका भी संग्रह किया गया है। ‘Reality’ के नामसे पूज्यपाद आचार्यकी तत्त्वार्थटीका सर्वार्थसिद्धिका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद प्रो० एस्. ए. जैनने किया है और वीरशासन संघने प्रकाशित किया है, पुस्तकके प्रकाशनसे अंग्रेजीमें जैनधर्मके साहित्यमें एक विशिष्ट ग्रंथका समावेश हुआ है।



पं० श्री सुखलालजीकी प्रमाणमीमांसाकी प्रस्तावनाका तात्त्विक अंश तथा प्रमाणमीमांसाके टिप्पणोंका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद 'Advanced Studies in Indian Logic and Metaphysics' के नामसे प्रकाशित हुआ है। वह पंडितजीकी प्रतिभा और उनके भारतीयदर्शनोंके तुलनात्मक अध्यनकी झलक विद्वानोंको देगा ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है।

डा० उमाकान्त शाहकी पुस्तक 'Akota Bronzes' बंबई सरकारके पुरातत्त्वविभागने प्रकाशित की है वह छठीसे लेकर ग्यारहवीं शताब्दीकी धातु-शिल्प कलामें जैनों द्वारा जो योगदान है उसका अच्छा परिचय देती है और कलाके क्षेत्रमें इस वर्षका उत्तम प्रकाशन है।

छेदग्रन्थोंके आधार पर डा० देवने Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence के विषयमें जो तीन व्याख्यान दिये थे उनका पुस्तकरूपमें प्रकाशन जैन कल्चरल सोसायटीने किया है इसमें जैनमुनिओं के विनयको संक्षेपमें प्रदर्शित किया गया है।

अन्तमें अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करते हुए आप विद्वानोंसे अभ्यर्थना करता हूं कि-मेरे वक्तव्यमें अपूर्णता रही हो उसके लिये क्षमा करें। साथ ही मेरे वक्तव्यको आप लोगोंने शान्तिपूर्वक सुना है इसके लिये आपको धन्यवाद। साथ ही मैं चाहता हूं कि हमारी इस विद्यापरिषद् द्वारा समान भावपूर्वक संशोधनका जो प्रयत्न हो रहा है उससे विशुद्ध आर्यधर्म, शास्त्र, साहित्य एवं समस्त भारतीय प्रजाकी विशद दृष्टिके साथ तात्त्विक अभिवृद्धि-समृद्धि हो।



## SECTION VIII : HISTORY

D. R. MANKAD

Friends,

I am deeply indebted to the All-India Oriental Conference for having done me this honour by electing me as the President of this section.

In his Presidential address delivered at the last Indian History Congress, December 1960, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal had, while surveying studies in Indian history, only this to say (p. 14) about Purāṇic studies in modern times :

“A reconstruction of the Royal genealogies and chronology of the Vedic Age based entirely or partially on the Purāṇic data has likewise been attempted by Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition), S. N. Pradhan (Chronology of Ancient India), H. C. Raychaudhary (Political History of Ancient India), A. D. Pusalkar (The Vedic Age), and P. L. Bhargava (India and the Vedic Age).”

Perhaps, Dr. Ghoshal had no time or it was out of his scope, but he omitted to take notice of many more attempts that had been made in Purāṇic studies. I have, therefore, chosen for my today's address the subject of “Studies in Purāṇic History, Genealogies and Chronology in modern times.” In doing so, I shall not enter into controversies, but shall state the results obtained by various scholars about Purāṇic History etc. I shall do this under four sections :—(1) Textual Reconstruction, (2) Historical Reconstruction, (3) Genealogical Reconstruction and (4) Chronological Reconstruction.

### 1. TEXTUAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. Pargiter, in his ‘Dynasties of Kali Age’ (1913), has collected Purāṇic texts concerning Kali dynasties, i.e. the dynasties starting just after the Mahābhārata war and coming upto the rise of the Guptas. His method of fixing the text has been eclectic, but he has quoted more recensions wherever he thought it



necessary. He has also noted every available reading both from the printed editions and the manuscripts collected by him. This has preserved all the available evidence for us.

2. Kirfel in his 'Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (Bonn, 1927) did the same work as was done by Pargiter for the extended purpose of giving Purāṇic texts of the five lakṣhanas, viz. Sarga, Pratisarga, Manvantara, Vamśa, and Vamśānucarita. Whereas Pargiter had to collate from only five Purāṇas, Kirfel had to collate from about nine Purāṇas. But Kirfel's foot-note material is not as rich as Pargiter's.

All the same, these two are very able pioneering efforts in Purāṇic textual reconstruction. Kirfel also collated texts on Bhāratavarṣa but that is geography. Unfortunately this has not been followed up. Only the recently started Kashi Raj Trust gives hopes in this direction. They have undertaken a critical edition of Matsya Purāṇa and Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā at Ahmedabad have started work on a critical edition of Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

The text of the Yuga-purāṇa, a historical chapter from Gārgīśamhitā has been edited by K. P. Jayswal, 1928, K. H. Dhruva, 1930 and D. R. Mankad 1951.

The question whether the original Purāṇas were written in Prakrit has been discussed by Pargiter, A. B. Dhruva, Pusalkar and others.

## 2. HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

This was first attempted by Sir William Jones in A. D. 1793, when he declared that the name of the Magadhan ruler contemporary of Alexander was Chandragupta Maurya. Colonel Wilford took up this theme and later till the present day, this theme has been relied upon and strengthened by a number of scholars of ancient Indian History. And in this light, Purāṇic dynasties of Śaiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvas and Āndhras have been studied.

Then came Pargiter's great attempt in A. D. 1922, when he, in his 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' undertook the study of traditional and historical materials available in the various Purāṇas. This he did from the very beginning of Purāṇic history—the dynasty of Svāyambhuva Manu. He has established a



number of synchronisms and his contribution has been invaluable in drawing our attention particularly to the period prior to the Pradyotas and Śaiśunāgas. It is he, who for the first time, proved that Purāṇas preserve genuine historical materials, which, when used with discretion, can yield important results. Results obtained by him are well-known and I need not re-tell them here.

H. C. Raychaudhary, in his 'Political History of Ancient India' (A. D. 1923) took up detailed studies of the Purāṇic dynasties of Śaiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas and Maurya families. He supplemented these studies by a detailed study of Buddhistic, Jain and Brahmanic sources. His studies have been, now, recognised as standard and authoritative.

Dr. Sita Nath Pradhan, in his 'Chronology of Ancient India' (1927) took up this inquiry further and studied the Purāṇic dynasties from the period of Rāma to Kṛṣṇa in detail. He also included post-Mahābhārata dynasties of Bārhadrathas, Śiśunāgas, Pradyotas, Nandas and Mauryas in his studies. His work is very important and shows original insight. He has been able to establish many historical synchronisms, which Pargiter could not. He has, at places, corrected Pargiter's synchronisms. His singular achievement is his study of kings Divodāsa and Nala Naiṣadha. He has unmistakably established that Divodāsa Atithigva of the Ṛgveda was the same as Divodāsa of the Purāṇas and that he was the contemporay of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma. Another important point established by him is that Nala Naiṣadha was the father-in-law of the Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi Mudgala, the grand father of Divodāsa.

Pusalkar in *The Vedic Age*, 1952, gives a connected history of ancient India from Manu Vaivasvata to the Bhārata War and later. He has utilised the Purāṇic genealogies and has tried to reconstruct the history dynasty-wise : 'It is for the first time that pre-Bhārata history of India is thus included in a book of Indian History. In his 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas' (1958) he has studied the question of Śrīkṛṣṇa's historicity, which he has proved. He has also established the identity of Vedic Kuruśravaṇa with Purāṇic Kurusaṃvaraṇa. He has also surveyed Purāṇic studies in modern times.

---

1. *Vedic Age*, pp. 270 ff.



A. S. Altekar in his Presidential address at the Archaic section of the Indian History Congress (Calcutta) studied certain Purāṇic names and came to the conclusion that 'there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Purāṇic genealogies of pre-Pāṇḍava period for reconstructing contemporary history after taking all due precautions.' He has also said that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Śaiśunāgas or the Mauryas or the Nandas.

Shri Rangaya Raghava, in his Hindi book 'Prācīna Bhāratiya Paramparā aur Itihāsa' (1954) has given a detailed account of Purāṇic history under the periods which he has called Kirāta-Deva-Asura-Yuga, Satyayuga, Tretāyuga, Dvāparayuga, Kaliyuga etc. He has utilised Purāṇic materials in great details. He has based his work on Pargiter, but has differed from him on several points. His is an attempt which takes Pargiter's researches further. His chapter on Kirāta-Deva Asura-Yuga is a noteworthy contribution.

P. L. Bhargava in his 'India in the Vedic Age' (Lucknow 1956) has studied the Purāṇic materials in detail for the purpose of reconstructing pre-Bhārata war period. He has tried to establish agreement between Vedic and Purāṇic traditions and thus has tried to establish several synchronisms which Pargiter could not and then he has tried to give the history of ancient India from Manu Vaivasvata to Bhārata War. He has tried to study the question of Āryan advent and expansion in India. His view<sup>1</sup> that 'the story of the flood, which is undoubtedly connected with the migration of the Āryas, suggests by a reference to Manu's descent on the northern mountain that the Āryas originally lived near some mountain range to the north of Saptasindhu, from where they descended into the plains of Saptasindhu, being compelled by a flood. That this mountain range was either the Hindukush or the north western part of the Himalayas is the only conclusion that a student of Purāṇas can arrive at. I myself have held this view for a long time past.'<sup>2</sup>

---

1. India in the Vedic Age, p. 26.

2. He seems to be ignorant of the views of S. N. Pradhan and even Raychaudhary. He is also unaware of the 'Purāṇic Chronology.'



Shri Jayachandra Vidyalamkara (Bhāratīya Itihāsa ki Rūparekhā), Shri Bhagavaddatta (Bhāratavarṣa kā Itihāsa), Shri Rangacharya (Pre-Mussalman India) have also tried to reconstruct Purāṇic history from the days of Manu Vaivasvata downwards.

K. P. Jayaswal, in his 'History of India' 150 A. D. to 350 A. D. studied the Vākāṭaka and Nāga dynasties.

Shri S. K. Pillai, in his 'Vedic History' (set in Chronology), Allahabad 1959, has utilised Vedic and Purāṇic materials and has tried to trace historical details of the Ṛṣis and kings that ruled in Vedic Age.

### 3. CENEALOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Purāṇic genealogies of the Maurya, Śuṅgas, Kāṇva and Āndhra dynasties have been studied by a number of scholars in modern times and their results are, now, commonly accepted. These studies have shown that out of 9 or 10 Purāṇic names of the Mauryas, those of Chandragupta, Bindusāra, Aśoka, Samprati, and Śāliśuka are corroborated by other evidences. Similarly, out of ten Purāṇic names of Śuṅgas, those of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Bhāgabhadra are corroborated by other evidences. So also out of the Purāṇic names of the Kāṇvas and Āndhras, some are corroborated and others are not.

K. P. Jayaswal<sup>1</sup> made a good study of the Bhāraśivas, Vākāṭakas and Nāgas and he established with the help of numismatic and other materials that these were real dynasties that actually ruled. Purāṇas name certain kings of these dynasties and he proved their historicity. He also ventured identifications of certain king-names from other sources. In this connection, I have postulated<sup>2</sup> that the Puranic Viśvasphurji (with various spellings) is the same as Samudragupta.

---

1. History of India from 150 A. D. to 350 A. D. (1933)  
Chapts. 2-4

2. Purāṇic Chronology (=PC) pp. 268 ff.



Jayaswal, with the help of the Yuga Purāṇa which he edited for the first time, showed that Śāliśuka of the Purāṇic Maurya dynasty was a real king and that Indo-Greek rule of Demetrius and others was proved by this small Purāṇa. The present writer also edited<sup>1</sup> Yuga Purāṇa, with the help of a fresh Ms. and showed the following :—

It will be seen that according to this Purāṇa, the following is the sequence of events. (1) Śāliśuka i.e. the Mauryas. (2) After the Mauryas, at Sāketa ruled seven kings in succession and at Magadha ruled, at first, the five allied governors, then came anarchy, then a Śaka king and then, the four kings Amlāṭa and others. (3) Then came Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, who replaced, at Sāketa, the rule of the seven kings and at Magadha, the dynasty of Amlāṭa (4) Then ruled three more Śuṅga kings. (5) Then a king ruled for 10 years. (6) And lastly, the Śakas overran the whole land.

This means that the Śuṅgas did not immediately follow the Mauryas, but between them there was a gap caused by foreign rule and anarchy. The evidence of the Yuga-Purāṇa makes it clear that there was a period at Magadha between the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, during which no indigenous independent native king ruled there. In other words, it was a period of foreign rule and of disorder.

Similarly, if this Purāṇa is to be believed, the Kāṇvas did not follow the Śuṅgas immediately, but soon after the Śuṅgas, the Śakas overran the Northern India.

There are detailed studies made by several scholars about the Āndhras i.e. the Sātavāhanas.

Jayaswal postulated<sup>2</sup> that Candasena of the play Kaumudī-mahotsava was the same as Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and in my opinion this hypothesis of Jayaswal has never been

---

1. Yuga Purāṇa edited by D. R. Mankad, Vallabhvidyanagar, 1951.

2. History of India, pp. 113-4; 116-18.



really disproved. It has been supported by me,<sup>1</sup> Dasharatha Sharma,<sup>2</sup> Sethna<sup>3</sup> and others.

Thus the Purāṇic genealogies from the Mauryas to the Guptas have been studied well.

Then we take up the pre-Mauryan period of the Nandas, the Pradyotas, the Śaiśunāgas.

H. C. Raychaudhary has established<sup>4</sup> that Purāṇic Pradyota and Śaiśunāga dynasties were not lineal but were collateral, that the Purāṇic Śaiśunāga dynasty was a composite dynasty, that this dynasty really started with Bimbisāra and not with Śiśunāga, that the Bimbisāra family was called Haryāṅkakula, that Bimbisāra and his successors Ajātaśatru, Udāyi, Anuruddha Muṇḍā and Nāga Dāsaka (same as Darśaka) ruled in Magadha and that Śiśunāga's successor Purāṇic Kākavarṇa was the same as Kālāsoka of the Ceylonese chronicles.

S. N. Pradhan carried these studies further and showed<sup>5</sup> that the first two names of the Purāṇic Śaiśunāga genealogy, viz. Śiśunāga and Kākavarṇa were the same as the last two names of this dynasty, viz. Nandivardhana and Mahānandi and that Śiśunāga of this dynasty, Viśākhayūpa of the Pradyota dynasty, Sumitra of the Aikṣvāka dynasty and Kṣemaka of the Aila dynasty were all at the same step and therefore contemporaries.

To this I have added<sup>6</sup> that the Purāṇic Kalki, who started the new Kṛta Age and who was later taken as an Avatāra, was a contemporary of these for kings, viz. Śiśunāga, Viśākhayūpa, Sumitra and Kṣemaka.

About the Nandas, D. R. Bhandarkar identified Purāṇic Mahānanda with Ugrasena of the Jain literature and Raychau-

---

1. PC pp. 259 ff.

2. IHQ.

3. *Mother India*, Aug. 1956 ff.

4. Political History of Ancient India, 1950; pp. 115-6 ; 222-3.

5. Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 211 ff.

6. PC pp. 78 ff.



dhary<sup>1</sup> and Pradhan<sup>2</sup> accepted this view. These writers seem to accept the Buddhist statements as also Purāṇic statements that ten sons of Kālāśoka ruled for 22 years and then the nine Nandas starting with Mahāpadma ruled for another 22 years. In this connection I have said<sup>3</sup> that Mahānanda (same as Kālāśoka) had 9 descendents who were Nandas and I have explained their period differently and have showed that then came Mahāpadma and his son, who together ruled for 86 years.

Purāṇic Bṛhadratha genealogy is hardly studied by any scholar. There is a paucity of corroborative evidence for this period. I have, however, shown<sup>4</sup> that at one time, Bārhadhratha dynasty list had included the names of Kṣemadhanvā and Kṣatraujāḥ, who are now found in the Śaiśunāga list.

Coming to the Mahābhārata level, Raychowdhary has examined<sup>5</sup> the question of Parīkṣit and has concluded that the two Parīkṣits, Purāṇic and Vedic, are identical.

For the pre-Mbh. genealogies, there is no serious effort made with the sole exception of Pradhan.<sup>6</sup> He has, first,<sup>7</sup> fixed the contemporaneity of Daśaratha and Divodāsa and has then examined and reconstructed pre-Mbh. genealogies upto the level of Rāma Dāśarathi. He has ably shown that there were 14 or 15 generations from Rāma to Śrīkṛṣṇa in all the lines he has examined. He has examined the following lines:—Yādava, Vīṭahavya, Magadha, Hastināpura, North and South Pāñcāla, Aṅga, Ikṣvāku, Janaka, South Kośala and Kāśī—and in all these lines he has shown that from the kings who were contemporaries of Daśaratha to the kings who were contemporaries of Śrīkṛṣṇa there were 14 or 15 names. He has also shown<sup>7</sup> that the Aikṣvāka King Daśaratha,

1. PHAI pp. 229-38. 2. CAI p. 225. 3. PC p. 87. 4. PC p. 76.

5. PHAI pp. 12-21. 6. CAI pp. 3 ff. 7. CAI p. 30.



the father of Rāma, the Northern Pāñcāla king Atithigva Divodāsa, the brother of Ahalyā, Senajit, the southern Pāñcāla king, Sārvabhauma and Ṛkṣa II, the sons of Vidūratha of the Hastinapura line, Kṛta, the father of Uparicara Vasu whose descendent Br̥hadratha I founded the kingdom of Magadha, Romapāda Daśaratha of the dynasty of Aṅga, Sīradhvaja Janaka the father of Sītā, king Satvanta of the Yadu dynasty and the father Vīta-havya, the Haihaya—all these ten kings belonged to the same age, namely the age of Divodāsa. He has also obtained a number of incidental results which are of great value in the reconstruction of our pre-Mbh. period. I have examined<sup>1</sup> the pre-Mbh. Ayodhyā line from Vaivasvata Manu and have confirmed the view of Pradhan that the kings from Puṣya to Br̥hadbala were collateral (and not lineal) to the kings from Kuśa to Śaṅkhaṇa. I have put the number of Rāma Dāsarathi to be 57th from Manu Vaivasvata and that of Śrutāyu and Br̥hadbala to be 71st, thus taking 14 generations from Rāma to Kṛṣṇa.

This Ikṣvāku dynasty has also been examined by Shri Rai Krisnadas (Purāṇa Vol. II. No. 1-2). He has proposed some reconstruction of this dynasty.

Reconstruction of this as well as other pre-Mbh. Purāṇic genealogies is still to be made from the point of the references to some of these kings that we get in the Vedic and Epic literature. In this connection, I should point out that I have reached some other conclusions regarding the method of reconstructing Purāṇic genealogies. I have shown in my Purāṇic chronology that Manu was a dynastic title and Manvantara meant a dynastic period and taking these senses as well as some clues furnished by Megasthenes and

- 
1. PC p. 341 ff.
  2. PC p. 341 ff. Subsequently, there has been a change in my view. I have realised that originally the distance between Manu and Rāma was of about ten generations and that between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa of 3 or 4 generations. The present Purāṇic genealogies are arranged as they are today for the specific purpose of following the Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method, which I have explained in my Purāṇic Chronology.



Herodotus into consideration, I have found that all our present Purāṇic genealogies upto the Nandas and even later have been constructed in an arbitrary and artificial method, which I have designated as Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method(=MCM). According to this method, one king-name in the genealogical lists represents a time-unit of 40 years or sometimes of 20 years.

Thus the succession list, which is given in the Purāṇas, is not reliable *as such*, but this also is certain that a name mentioned in the Purāṇic genealogies generally guarantees the existence of that person as a king, not necessarily in the same chronological or successive order but most probably in the same family.

#### 4. CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

We generally divide Purāṇic genealogies thus: Pre-Mbh. genealogies, post-Mbh. genealogies upto the Nandas and Post-Nanda genealogies. Purāṇas do not give periods for the reigns of kings of the Pre-Mbh genealogies. But for the post-Mbh genealogies they give total regnal period for each of the dynasties as also individual regnal period of each of the kings of all these periods. They also give a general computation twice, from Parīkṣit to Nanda and from Nanda to Āndhra - end.

Out of the post-Mbh. dynasties, those which are post-Nanda are studied well, even from the point of view of their chronology but the chronology of the pre-Nanda period is hardly studied. I shall not go into the details of the chronological studies [made by various scholars for the post-Nanda period. But I shall, here, give details of the studies of the most debatable question of the Purāṇic chronology, that of the synchronism between Alexander the Great and Chandragupta Maurya. Sir William Jones and almost all the modern scholars agree that Sandrocottus, who was a contemporary of Alexander, was Chandragupta Maurya, while, a small group of scholars have held that the Magadhan King, who was the contemporary of Alexander, was not Chandragupta Maurya, but Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty.

Troyer, in his Rājatarāṅgī, as early as A.D. 1858, advocated that Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty was the Magadha contemporary of Alexander. This has been supported by several other scholars also.



V. Gopal Ayyar (1901) in his 'The Chronology of Ancient India', T. S. Narayan Shastri (1915) in his 'Age of Śaṅkara and the Kings of Magadha', M. K. Acharya, A Somayajulu (1936) in his 'Dates of Ancient Indian History', M. Krishnamachariar (1936) in his 'Classical Sanskrit Literature', Kalyanananda Sarasvati, N. Jagannath Rao in his 'The Age of the Mahābhārata War', Kuppiah in his Ancient Indian History, D. R. Mankad (1951) in his 'Purāṇic Chronology' D. S. Trivedi in his various articles, Indranarayan Dwivedi in 'Vishal Bharata', Oct. 1954, Pt. Kota Venkatachalam in his various books, K. D. Sethna in the issue of 'Mother India' (1956 August ff.), G. C. Bose (1934) in his Bengali book 'Purāṇa Pravesha', Gulshan Ray, Subba Rao—all these writers have supported the stand taken by Troyer in 1858.

And yet, absolutely no notice has been taken of these views in any modern history of Ancient India, nor is this view ever referred to. These writers have built up their case by refuting all the usual arguments which are advanced in support of the view that Chandra-gupta Maurya was the Magadhan contemporary of Alexander. I shall briefly summarise the whole position here, without going much into individual views. There are certain crucial points in Purāṇic Chronology. One such point is that the Purāṇas start their chronology with Parīkṣit and from Parīkṣit to the beginning of the Nandas, they put 1500 years. This is borne out by counting the total regnal period given to Bārhadhrathas (1000), Pradyotas (138) and Śaiśunāgas (362), and also by referring to a verse<sup>3</sup> which expli-

1. (1) The Plot in Indian Chronology, 1953
- (2) Chronology of Nepal History, 1953
- (3) Chronology of Kashmir History, reconstructed, 1955
- (4) Indian Eras, 1956
- (5) Age of Buddha, Milinda and Antiyoka and Yuga Purāṇa, 1956.
- (6) The Historicity of Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana, 1957
- (7) Ancient Hindu History, Vols. I-II, 1957

2. महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः ।

एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चशतोत्तरम् ॥



citly says that from Parīkṣit to the beginning of Nandas, had elapsed a period of 1500 years.

Most of the modern scholars do not accept both these, while this small group of scholars does. It is usually objected that the local regnal periods given to these dynasties do not tally with the totals of regnal periods given to individual kings. Therefore these figures are not reliable. Similarly, the verse, which puts 1500 years between Parīkṣit and the Nandas, has some other readings for 1500, such as 1015, 1115, 1190. Generally, the scholars accept the lowest figures and explain the totals also that way. In so doing, they have often to put their own construction on the Purāṇic evidence. But this small group of scholars accept both the figures as they are given in the Purāṇas. This is one main point of difference in Purāṇic chronology.

Another crucial point is the use of certain eras. Purāṇic chronology is based on two eras—Kali Era and Saptarṣi Era. There is also a calculation based on Manvantara. Modern scholars completely ignore the evidence of these eras and of Manvantara.

According to the Purāṇic traditions, Kali Era started in B. C. 3101 and Saptarṣi Era in 3176 B. C. Now it is stated in the Purāṇas that Kali started on the day on which Kṛṣṇa died. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa's death will be put in 3101 B.C. and the Mbh. war will be dated a few years earlier, say in 3126 or 3136 B. C.

Purāṇic scholars have shown<sup>1</sup> that, according to the Purāṇas, Saptarṣi Era was in Maghā in the days of Parīkṣit and it was again in Maghā in the days of 24th or 27th Āndhra king. Saptarṣi Era is a cycle of 2700 years and therefore, according to this statement, 2700 years had elapsed from Parīkṣit to the 24th or 27th Āndhra.

Similarly : I have shown<sup>2</sup> on Purāṇic evidence that a Manvantara lasted for 2840 years and that a Manvantara had started with Parīkṣit and ended with the rise of the Guptas.

---

1. See Indian Eras by K. Venkatachalam, and PC pp. 322 ff. Pargiter's frantic efforts to explain away this are not at all convincing.

2. PC pp. 42 ff.



These calculations based on Saptarṣi Era and Manvantara calculations show that between Parīkṣit and the rise of the Guptas, about 2800 years had lapsed and putting Parīkṣit in 101 B. C., the rise of the Guptas falls in C. 300 B. C. According to the Purāṇas, Kali Era started at the death of Kṛṣṇa and therefore at the accession of Parīkṣit. Kali had ended in the days of Sumitra and Kṣemaka, i.e. in the days of Viśākhayūpa, the fourth king of the Pradyota dynasty. It has been shown<sup>1</sup> that this Kali Era was of 1200 years and though it had ended in the days of Sumitra and Viśākhayūpa, Kali Era continued and continues even to-day.

These calculations are corroborated by the total number of years assigned to various post-Mbh. dynasties upto the rise of the Guptas. These Purāṇic scholars, have worked out<sup>2</sup> details of these calculations very accurately.

Most of the modern scholars, on the other hand, do not consider these statements about these eras, but take as their basis of calculations the number of years given to various post-Mbh. dynasties: but they always select the smallest period, where two or more calculations are available and even then have to put their own construction at several places in order to make the Purāṇic figures fit in with their own chronology. Their method is this. Putting Chandragupta Maurya in c. 327 B. C. they go backwards and forwards and adjust the Purāṇic figures. They take Chandragupta Maurya's date—arrived at by them as the central point, while the Purāṇic scholars take traditional date of the Mbh. war as the central point.

Purāṇic scholars, who put about 2100 years between Parīkṣit and the rise of the Guptas, put Chandragupta the First Gupta as the contemporary of Alexander. These scholars have examined and refuted all these points<sup>3</sup> which, according to the present day chronology, militate against putting Chandragupta I in C. 320 B.C.

---

1. PC pp. 60 ff.

2. See particularly, K. Venkatachalam, T. S. Narayana Shastri, Mankad, V. Jagannath Rao and K. D. Sethna.

3. See particularly the writings of Kota Venkatachalam, T. S. N. Shastri, Mankad and Sethna.



These points are the mention of Yona kings in the Piyadasi inscriptions, date of Buddha's death, beginning of the Gupta Era as fixed by modern scholars to be in 318-19 A.D., Harṣa Era, Saka Era, Kṛta Era etc.<sup>1</sup>

Some attempts have been made to study the pre-Bhārata war chronology, but here the material is scanty and often uncertain. However, some attempts in this direction are noteworthy.

Pusalkar, in the Vedic Age, takes 3102 B. C., which is the usual date for Flood in Mesopotamia, to be the date of Manu Vaivasvata. He then divides the ancient Indian Historical periods thus: The Manu Vaivasvata period (3102) P. C., the Yayāti period (3000-2750 B. C.), the Paraśurāma Period (2550-2350 B. C.). The Rāmacandra Period (2350 B. C.-1950 B. C.), The Kṛṣṇa period (1950-1450 B. C.). His method is that of counting generations given in the Purāṇas by taking an average of 18 years for one ruling generation. He has taken 95 generations between Manu and the Bhārata war and thus has put the Bhārata war in  $3100 - (95 \times 18 = 1710) = \text{C. } 1400 \text{ B. C.}$

P. L. Bhargava<sup>2</sup> has divided the ancient period into Eras called the Era of Saptasindhu, the Era of Conquest, the Era of Expansion and the Era of Settlement. This is from the view-point of Aryan advent and expansion in India. His method of settling the ancient chronology is this: He takes his stand on the Purāṇic verse which says that 1050 (with v. l.) years had elapsed between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda. But he takes Parīkṣit of this verse, not to be that Parīkṣit who was the grandson of Arjuna, but to be that Parīkṣit who is given in the Paurava genealogy at an early stage. He takes<sup>3</sup> this Parīkṣit to be the same as Kuru the son of Saṃvaraṇa and as such to be the first king of the Kurus as separate from the Pāṇcālas.

- 
1. I must, however, say that the reference to the Yona kings in the Piyadasi Inscriptions has not been satisfactorily explained.
  2. India in the Vedic Age, p. 96 ff.
  3. Ibid p. 46.



Having called this Parīkṣit, Parīkṣit I, he puts 1050 years between the birth of the Parīkṣit I and Mahāpadma Nanda. And taking 360 B.C. as the date of the coronation of Mahāpadma, he puts<sup>1</sup> the birth of this Parīkṣit I in  $360 + 1050 = 1410$  B.C. He has, then, fixed his chronology by counting the generations of taking an average of 20 years for one ruling generation. He has taken 81 generations from Ikṣvāku to Parīkṣit I and thus putting the accession of Parīkṣit I in 1380 B.C. and adding to it  $81 \times 20 = 1620$  he gets 3000 B.C. as the date of Ikṣvāku. He puts the Bhārata war in 1000 B. C. putting it 32 generations before Mahāpadma.

Shri M. N. Yajnik in his "Genealogical Tables of the Solar and the Lunar Dynasties" Baroda, 1930 gave only from Viṣṇupurṇāa 12 dynasties and tried to fix up certain dates. He puts Manu Vaivasvata in 6000 B.C., Rāma in 3250 B.C. and Mbh. war in 1898 B.C.

S. C. Bose in his Puraṇā.Praveśa, Calcutta 1920 (in Bengali) has said that Kalpa is a cycle of 5000 years divided into 14 Manvantaras (one of 359 years and thirteen of 357 years each) as also four Yugas in proportion of 4:3:2:1. According to him Bhārata war took place in 1416 B.C. the beginning of the Kali Age was 1458 B. C. and of Kṛta Age 5958 B.C.

Pargiter examined the question of Purāṇic chronology on the basis of Yuga - calculations of Satya, Treta, Dvāpara and Kali. Some other scholars also have tried to examine the question of the Yugas<sup>2</sup>. Usually, Kali is given 4,32,000 years, Dvāpara is given 8,64,000 years, Tretā is given 17,28,000 years and Kṛta or Satya is given 34,56,000 years. These are considered Mānava years. When they are changed to Divya years, each of this period is divided by 360 and then Kali will have 1200 Divya years, Dvāpara 2400, Tretā 3600 and Kṛta 4800 Divya years. Some scholars have said that these are the real Mānava years, which were later taken as Divya. Again here the proportion is 1:2:3:4. It has been pointed

---

1. Ibid p. 128-29 ff.

2. Tilak (The Arctic Home), Rangacarya (The Yugas), V. S. Aiyer (The Chronology of Ancient India), S. B. Dikshit (Bharatiya Jyotissastra).



out<sup>1</sup> that originally the proportion was 1.1.1.1. and therefore each Yuga will have 1200 years and if we take out 200 years of the Sandhyā and Sandyāṁśa each Yuga will have 1000 years. Thus it has been shown<sup>2</sup> that from Manu Vaivasvata to Śīśunāga (Sumitra, Kalki), four Yugas i.e. 4000 years had elapsed. Thus the Yuga calculations are applied to ancient Purāṇic chronology.

Some other scholars have given some dates for Manu Vaivasvata and some other subsequent kings and events. I have given<sup>3</sup> some dates by using a method which I have called Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method.

Attempts have also been made<sup>4</sup> to equate some of the earlier Purāṇic dates with the dates in earlier Kashmirian and Nepalese genealogies.

Pradhan has put<sup>5</sup> 14 to 15 generations between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and has put about 300 years between them.

In Vaidika Sāhitya Pariśilana (1953) by Shri Rajnikant Shastri an attempt has been made to fix up the dates of principal Ṛgvedic ṛṣis, by connecting them with certain Purāṇic kings and counting the number of these kings. Thus Madhucchandas, the son of Viśvāmitra is taken as a contemporary of Hariścandra and as Hariścandra is removed upwards from Mbh. war by 61 king-units, his date is taken to be  $61 \times 25 : 1525$  i.e.  $1525 + 3101$  (date of Kali start) : 4626 B. C.

In my 'Date of Ṛgveda' (1951) I have also fixed the dates of Ṛgvedic ṛṣis on somewhat different lines.

Here ends my survey of these studies. It is likely that for want of information, I might not have been able to refer to other attempts in this direction, for which I beg to be excused.

---

1. BC pp. 320-1.

2. PC pp. 60 ff.

3. PC Ch. 2.

4. D. S. Trivedi, Pt. P. Venkatachalam, Mankad.

5. CAI in several chapters.



This survey of Purāṇic studies in modern times shows that the Purāṇas are now being recognised as an important source of ancient Indian History. Purāṇas had been already recognised for the period upto the Śaiśunāgas. Now several scholars have a tendency to recognise even the pre-Bhārata war period of the Purāṇas.

In this connection, I would point out here that though our studies, few as they are, stop at Manu Vaivasvata, the Purāṇas have a period which may be termed as pre-diluvian or pre-flood period. For this period, the Purāṇas have preserved the genealogy of Svāyambhuva Manu. This genealogy, though given as one continuous genealogy, is, in fact, composed of two or three branches, one starting with Svāyambhuva Manu and the other starting with Cākṣuṣa Manu. Moreover, there is a third genealogy - that of Priyavrata which, to some extent, can be called pre-diluvian. These pre-flood lines are not studied yet, but they deserve a close study. Pre-flood dynasties of Egypt, Babylon, Sumer etc. have been studied and they have yielded some results. Pre-flood, i.e. pre-Vaivasvata dynasties of India also are likely to yield good results. Again, Buddhistic Mahāvaṃśa, Dīpavaṃśa and the Jain Āgamas and their commentaries as well as what are called Jain Purāṇas are known to throw valuable light on the period of Buddha and Mahāvīra; but if used properly they are likely to throw good light on Bārhadhratha to Maurya dynasties. Some light is likely to be thrown on the pre-Bhārata period also.

Earlier Purāṇic materials are likely to throw light on the Harappan culture also.

In the end, I thank, once again, the authorities of the Oriental Conference for having done me this honour and all of you for hearing me so patiently.



## SECTION IX : ARCHAEOLOGY

DR. G. R. SHARMA

I am deeply grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for electing me the President of the Archaeology Section of the twenty-first Session, particularly as I am almost a stranger to this august body. I regard this as a recognition of the part the Indian universities have played in the development of archaeological studies in the country in recent years.

The last decade has witnessed a remarkable progress in the field of Indian archaeology which has resulted from the efforts of the Union Department of Archaeology, the universities and other agencies. In a vast country like India revealing traces of the habitation of man, continuous or intermittent, right from the Pleistocene, it is but natural that the archaeologist should have to grapple with numerous problems. In this address I shall attempt a brief review of the essential problems of Indian archaeology.

### PRE-HISTORY

#### The Palaeolithic

Studies in Indian pre-history are still in their infancy and Indian archaeology has failed so far even to present a tentative picture of the various stages of progress of early man in India. Two culture-complexes of the Palaeolithic have been recognised—the pebble-tool culture in northern regions and the hand-axe-cleaver culture in peninsular India. A number of new sites of either culture are reported every year extending thereby our knowledge of the Palaeolithic to a certain extent. However, the studies in the Palaeolithic have not made any substantial progress on account of certain serious limitations to our knowledge.

The first great hurdle in the path of real scientific progress is the absence of the knowledge of correct stratigraphy in the areas that are available for exploration. No proper study of the glacial cycles has yet been attempted, nor has even a preliminary attempt been made to establish a correlation between the glacial cycles and



the Stone Age industries. Similarly, in the tropical areas the problem of the pluvials and inter-pluvials has not yet received proper attention; their various formations have not been differentiated and no organised scientific attempt has been made to determine the correlation between them and the glacial cycles in the Himalayas. Likewise, no steps have been taken so far to work out the Pleistocene sea-levels. Work in the Palaeolithic field, therefore, lacks sound geological basis. The absence of even a working geological sequence has compelled the students of Pre-history to classify the Stone Age industries into Series I, II and III, chronologically as well as typologically. This provisional classification may be useful in the beginning but as our work advances, it is bound to prove an obstacle to further progress, unless these tools are reclassified and the groups representing different cultures are placed in their correct geological background. This applies more particularly to tools of Series II and III. Lack of proper definition has hindered progress of research in the Upper Palaeolithic in India. In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to give a distinctive definition of the Upper Palaeolithic and the transition from it to the Mesolithic. But there can be no doubt that both in the Upper Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic, man in India had considerably multiplied, as is shown by the abundance of the tool of Series II and III reported from different regions in the country.

The problem of the Mesolithic is further complicated by the survival of the microlithic industries upto a very late stage. Their association or non-association with pottery can hardly serve as a suitable, scientific datum for dividing them into Mesolithic, post-Mesolithic or later groups. Their chronological classification on the basis of geometrical or non-geometrical shapes is also not quite satisfactory.

The availability of African material in India is highly essential for a scientific study of the Upper Palaeolithic and the microlithic industries of this country. In all probability, Africa might have been subject to the same climatic and environmental conditions as India and the evidence of the Haemetic Negroid races from Langh-nāj may also suggest some racial affinity. As such, for the study of the Upper Palaeolithic and microlithic industries, it is more essential to study the African rather than the European materials



bearing on this problem. For this purpose some of our museums should be equipped with African antiquities.

The problem of engravings in the rock-shelters has also not received the attention it deserves. In the absence of scientific data it is difficult to describe all of them as pre-historic, though there are clear evidences to regard some of them as such. The presence of microliths in the caves themselves, and of the early Stone Age tools of Series I and II in their vicinity in some areas, together with the evidence of stages of evolution in the art of engraving, clearly bears out this point. So far as the question of the evolution of this primitive art is concerned, one of the striking illustrations may be cited from the Lekhanja cave in the Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh, where in the first stage animals are portrayed in coloured line-drawings in profile; in the second stage the whole body is in colour, and the use of more than one colour for the depiction of various figures characterises the last stage.

### The Neolithic

There are three distinct traditions in the Indian Neolithic. The first covers the Southern India-cum-Banda region and the second, eastern India; the third is known only since the discoveries at Burzahom made last year. The excavations at Burzahom with the discovery of the Neolithic culture of pit-dwellers using stone celts, bone implements and pottery of distinctive shapes and fabric have heralded a new fact of the Indian Neolithic. This culture has no parallels in India; evidently, it was confined to Kashmir with a possible extension over the trans-Himalayan regions.

The typical pointed-butt axe with lenticular and oval sections is the fossil type of the Neolithic culture-complex of which the type-sites are Sanganakallu, Brahmagiri, Piklihal etc. Tools of this culture have also been discovered from the Kaimur ranges, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. But the large collection in the British Museum from these areas has not been properly studied and the find-spots are not recorded. This area is very significant for the study of the Neolithic, as it may turn out to be the meeting ground of the southern and eastern Neolithic cultures.

The Neolithic cultures of Eastern India, i. e., Assam, Bengal and Bihar show strong influences from China, Burma and South-



east Asia. Some of the tool-types like the faceted tools, shouldered tools, splayed tools, bar chisels, thin-section broad axe etc. which comprise the Neolithic assemblage in eastern India, establish close links between this region, on the one hand, and China, particularly Yunnan, Burma and South-east Asia, on the other. The distribution of jadite implements offers another link between eastern India and south-western China. The analysis of tools further reveals the infiltration (or presence) of the peninsular Neolithic celts in varying proportions in the different areas of this zone.

The evidence of philology and anthropology is equally revealing, particularly when viewed against the Neolithic context. It has been generally accepted that there is a strong Mongoloid element in the population of eastern India represented at least by three distinct physical types—the long-headed Mongoloid mostly in Nepal and Assam, the short-headed Mongoloid and the Tibeto-Mongoloid. Generally, they are speakers of languages and dialects belonging to the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese speech family, e.g., (a) the north Assam group of Tibeto-Burman speeches (Aka or Hrusso, Miri-Abor, Dafla and Mishmi); (b) the Assam Burmese group, Tibeto-Burman speeches of North and East Bengal, Assam and Burma; these include (i) the Bodo Speeches—Bodo, Mech, Rabha, Garo, Kachari and Tipra and a few more; (ii) the Naga dialects—Ao, Angami, Sema, Tangkhul, Songtem etc., the Kuki-Chin speeches of Manipur, Tripura and the Lushi Hills as well as Burma; (iv) the Kachin-Lolo group of Northern Burma, and finally (v) the Myamma or Burmese, including its various dialects.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the cumulative evidence of archaeology, philology and anthropology, there seems to be considerable justification for assigning the Neolithic tool-types of Eastern India (with the exception of the pointed butt-axe with lenticular and oval section) to the various branches of the Mongoloid family. The Austro-Asiatics appear to be a better claimant for the authorship of the central and southern Neolithic celts with pointed butt-axe and oval and lenticular sections. This would imply the movement of the Austro-Asiatics from the Southern and Central India into Eastern India

1. S. K. Chatterjee, *J. R. A. S. B.*, 1950, pp. 160-61.



and also South-east Asia. However, there appears to be no justification for linking the movement of the Austro-Asiatics or the Mongoloids with the migration of Aryans into India and the dates proposed for the Neolithic in South-east Asia on that basis. These are interesting problems for the pre-history of this region the final solution of which can be provided only by more intensive work in the domain of archaeology, anthropology and philology.

The work that has so far been done in the field of the Indian Neolithic is but of elementary character. The beginning and end of the Neolithic and also the transition from it to the next stage of culture are some of the problems which are still shrouded in obscurity and so is the problem of its survival. From the stray finds of neolithic celts in certain sites of developed urban centres like Bhīṭā, Kauśāmbī, Ban-garh and Tāmluk, it is erroneous to argue that the Neolithic culture survived upto the 3rd or 2nd century B. C. These finds are nothing but curios that had accidentally strayed into these cities.

### PROTO-HISTORY

During the last decade, considerable work has been done in the domain of Proto-history extending considerably the boundaries of the Indus civilisation. The work has also resulted in the discovery of a number of cultures which were post-Harappan but were in some form or other derived from or influenced by the Indus civilisation. This has further necessitated a redefinition of the expression 'Indus civilisation' in the context of recent discoveries.

Some of the recently excavated sites have focussed attention on aspects of the Indus civilisation not known from its key sites. Even at sites like Rangpur of which the initial Harappan character is undoubted, certain new elements appear early in their history. Pottery from many sites in Saurāṣṭra has been described as sub-Indus and the entire culture-complex has been called Saurāṣṭrian Indus. In the light of this distinction it would be worthwhile to enquire into the position of such sites as Bārā, Ālamgīrpur and others in Rajasthan. The excavations carried out at Kālībaṅga last year have brought to light very significant evidence. While the site shows the same system of town-planning and possibly defences also as at Harappa, and although the occurrence of seals and other



typical Harappan material assign it to the Harappan complex, the co-occurrence with typical Harappan pottery of another type reported earlier from the pre-defence levels at Harappa and the lower levels of Kot Diji, and its gradual decrease in the upper levels at this site, present interesting problems. Does it indicate that here we have a phase of the Indus culture which is not recorded at Harappa or Mohenjo-daro and which occupies a position in between the one represented by the pre-defence pottery and the other by the earliest Harappan? Or does it offer evidence of the uprooting of various peoples, the Harappans and those represented by the pottery from the pre-defence levels at Harappa and Kot Diji from their respective settlements in the Punjab and Sindh and their resettlement in the valley of the Ghaggar and the consequent fusion of different cultures?

The story of the immediate sequel to the Indus civilisation is different in the Gaṅgā valley, on the one hand, and Western and Central India on the other. While the proto-historic successor cultures retained to a larger degree the Harappan inheritance in pottery, in painted designs and in flake blade industry, in Central and Western India they lost the other essential ingredients of Harappan culture that gave it its urban character, namely a developed town planning and all the paraphernalia thereof. In Northern India, on the other hand, there is evidence that the essential elements of Harappan architecture were bequeathed to the successor cultures and the opportunities provided by almost virgin and rich alluvial valley of the Gaṅgā, led to the development of urban centres on a scale unknown even in the Indus valley. The defences of Kauśāmbī bear testimony to this development. The paucity of lithic tools in the Gaṅgā valley was amply compensated by the discovery of the use of iron. Another link in the early cultures of the Gaṅgā valley and the chalcolithic culture of Rajasthan, Western and Central India is furnished by black-and-red ware which is known from the typical sites of Āhār and Gilund in Rajasthan and is also reported from sites in Northern India like Rūpar, Hastināpur, Kauśāmbī, Sonpur, on the one hand, and other Chalcolithic sites in Central and Western India, on the other.

The solution of the problems of the different post-Harappan early cultures in Northern, Central and Western India and their interconnection and relationship can be provided only by much



more extensive work in these different areas. The position of the Painted Grey ware in the post-Harappan sequel is also not properly defined. Certain suggestions may be tentatively offered.

Central and Western India seem to represent a tri-junction of cultures showing the interaction of the post-Harappan elements genetically derived from the Harappan culture, the neolithic-chalcolithic-complex, and an Iranian infiltration as revealed by the Navadatoli excavations. Besides, some local factors must also have been involved.

In the Gaṅgā valley, on the other hand, the Painted Grey ware, as is shown by the evidence at Kauśāmbī, constitutes a second culture stage, the first being represented by the defences built on the Harappan model and associated with many types of pottery analogous to the types of Indus or sub-Indus origin, showing close links with Central and Western India.

In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to present a coherent picture of the post-Indus developments in Northern, Central or Western India. But the combined evidence of archaeology, philology and literature, seems to point to the dominant role the Aryans played in the development of many of these cultures. The students of philology have noticed that the Indo-Aryan languages and their derivatives form two clear linguistic zones, the inner and more compact one extending from Eastern Punjab to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and the other forming a peripheral zone comprising Western and Central India and Central and lower Gaṅgā valley, and that Māgadhī, a language of the peripheral zone, was older than Śaurasenī, the language of the inner zone. There are indications of the existence of Māgadhī elements upto the extreme western frontier. It is significant that the Painted Grey ware is almost co-extensive with the linguistic area forming the inner zone and it has already been noted that in spite of regional variations, there are strong connecting links between the proto-history of Central India, Western India and the Central Gaṅgā valley. Black-and-red ware extends the links further east upto Sonpur. It is also significant that no cultural contact can be established between the Harappan culture and the Painted Grey ware, whereas the cultures of the peripheral zone show such contacts in varying degrees. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the cul-



tures of the peripheral zone show the movement of the earlier waves of the Aryans, evidently constituting the dominant ruling minority in communities whose substratum of culture was derived from the Harappans, their successors and also perhaps from the successors of the neolithic-chalcolithic cultures.

### The Megalithic

The question of the origins, affinity and relationship of the Megalithic cultures is still one of the unsolved problems of Indian archaeology. The relationship of the Megalithic pottery with the Black-and-red ware of the Chalcolithic in Western and Central India is still to be defined. The association of Austric and Irano-Scythic elements, as revealed by the study of the skeletal remains from the megaliths of Brahmagiri, raises interesting problems.

### COPPER TOOLS OF THE GAṄGĀ VALLEY

The place of the copper tools from the Gaṅgā valley in the archaeological sequence of the region is still obscure. Do they show a late and degenerate stage of the Harappan, or did they evolve from the neolithic? These are interesting problems requiring solution.

### HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Historical archaeology has unfortunately not received the attention that it deserves and most of the important cities of the historical period have not been excavated. It goes without saying that complete excavations of ancient sites like Mathurā, Ahicchatra, Kauśāmbī etc. will unfold new chapters in the cultural history of ancient India and add substantially to our knowledge of the past. Even though work on these sites has so far been of a very restricted nature, it has led to important discoveries. How the excavation of these sites will modify many of the current opinions will be made clear by an example. Students of ancient Indian history are well aware that it is fashionable among Indologists to trace the beginnings of masonry architecture in India to artists and craftsmen of Persia in the Mauryan period. The Mauryan art signifies to many the presence of imported ideas as well as master-masons. Some have even gone to the length of suggesting that "one of the tangible results of Alexander's invasion of India and the continua-



tion of Indian contacts with the Hellenic and the Iranian west in the Mauryan period was the introduction of the technique of stone-carving and the first employment of this permanent material in place of wood, ivory and metal that were used during the Vedic Period." All such ideas, however, stand refuted by the discovery this year (1961) of the palace-fortress of the early kings of Kauśāmbī. The palace occupying an area of 1015'×500', i.e., about two-thirds of the citadel mounds of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, with its walls nearly 21ft. in width, built of stone set in lime, with ashlar forming the two faces of the wall, strengthened by semicircular towers, has pushed back the antiquity of Indian architecture to about seventh-sixth century B. C. It is significant to note that though the palace at Kauśāmbī exhibits a much more developed architecture, there is a general similarity in the plan of this palace and the plan of the so-called Bimbisāra's jail in Rājagṛha (C. 6th B. C.).

The diffusions of ideas pertaining to the plan of buildings in distant places like Rājagṛha and Kauśāmbī and the advanced standard achieved by the masons, as shown by the palace at Kauśāmbī, presuppose a long antecedent tradition of masonry architecture.

I have no doubts that the excavations of the other major sites of the historical period will prove equally revealing for the study of the various aspects of Indian culture. On the other hand, village to village survey of ancient sites will help in the reconstruction of the geography of ancient India and will illustrate the changes in the means of communication and river systems and also the shifts of population in different periods.

### Agencies of Work

While the problems that face the Indian archaeologists are numerous, the great interest in our past heritage that freedom has brought in its wake, will facilitate their difficult task. But the work cannot be accomplished without necessary resources in men and money and the proper co-ordination of the activities of the Union Department of Archaeology, the universities and the archaeological departments of State Governments and other agencies engaged in this field.



The Union Department of Archaeology has considerably expanded during the last decade. Besides the preservation of the national monuments, collection and publication of inscriptions, it has organised excavations and explorations in the different parts of the country which have advanced our knowledge of pre-history, proto-history and other aspects of Indian archaeology. It has also started a School of Archaeology with a view to imparting intensive practical and theoretical training. The School has also conducted excavations at Gilund, Kālibanga and Sardāgarh.

Only about a decade ago, the Archaeological Survey of India held practically the monopoly of the archaeological excavations and explorations. But the Union Department of Archaeology adopted a wise policy in encouraging some of the universities to undertake independent field researches. This measure has borne fruit and the universities are now becoming fully conscious of their responsibilities in the task of reconstructing India's past by organising excavations and explorations. The University Grants Commission has selected six universities—Allahabad, Baroda, Calcutta, Patna, Poona and Madras—to be developed as centres of archaeological teaching and research.

The Deccan College and Research Institute (Poona University) has now become one of the leading centres for archaeological research and teaching in the country. The explorations organised by this institute in the various river valleys of Western India have contributed substantially to the advancement of knowledge of Indian pre-history. The excavations at Nevasa, Maheshwar and other sites like Chandoli have thrown new light on the Chalcolithic and later periods of Indian archaeology. Besides, a number of students of this institute have prepared theses on the Stone Age cultures of Orissa, Konnur, Southern Rajputana etc.

The University of Baroda, besides conducting excavations and explorations, shedding valuable light on pre-history and proto-history and other aspects of archaeology, has also organised laboratories for environmental archaeology and archaeological chemistry. It is hoped that its work in the Pleistocene Sea levels in the Gulf of Cambay and the geo-chronological studies in the Sābar-matī valley will provide a firm geological basis to pre-historic studies in these areas.



The University of Patna has started courses in theoretical and practical training in archaeology. It has conducted excavations at Entichak in Bhagalpur district and has also organised pre-historic explorations in the districts of Dumka and Monghyer. The explorations have led to the discovery of tools of Series I, II and III.

Archaeological excavation was carried out by the Calcutta University at Chandraketugarh leading to the discovery of a brick structure, possibly a temple of the Gupta period. The site shows traces of habitation from the Mauryan period down to the Gupta age.

The University of Allahabad has started an Institute of Archaeology comprising the department of teaching, museum and the archaeological unit of field research. Besides providing courses in Archaeology in the post-graduate stage it has also instituted a diploma in archaeology. The University has carried out large-scale excavations at Kauśāmbī and has also organised explorations to study the pre-history of Mirzapur, Banda and contiguous areas in the Vindhyas. A number of students are preparing theses on the basis of these explorations and excavations and the survey of different areas in the Gangetic valley. The university now proposes to conduct horizontal excavations with a view to opening up the entire mound of Kauśāmbī, particularly enclosed within the defences and also the excavations of Jhusi and some other sites.

Besides these centres which have been selected for the development of archaeology by the University Grants Commission, many other universities have started their own independent units of field research.

The University of Aligarh has done valuable exploration work in the districts of Etah and Aligarh and has made a valuable surface collection from these areas which will form the nucleus of an archaeological museum. It is hoped that the university will soon organise excavations of some of the sites whose importance has been established by its exploration.

The Banaras Hindu University has conducted excavations at Rājghāt, which have revealed the continuous or intermittent occupation of this sacred city from a period slightly earlier than



the beginning of the N. B. P. to about 17th century A. D. A mud rampart has also been discovered. Besides, the university has also started a course of teaching of archaeology in the post-graduate stage.

The Gorakhpur University has started exploration of certain regions in Eastern U. P. Its efforts have yielded fruitful results, particularly from the sites of Domingarh, Sohgauna, Ugdhaulia, Rajdani, Gagaha, Bhopa etc. The university has now a fully trained and properly equipped staff and I hope that it will soon start excavation of some of the important sites of the region which has played an important role in Indian History.

The University of Saugar conducted excavations at the famous site of Eraṇa in Madhya Pradesh. The excavations have revealed four periods of occupation—I—Chalcolithic, II—early historic, III—post N. B. P., and IV—late Medieval (16th-18th century A.D.). The chalcolithic period is characterised by the presence of micro-liths, black-and-red ware and pottery of Malwa fabric. The exploration organised by the university has also led to the discovery of a number of coins, sculptures etc.

This survey of the work done by the Indian universities is neither complete nor exhaustive; but it shows the part played by them in the development of archaeological field work and research. Some people suggest that development in this field has reached a saturation point and that archaeological work in the universities should be restricted and no further centres opened. This view is completely erroneous and in a vast country like ours, with a past extending to the pre-historic times, there is room for further expansion. It is forgotten by those who advocate the restriction of archaeology to only few university centres, that, besides being feeder of history, archaeology has developed into a distinctive discipline with its emphasis on methodical collection and classification of data, and its objective and empirical approach to facts of material culture. It serves as a necessary corrective to studies based purely on literary records. On the other hand, the universities with their tradition of academic research not only in history but also in various other branches, provide fruitful soil for sound archaeological studies. In fact a stage has come when archaeology must not remain only confined to the universities.



Students and teachers even in the secondary stage must be made familiar with the actual relics of the past which alone will instil into them a real and abiding interest in the country's ancient history and culture. I shall, therefore, earnestly plead for the reorientation of teaching of history in secondary stage with proper emphasis on archaeology with the help of slides and visits to museums and ancient sites.

Another objection that is very often raised to the expansion of archaeology in the universities is the question of employment of students specialising in the subject. The question of employment is a wider question affecting not only those who specialise in archaeology but also those specialising in other branches of knowledge, particularly the humanities. It is a national question which has baffled solution so far. Besides, the expansion of the archaeological work in various universities and its entry in the secondary stage of teaching will provide many avenues of employment to students of archaeology.

In recent years many of the States have started their own departments of archaeology, though progress in this direction has not been very satisfactory. Some agencies financed by the States have done valuable work. Mention may be made particularly of the K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna. It is gratifying to note that the work started by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar at Sonpur has been continued and it has yielded valuable results. The discovery of the black-and-red ware is significant. It is hoped that horizontal excavations of the site will add materially to our knowledge in respect of the period prior to the beginning of the N. B. P. ware.

**Co-ordination between the Union Department of Archaeology, the State Departments, the Universities and other bodies.**

The very real interest shown in the history of the country by the different sections of society has given a fillip to the development of archaeology in the last decade. With the limited resources of the country, particularly in the period of planned development, it is imperative that the resources in men and money should be properly co-ordinated so that duplication and wastage may be avoided. This has also become necessary in view of the very rapid development of archaeology in the Union Department



of Archaeology, the universities and in the State departments. The Central Advisory Board of Archaeology and its Standing Committee have tried to achieve a certain measure of co-ordination in archaeological excavations and explorations, but what is needed is the co-ordination of archaeological teaching and research under a more integrated scheme.

I have already pointed out that the University Grants Commission have selected six universities as centres for teaching and research in archaeology. The Union Department of Archaeology has started its own School of Archaeology, which is a welcome development. But in my opinion it should not be merely a seventh centre to provide facilities in theoretical and practical training and to grant a diploma. With the resources available to the school, it should be a centre of a special type to provide refresher's courses to the officers and employees of the Union Department, and the State departments of archaeology, and also to the advanced students of archaeology from the universities. It should also specialise in imparting training in certain branches like conservation for the study of which facilities are not available in the universities.

Similarly, teaching and research in the universities should also be better co-ordinated. With the growth of State departments of archaeology the question of co-ordination between them and the universities in these regions will become an urgent necessity. Are these departments going to be mere replicas of the Union department on a smaller scale? Can the different States, with their meagre resources, finance the development of well-equipped State departments without starving the universities and retarding the valuable work being done by them?

Archaeology has now come into its own in the Indian universities and it will suffer serious set-back, if a proper co-ordination is not achieved between the proposed State departments of archaeology and the universities. A century earlier when the Indian universities, unlike their counterparts in the west, were not conscious of the ancient heritage of the land, the organisation of a Central department of archaeology was essential. The Union Department of Archaeology has played and will continue to play a valuable role in the preservation and unfolding of Indian heritage, but, under the conditions existing today, the multiplication of State



departments does not seem to be a development in the right direction. My suggestion is that the State departments of archaeology, instead of taking upon themselves the responsibility of archaeological research including excavation and exploration, will make a more valuable contribution if they concentrate their efforts on the preservation of the ancient monuments in the States, which are not looked after by the Union Department of archaeology. Archaeological research including excavation and exploration in the States is properly the function of the universities.

Co-ordinated development in certain other spheres is also essential. It is a matter of regret that there is no well-equipped geo-chronological laboratory in the Union department of archaeology. Some steps have been taken in this direction and I hope that the Government would provide necessary funds for the purpose. There is no arrangement for radio-carbon dating in the country and it is hoped that the National Physical Laboratory or the Atomic Commission will soon develop a unit for this purpose.

#### **A Plea for Archaeological Missions in Foreign Countries and a Congress of Asian Archaeology**

All the students of archaeology will agree that a proper appreciation of Indian archaeology requires that it should be studied in a wider context. India was never an isolated pocket in the evolution of cultures even in pre-historic times. In the proto-historic and the historical periods it had brisk contacts with her neighbours beyond her geographical frontiers. The need for a comparative study, particularly of the peripheral regions, calls for no pleading. In fact, Indian archaeology in the past has suffered considerably, because the Indian archaeologist worked in isolation and was not abreast of developments in other regions. If this danger is to be avoided, the country must organise permanent archaeological missions in different countries. If Germany can have archaeological missions in Ankara, Cairo, Athens etc. and if the British, the American and the French can have their schools in Athens, Iraq, Jerusalem, Egypt etc., organisations of such Indian schools in neighbouring countries is an urgent necessity. The plea that there is enough work in India itself and, therefore, Indian archaeologist must not look beyond her frontiers ignores



the necessity of a comparative study. It has been decided to organise a Congress of Asian Archaeology on the occasion of the centenary of the Archaeological department. This will be a useful occasion for devising archaeological liaison between different countries of Asia on a permanent footing. This can be easily achieved by organising a congress of Asian archaeology on a permanent footing with its headquarters in India and I hope that scholars and the Government will consider these suggestions.

I have now concluded my brief review of the developments and problems of Indian archaeology. It will be admitted that the developments in recent years have been of far-reaching consequence for the interpretation of ancient Indian culture. The gap in the archaeological records between the end of Harappa and the beginning of the historical period is now nearly filled up. But the task that still lies ahead is enormous and the Indian archaeologist has to work under serious limitations. There is, however, no doubt that the devotion of the archaeologist, the liberal policy of the Union Government, the University Grants Commission and the State Governments, and, last but not least, the enlightened interest and appreciation of our people will go a long way towards overcoming these difficulties and unfolding the glorious heritage of the land.



## SECTION X: INDIAN LINGUISTICS

N. G. KALELKAR

Indian linguistic studies crossed the century mark not long ago. Bishop Caldwell's work on the Dravidian languages celebrated its centenary in 1956. It is true that this comparative study itself had come as the culmination of the sustained interest which the Christian missionaries had been taking, for some centuries past, in the great languages of culture and prestige, as well as the hitherto completely neglected tribal and local dialects of our country. If the missionaries paid attention even to some minor idioms with the specific purpose of Bible translation and of the propagation of Christianity, another class of almost equally zealous workers, of whom a great many were civil servants, devoted themselves to the observation and description of the various aspects of the cultural life of the Indian society, such as caste, customs and manners, architecture, literature, etc., mainly out of intellectual curiosity. The writings of these amateurs still remain to be properly studied, evaluated and exploited. We may make allowance, of course for a certain amount of superiority complex on the part of some of these authors, but their contribution as a whole had the great virtue of being objective and free from prejudices to a considerable degree.

The example of Caldwell was soon followed by John Beams in the study of what he called the "Aryan languages" of India. The first volume of his work appeared in 1872 and the last in 1879. But two years before the last volume was out, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had inaugurated the Wilson Philological Lectures at the University of Bombay, wherein he dealt with the Sanskrit language and its evolution, which had resulted in the formation of the Prakrit languages and later on gave rise to the regional vernaculars. With so hopeful a beginning it looked as if Indian scholarship was once more coming into its own. It was an attempt to link up the present linguistic situation with the past in a methodical manner. The method could have been further enriched and perfected in view of the fact that there lay before the investigators a vast, varied and uncultivated field. New material could have been



brought to light bringing greater precision into the conclusions, of which the young science was greatly in need.

However, no noteworthy contribution was made by Indian scholarship to this new line of approach. The University of Bombay does not seem to have done anything to encourage this branch of studies beyond instituting this lectureship and most of the later lectures in the series do not seem to be worth much. But if private scholarship seemed to be disinterested, the government machinery had hit upon the project of a linguistic survey, which was very ably carried out under the leadership of Sir George Grierson and the results of which remain precious in many ways even to this day. The Linguistic Survey claimed to record the languages and dialects as they were spoken regionwise and communitywise. A substantially authentic document giving the linguistic picture of a very large part of the Indian territory was for the first time available to us. Jules Bloch found that with a dictionary, such as Molesworth had compiled, and the grammars written by the speakers of the language, and supplementing these two by the "documents si abondants du Linguistic Survey" even a European reader possessed "un ensemble des données suffisantes et facilement vérifiables." And to this French savant goes the credit of making the first rigorously systematic study of an Indo-Aryan language.

A casual glance at the history of the development of linguistic studies in India reveals to us why we could not turn to our advantage the earlier attempts in the field and, consequently, failed to organise good centres of learning. Linguistic interest, it cannot be denied, had a long and glorious history in India. Originating as it did in the anxiety of the flawless recitation, and to some extent of the correct interpretation of the Vedic literature, it consequently led to the minute analysis of the linguistic forms at all levels and established a methodology from which it can still learn much. Fixing the form and fixing the meaning, describing the way the elements combined and worked together, became the principal object of the students of religion and philosophy, literature and the sciences. The study of grammar became the basic need for understanding and interpreting any orthodox branch of knowledge. This gave rise to a discipline which lent itself admirably to the requirements of a highly objective investigation. This discipline later on inspired



and encouraged finer minds to meditate on the very nature of language and some of its fundamental aspects, and ushered an era of speculative research.

However, the earlier dynamism, which resulted from a pressing and genuine need of a highly specialised aristocratic class and which admitted as guiding principles nothing beyond the critical observation and ruthless analysis of their material, gradually lost its vigour. In place of the bold analysts and speculators, there arose schools of pedants and commentators. The atmosphere of autonomy and dignity, in which alone true scholarship can flourish, has disappeared making room for various schools of teaching. But the worst came when even this pedantic tradition was replaced by the meek age of text-book teaching. It gave the *coup de grace* to the orthodox school and swept away every vestige of it from the newly organised academic life.

This does not mean that there was a complete void in the sphere of language studies in India. If the old tradition had disappeared we turned our eyes to the young science of linguistics that was shaping itself in Europe. The political circumstances were responsible for this change-over. The Western contact which came inevitably under the British rule helped us to fill the vacuum in our intellectual pursuits. Thanks to it, we are aware of what is going on in many parts of the world. The contribution of research workers and thinkers from Europe and America has been studied and has influenced and interested many of us. Even the part played by specially devised machines in some aspects of linguistic training has commanded our attention.

The revival of our interest in linguistic studies went only thus far and no further. It is true that paying due attention to what is going on around us and making use of all the discoveries and new lines of thinking for our advancement constitutes an important part of a really ideal academic life. But the mere importing and distributing of foreign ideas will never enable us to make original contribution in any walk of life, because it cannot instil in us the confidence and capacity necessary to undertake independent research. As it is, most of our scholars have been either representatives of the Western tradition or people who got inspiration from the ever improving methodology in Europe or America.



Let us try to see why the modern Indian school has no significant contribution to its credit in a field of knowledge in which the record of the past achievements was something to be proud about. At the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century there flourished two branches of linguistic study : the one was the Indo-European branch devoted to the study of comparative grammar, the other was interested in the Classical language and literature of India. The former concentrated on the study of the Vedic language, while the latter specialised in the classical literature, whose limits were occasionally extended to include the Prakrit languages as well.

Some Indian scholars were fascinated by the comparative approach to the study of the Vedas. But there was a great difference between the training and equipment of the European and Indian scholars. The Western scholar had at his command the knowledge of not only the classical and medieval languages of Europe, but also some related ancient languages like Hittite, Tokharian, Avestan, etc. He had a direct access to the facts which he wanted to utilise and, consequently, a wider perspective and a better grasp of the subject. The Indian scholar had almost none of these advantages and no attempt was made to remedy the situation at any stage. Not even a proper study of the neighbouring Iranian family was pursued seriously and systematically. That is why the overwhelming amount of material given by our scholars is either compilation or imitation of what was being done in the west. And even the compilation was far from being up to date. The theories and conclusions of the Western specialists were taken up and used out of context. If a particular scholar was favoured in preference to another, it was very often because the person concerned had taken his degree or pursued his studies in the university where the scholar worked. This policy of selling agents, rather than of critical but impartial students, prevented the growth of a healthy academic tradition of research in a number of humanistic sciences. Even to-day, many of our departments represent and imitate the various schools of thought overseas, sometimes totally ignorant of the modifications required by local conditions. It seems as if we are still suffering from the inferiority complex, which a long tradition of academic servility has infused in us.



But the range of what I call the Western influence was restricted mostly to the British universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, since very few students visited the continental centres of learning. The German\* scholarship had at all times a great fascination for the Indian mind, it is true, but it took just a form of passive admiration. With Sylvain Levi occupying the chair of Indology at the College de France, Paris also became a centre of attraction in the first decades of the XXth century. What really prevented the Indian student from going to the non-British universities was the linguistic problem. As an American scholar has pointed out some years ago the polyglot Indian is to a great extent a myth. This is all the more so when it comes to the learning of foreign languages. The acquisition of English was made under special circumstances and if American life and ways appear to us more familiar than that of many other nations which are very close to us, it is mainly due to the linguistic affinity that exists between the educated Indian and the average American. While admitting the great benefits which we can derive from such an affinity, I may still say that our neglect of other great foreign languages of culture such as Russian, French, German, etc., deprives us of the benefit of knowing what is happening outside the Anglo-Saxon world. We cannot depend on translations in this matter, for not all the works of note are translated from these languages into English. Let us not forget at the same time that most of the Western scholars possess a good knowledge of at least one or two important languages. Such knowledge is considered so indispensable in many of the American universities that it is made a prerequisite to the prosecution of graduate and post-graduate studies. By neglecting the study of foreign languages we are segregated from the non-English speaking scholarly world and it is only through American or English eyes that we look at it and at the wider world.

However discouraging the foregoing remarks may appear to be, it is quite necessary to realise their seriousness in the age of self-complacency in which we are living. We can never measure our academic standards from our examination results or from the number of students that are enrolled, nor can we judge the importance of a university from the number of departments which constitute it or from the size of the staff it maintains. Mere statistics will fail to enlighten us as to whether our universities, besides



being centres of diffusion, are also doing some creative work wherever possible. And when we are thinking of the future of scientific studies in our country, we must first of all take steps to train our young men in such a way that, given the opportunity, they may be in a position to discover hitherto unexplored domains of knowledge, have the confidence to form their own independent judgment and establish a line of workers who can see unsolved problems, offer their solutions and form their methodology in the light of their own experience and insight.

Efforts are being made to put the science of language on a firmer footing than hitherto before. Many departments of literature contain in their programmes topics like philology and the history of language, and an outmoded syllabus still forms part of a discipline which is interpreted as linguistic approach. Add to this confusion the ambition of some language departments to frame and teach a so-called course in linguistics themselves and you will get a picture of what is happening in some of our universities. An attempt to set up an independent department of linguistics is considered as an intrusion on the autonomy of the language and literature departments. It is the university authorities themselves who can put a stop to this confusing and intolerable situation. The fear of being unpleasant often prevents us from being firm and putting the right thing in the right place. But anomalies like this cannot continue without detriment to the academic set-up of a university.

The Blue-print Committee appointed by the Linguistic Society of India has done well, therefore, to take up this question and to emphasise the importance and need of recognising linguistics as a science requiring autonomy within its own sphere. This can only be done by organising separate departments of linguistics duly equipped with libraries, laboratories and specially trained personnel, wherever it is to be studied seriously as a discipline.

Our thanks are due to the Universities Grants Commission for the steps it has already taken to encourage the subject at various universities and we should be equally grateful that it has agreed to give the necessary funds for the holding of the Summer schools and Winter seminars in linguistics with a view to imparting training in the science. It must, however, be remembered that the training so imparted is but mere initiation into the science and a long period of sustained reading and work must intervene before the trainees



are in a position to undertake teaching work in a satisfactory manner.

While due publicity is necessary for the activities carried on by scientific and academic institutions, to attract funds, to get co-operation and encouragement from the authorities, they must at the same time see that the organisation of studies maintains the standard which is expected of them. This rule should apply to the Linguistic Schools, too, and they should be proud of imparting a strictly scientific discipline to a limited number of genuinely interested students. A scientific course has nothing to be proud about if it is growing in popularity. The true test of its success lies in what it has achieved. I hope the organisers of linguistic schools will be strict in selecting and admitting new candidates, and if the number of registrants is thereby greatly reduced, which I hope it will be, it will be all the more beneficial for a healthy growth of the linguistic science in this country.

The endowments of the Rockefeller Foundation gave an impetus to the linguistic studies. But I am afraid the training organised was, though useful, extremely one-sided. Besides, the devices and finances at the command of American scholars are very nearly beyond us. We talk of tape recorders, phonetic laboratories, informant method, and I am afraid, here too, the ghost of our old habit of imitation is haunting us. If any language teaching methods are to be adopted, they must be evolved from a proper study of our own conditions and capacities. We must, no doubt, keep our eyes open to what progress is made outside, but accept from it only such things as may fit into our own methods. When it comes to the practical application of linguistics, we realise that our problems are quite different. If we do not realise that, we have failed in properly grasping the nature of our work.

To discuss these and similar problems we must have a common forum and a means of intercommunication. I suggest that linguists in this country should rally round the Linguistic Society of India which is becoming more and more active and aware of its responsibility and the role it can play in shaping the future of the science for which it stands. And I appeal to all persons interested in problems connected with the study of language to co-operate with



the Society's publications which can be made into a powerful organ with their help in the form of studies, discussions and articles.

I have purposely refrained from taking a review of publications or personal contributions. We must know where linguistics stands to-day and what we can do to organise its work on proper lines. It is a matter of great pleasure that more and more universities are coming forward to encourage linguistic studies and undertake linguistic projects. I only hope they are placed in proper hands and that in the eagerness to do good things we do not move too fast without knowing where we are going.

---



## SECTION XI: DRAVIDIC STUDIES

Prof. M. M. BHAT.

I am extremely thankful to the members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have bestowed on me by electing me as the President of the Dravidic Section for this XXI Session of the Conference that is being held at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir which from time immemorial has been held in great esteem by All India as the seat of Saraswathi, (Sarada Pitha) Goddess of Learning who is extolled as "Kashmirapuravasini". Now I crave your indulgence and co-operation for performing the duties entrusted to me.

At the very outset I may be permitted to refer to the sad demise of the doyen of Tamil Literature Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai during last April and the great loss that Dravidic Studies have suffered thereby.

We are happy that since the XIII Session held at Nagpur in 1946, there has always been a section for Dravidic Studies thereby affording opportunity for workers in the field of Dravidology to exchange their ideas and take stock of their achievements. In this context, it is customary to deal with the progress made in our respective fields of study in the recent past or during the interval since the Conference met last, to present problems which need our tackling and to deliberate over the learned papers presented by the fellow delegates.

It is quite heartening to note that Dravidic Studies both in the literary and linguistic fields have advanced considerably during the past three decades. There has been a silent revolution in the field of letters throughout the country and the South Indian Languages are no exception to this. There is a new spirit which has given tone and zest to several new creations-new in form and content.

In the sphere of poetry-especially modern poetry-there have been innumerable experiments in all our languages. The old classical themes and the old Sanskrit metres are no longer finding



favour generally with the new bards. Old indigenous metres are being revised and new ones invented. Some of the compositions are really genuine and are full of promise. The poets have taken bold strides and entered pastures new. There is a purposeful directness in their utterances. One of the happy and successful experiments is in the field of children's Literature.

Short stories, novels, dramas, literary criticisms, essays and light literatures in varied hues have been produced in all the South Indian Languages. In the matter of short stories, novels and modern poetry the quantity is even staggering. In all these works we find the contact and influence of the West to a considerable degree. The "Progressive movement" has been quite vital and dynamic. The new era ushered in by master minds like Subrahmanya Bharati in Tamil, Gurajada Appa Rao in Telugu, B. M. Srikantiah in Kannada, Kumara Asan in Malayalam has been quite prosperous.

Most of the novels are woven round political and social themes. However there are a few good historical novels. Of late there have been welcome additions in the section of Biography, Autobiography and Travelogue.

Thanks to the efforts of organisations like the Sahitya Akademi, Southern Languages Book Trust and the National Book Trust, quite a large number of useful and popular works of diverse kinds—originals, translations, adaptations, abridgements, anthologies etc.,—have been published in all the four languages. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that these works especially the translations have really paved the way to break the language barriers and bring all of us near one another, appreciate our heritages mutually and achieve in a practical way that emotional integration which is much spoken of in the present. Mention may be made of the Translation of Tirukkural into Hindi by Dr. S. Shankar Raju, Head of the Hindi Department, Madras University, and into Kannada by Prof. L. Gundappa of Bangalore, and of the Hindi Translation of the Ranganatha Ramayana by Sri A. C. Kamakshi Rao of the Madras Christian College. The motto "neither a borrower nor lender be" may be good in other fields but it is detrimental in the field of knowledge. Therefore this useful work of translation from one language into another of



great works in a great way should be further encouraged. But it should not be a one way traffic. Judicious lending and borrowing through translations will enrich our knowledge. Till the beginning of this century we had worthy translations into our languages from Sanskrit. Perhaps most of the important Sanskrit gems have been rendered into the South Indian Languages either in prose, verse or champu. Later, several good English works got translated into our languages. The translations from other great-foreign languages like French, German and Russian are not quite appreciable. Among the modern Indian languages it was Bengali that led the way in new experiments and other languages including the South Indian languages got the inspiration from Bengali in these new experiments. Bankim's captivating novels were translated into our languages and the era of novels began. So far so good. But we have to find out the beautiful gems in our literature and bathe in their lustre. We go far and neglect the near. Our lot should not be like that of the proverbial muskdeer which keeps the fragrance within itself and seeks for the same elsewhere. Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam have lot of sweet smelling musk in themselves. Let us pass it on to one another in a greater measure. Not only good modern literary works, but also important ancient classical works, literary and grammatical, should be translated from one Dravidian language into the other. This would enable us to reconstruct our native grammar on historical principles. write the history of our languages, appreciate their structure and throw much light on our common heritage. Works like Tolkappiyam, Tirukkural, Akananuru, Purananuru, Kambaramayanam of Tamil, Pampa Bharata, Sabdamanidarapana and Sarvajna vacangalu of Kannada, Nannaya Bharatamu, Panditaradhya Charitramu, Vemana Padyas of Telugu, Jnanappana (Puntanam Nambudri), Nala Charitam (Unnayi Warriar) and Lilatilaka of Malayalam should be faithfully rendered into the other sister languages. Such a project would pave the way for a comparative study of the literatures and languages also.

Regarding General Prose Literature in our languages, although there is quite plentiful writing under other heads, under Scientific and Technical subjects, the production is still unsatisfactory. Attempts have been made by Universities and Governments in this direction by encouraging authors to write such works. The works



so far produced are such as to merit honourable mention and will serve to demonstrate that our languages have developed on healthy lines and are capable of serving as vehicles of current expressions and modern thought.

Another exceedingly important matter for our gratification is the interest evinced by the scholars in the study of Linguistics during recent years. Thanks to the combined efforts of the Linguistic Society of India, Deccan College of Post-graduate and Research, Rockefeller Foundation, and some of our Universities, for the last six or seven years Summer Schools and Autumn Sessions are being conducted for training our young scholars in Linguistics. This has yielded good results and we find a small but well-trained band of enthusiastic linguisticians ready to carry on further work in the field. From last year, a full-fledged department of Linguistics is functioning in the Annamalai University which trains students for M. A. in Linguistics and conducts Diploma course in Linguistics. In almost all our Universities the Language M. A. Degree course is revised with greater bias for Linguistics. In the Mysore University there is a paper department for Linguistics. There are Linguistic Circles at the Universities of Madras, Annamalai, Sri Venkateswara and Mysore where Seminars are being conducted on problems of Linguistics.

The publication of "Dravidian Etymological Dictionary" by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau during this year is a great event in the History of Indian Linguistics in general and Dravidian Linguistics in particular, since the publication of the Tamil Lexicon by the University of Madras two decades ago. It is purported to be a complete and systematic record of the whole available Dravidian vocabulary. It deals with the four major literary Dravidian Languages and fourteen minor languages. For the first time are published herein several new items. The material is etymologically arranged and classified into 4572 numbered items. Complete indices for each language follow. The meanings are given as exhaustively as practicable. As the authors have expressed "It is the first work of its kind that has been attempted and it will be an indispensable tool to all those engaged in Dravidian Linguistics and to Indian philology in general". While acknowledging the unique contribution of the pioneer work, without any disparagement I may be permitted to make a few observations :—



(1) Though the title of the work is Etymological Dictionary, the etyma have not been indicated; at least the unambiguous ones could have been indicated. (Of course, even with regard to Indo-European Languages where comparative philology has attained a high degree of exactitude, the result of such attempts are far from satisfactory).

(2) The table (pp. xii-xiii) is said to contain the phonetic correspondences which represent direct descent from P Dr. Some alternate correspondences conditioned by certain contexts are given. But in Tulu among the several phonetic correspondences the following struck me as incomplete :

(i) \*r-d, r. There are some examples for the r-d correspondences (e. g. Kere (Ka. meaning tank) Kedu (Tu); mare (Ka. meaning-screen) made (Tu);) but r-r correspondence is very rare for Tulu. On the other hand an important correspondence direct descent from P Dr. or contextual-has been omitted i. e. \*r—j for which examples are quite numerous and found in the Dictionary itself.

<i>Kannada</i>	<i>Tulu</i>
āru	āji (meaning-six)
<i>Tamil</i>	
verum	baji (meaning - merely)
iranku	jappu (climb down)
uṛi	ujumbu (suck)
ūru	ūju (ooze)
vayiru	bañji (stomach)
kaṛi	kajipu (curry)

- j - innovation is a linguistic peculiarity in Tulu and it has escaped the learned authors' notice and does not seem to be a borrowing from a sister language. It looks more like a direct descent from P Dr.

(ii) Also another correspondence viz.

\*l - l correspondence wherein an alternate r/ should have been given. e.g. tale (Ka) - tare (Tu); pāl (Ka, Ta) - pēr (Tu).

(iii) In the matter of Tulu items, several non-Tulu words mostly Kannada - and never used even as loans from Kannada - have been classified as Tulu e. g., mosaru (curds), mosale mosale



(crocodile), hāvu (snake). Of course the authors have referred to their limitations. Now it is for us, students of Dravidian Linguistics to revise and supplement this great work.

No doubt there has been a much earlier work entitled "Dravidian Cognates" (1943) on this subject by K. Ramakrishna, the veteran Telugu Scholar (Retired Head of the Telugu Department of the Madras University) and a recent work "Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary, a joint work of the four Dravidian Language Departments of the University of Madras (1960) (by Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Sri N. Venkata Rao, Dr. S. K. Nayar and Prof. M. M. Bhat), to which reference has been made by our General President.

There are still many Dravidian dialects of the South untapped (like Badaga, Havyaka, Kota Brahmin, Gowda, Baira-dialects of Kannada), Erakula, Savara and other dialects of Tamil and Malayalam which need recording and study. Before these languages die out, as Sir Ralph Turner put it on one occasion, they should be described "as fully as possible and as scientifically as possible". By employing the several techniques of modern Descriptive Linguistics, to-day we are in a position to analyse the linguistic data at different levels-phonological, phonetic, morphological, grammatical, lexical, etc. - and describe them more fully than before. We do not know whether the much postponed but very urgent Linguistic Survey of India will be undertaken during the III Plan period and these desiderata fulfilled. Let us hope that it will be accomplished.

Now let me pass on to our projects in progress :—

Among the planned undertakings the following are the chief ones :

- (1) Tamil Encyclopaedia - Tamil Valarchi Kalagam - VIII volume published.
- (2) Telugu Encyclopaedia-Third volume published-Telugu Bhasha Samiti of Madras.
- (3) Kannada - Kannada Dictionary on Historical principles (Kannada Sahitya Parishat and Government of Mysore).
- (4) Telugu Etymological Dictionary (Andhra University).



- (5) Malayalam Lexicon on Historical principles (University of Kerala).
- (6) a. Kannada Encyclopaedia (Government of Mysore).  
b. Scientific knowledge series - K. S. Karantha.
- (7) Malayalam Encyclopaedia (under the auspices of Kerala Government).
- (8) Critical edition of Kamba Ramayanam (Annamalai University).
- (9) English-Tamil Dictionary (University of Madras).
- (10) Dravidian comparative vocabulary (University of Madras).
- (11) Dictionary of words in Early Sangam works (Annamalai University).
- (12) Dialect Study - Pilot Survey (Mysore University).
- (13) Descriptive Grammar of Kannada (Karnatak University).

Besides these several other projects especially with regard to editing of classical works (some of them hitherto unpublished) are being executed by the different Universities and Research Institutes of South India, Oriental Libraries, certain other Academic Bodies like the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library, Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, Mutts and individual scholars. But there is still the desideratum of definitive critical editions of these classical works on the lines adopted by the Bhandarkar Institute who have brought out the critical edition of Mahabharata.

There should be more translations and comparative studies so that we may take pilgrimage to the originals and register yet another step on the way to emotional integration. Here it may be noted with pleasure that some of the North Indian Universities have made provision for the teaching of some of our South Indian Languages.

As has been done in Kannada with reference to the early inscriptions from the earliest upto the 10th century A. D. by Dr. A. N. Narasimhia and Dr. Gai, in all our languages, the earliest inscriptions should be studied and the Historical Grammar based



on them written. I learn that in Tamil under the guidance of Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram this has been completed to a degree (600 to 1050 A. D. and 1050 to 1250 A. D.) and their early publications are awaited. Mention may be made here about some of the very useful contributions in recent years in the field of Linguistics: "Telugu verbal Base" by Dr. Bh. Krishnamurthy (1961), "The structure of the Tamil verb" by Dr. A. Sathasivam (1956), "Evolution of Malayalam Language" by Dr. A. C. Sekar (1953), "The Structure of Kannada" by Dr. R. C. Hiremath (1961), and "Historical Grammar of the Telugu Language" by Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastry (to be published).

In each one of our languages at least two or three of the earliest classics should be analysed carefully and their concordance prepared for making a synchronic study of the linguistic material of the period. The Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi has become the pioneer in this by the publication of a concordance of Nannaya's Mahabharata. It is a great achievement. Each work thus analysed would enable research workers to study the material and make a fuller description of the language at stated periods.

Likewise a Dictionary of all the idioms and usages compiled under the distinguished Editorship of Sri V. R. Narla is a great contribution. Editing of comparative proverbs in the four main Dravidian Languages has been completed and the Southern Languages Book Trust are engaged in publishing them.

Reverting to the problem bearing on literature, besides editing to which reference has already been made, there are three other aspects, namely literary criticism, histories of Literatures, and survey of historical materials embedded in Literatures that would enable us in the reconstruction of our respective Histories - Social, political, economic, etc. Precious little has been achieved in these directions. Here we are reminded of the famous couplet in Tamil :

*Karratu Kaimaṇṇaḷavu*  
*Karka vēṇṭiyatu ulakaḷavu.*

(What is learnt is equivalent to a handful of earth but what remains to be learnt is of the measure of the entire universe).

In this field perhaps Tamil stands in a more enviable position than the other three Literatures in as much as there are valuable



and authentic commentaries in Tamil for most of the great classics of old.

Learned fellow delegates, there is another point that I would like to submit to you. As has been mentioned in the Blue Print issued by the Linguistic Society of India, it is advisable that representatives of the Institutes engaged in research sit round the table periodically and co-ordinate their programme of research in order to co-operate, supplement and expedite the results, so as to avoid wastage of time, energy and resources. We, in South India are having eight Universities : The University of Madras, University of Mysore, Andhra University, Annamalai University, Osmania University, University of Kerala, Karnataka University and Sri Venkateswara University. We have a number of other Academic Bodies. In certain matters we may need the co-operation and good will of all the institutes carrying on similar work. Proper planning coupled with co-ordination and co-operation will make us achieve our objectives.

On this occasion, I have made an attempt to place before you some of our great achievements and problems that require our attention.

Once again thanking the Conference Authorities for honouring me and you great scholars for your hearty co-operation, I pray to God that we may march forward and achieve greater success in the years to come.



## SECTION XII : RELIGION &amp; PHILOSOPHY

PT. SUKHLALJI

मित्रो,

अवस्था भी हुई और स्वास्थ्य भी ठीक नहीं है; अतः सामान्य रूपसे तत्त्वज्ञानके विषयमें जो विचार आते हैं उन्हींको आपके समक्ष उपस्थित करके सन्तोष मानता हूँ, और साथ-ही-साथ आप सबका आभार भी मान लेता हूँ।

भारतीय तत्त्वज्ञान अनेक सम्प्रदायों और उनकी शाखा-प्रशाखाओंमें विभक्त है। इसका इतिहास एवं विकासक्रम अत्यन्त दीर्घ है। मैं यहाँ सर्वप्रथम कुछ ऐसे सिद्धान्तोंके विषयमें कहना चाहता हूँ जो कि प्रत्येक सम्प्रदायको मान्य हैं और एक अथवा दूसरे रूपमें उन सिद्धान्तोंके आधार पर ही उन-उन दर्शनों एवं उपदर्शनोंने औरोंसे अलग पडनेवाली अपनी मान्यताओंका समर्थन किया है। वे सिद्धान्त संक्षेपमें अधोलिखित हैं।

(१) कार्यकारणभाव, (२) लक्ष्यलक्षणभाव, (३) अनुमानप्रकार अथवा न्यायवाक्य, (४) परीक्षापद्धति, (५) ज्ञान एवं विचारोत्पत्तिका क्रम, (६) वचन-प्रामाण्यका मूल बीज, और (७) प्रामाण्य-अप्रामाण्यकी समीक्षा।

पिछले दो-ढाई सहस्र वर्षोंमें पूर्वप्रचलित और नव-विकसित कोई भारतीय दर्शन ऐसा नहीं है जिसने उपर्युक्त मूल सिद्धान्तोंका प्रश्रय लिये बिना अपने मन्तव्योंकी स्थापना की हो अथवा इतर मन्तव्योंका खण्डन किया हो। इन सिद्धान्तोंके महत्त्वको सबने मान्य रखा है और इसीलिए प्रत्येक दर्शन एवं उसकी शाखाओंने अपने मन्तव्योंकी उपपत्तिके लिए इन मूल सिद्धान्तोंका सहारा तो लिया ही है, साथ ही इन सिद्धान्तोंको, अपनी-अपनी मान्यताका समर्थन करनेकी दृष्टिसे, घटाया है और विकसित भी किया है।



इन मूल सिद्धान्तोंका दार्शनिक विचार-वर्तुलमें जिस काल क्रमसे और जिस परम्पराके मुख्य आश्रयसे स्पष्ट निरूपण हुआ है तथा जिन परम्पराओंने इनके विकासमें सबसे पहले और सबसे अधिक महत्त्वका योगदान दिया है उनको मूलकर यदि हम किसी भी एक दर्शनका अध्ययन-चिन्तन करें तो उस अध्ययन-चिन्तनमें उपयोगी हो सके वैसी कड़ी या कुंजी ही हमारे हाथमेंसे सरक जायगी। हम भले ही किसी एक अभिप्रेत दर्शनका अथवा उसकी शाखा-प्रशाखाका प्रामाणिक एवं सही ज्ञान प्राप्त करनेका प्रयत्न करें, परन्तु हमें उक्त मूल सिद्धान्तोंका, उनके विकासक्रमके अनुसार ही ज्ञान प्राप्त करनेका प्रयत्न करना चाहिए और उसीके अनुरूप अध्ययन-अध्यापनकी प्रणाली नियत करनी चाहिए। आज तो प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन दोनों प्रकारकी दार्शनिक अध्ययनकी परिपाटीमें ऐसा क्रम शायद ही देखा जाता है। फलतः प्राचीन पाठशालाओंमें तथा अर्वाचीन विद्यालयों, महाविद्यालयों और विश्वविद्यालयोंमें—जहाँ कहीं दार्शनिक अध्ययन-अध्यापन चलता है वहाँ—प्रायः सर्वत्र उक्त मूल सिद्धान्तोंके स्पष्ट एवं परिपक्व ज्ञानकी कमी ही देखी जाती है।

अब हम देखें कि उक्त सिद्धान्तोंका सर्वाधिक प्राचीन और व्यवस्थित निरूपण किन-किन दर्शनसूत्रोंमें लभ्य है तथा किस दर्शनने उनके विकासमें विशेष योग दिया है। जैसा मैं समझा हूँ, दार्शनिक सूत्रोंमें उक्त सिद्धान्तोंका वैसा निरूपण कणादसूत्रों और अक्षपादसूत्रोंमें ही पाया जाता है। न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनके चिन्तकोंने ही इन सिद्धान्तोंकी, दूसरे किसी भी दर्शनके चिन्तकोंकी अपेक्षा, अधिक गहराईसे चर्चा की है और उसमें विचारकी सूक्ष्मता दिखलाई है। इसीलिए हम देखते हैं कि सांख्य योग, जैन-बौद्ध एवं पूर्व-उत्तरमीमांसाके सूत्रकारोंने तथा उन सूत्रों पर व्याख्या, अनुव्याख्या अथवा उपानुव्याख्या लिखनेवालोंने न्याय-वैशेषिक परम्पराद्वारा प्रस्तुत की गई उक्त सिद्धान्तोंकी विचारसमृद्धि और परिभाषाओंका ही अधिकांशतः उपयोग किया है और उसमें अपनी मान्यताके अनुरूप आवश्यक परिवर्तन या रूपान्तर भी किया है। इस बातको कतिपय दृष्टान्तोंके द्वारा स्पष्ट करें।



कणाद एवं अक्षपादके पूर्वज चिन्तकोंने और स्वयं कणाद तथा अक्षपादने अपने-अपने सूत्रोंमें जो विचारणा उपस्थित की है वैसी विचारणा कणाद और अक्षपादके सूत्रों से पहले किसी भी ग्रन्थमें उपलब्ध नहीं होती। कणादने अपने दर्शनकी नीव साक्षात् इन्द्रियावलोकन तथा तदाश्रित मनो-ज्ञानके ऊपर रखी है। इस अवलोकन तथा तदाश्रित चिन्तनके आधार पर ही उसने अपने प्रमेय-निरूपणमें कार्यकारणभावका सिद्धान्त स्पष्ट किया है। यह प्रमेयनिरूपण इतर दर्शनोंको मान्य है या नहीं यह अलग प्रश्न है, परन्तु उसने कार्यकारण भावका स्वरूप इतना अधिक स्पष्ट किया है कि दूसरे दार्शनिकोंको उसीका कार्यकारणभावका सिद्धान्त और उसके साथ संकलित अन्यान्य बातें जैसीकी तैसी लेनी पड़ी हैं। अन्वय और व्यतिरेक ये दो कार्यकारणभावके नियामक तत्त्व हैं। इसी विचारमें आगे जाकर प्रतिबध्य-प्रतिबन्धकभाव एवं उत्तेजकभावकी चर्चाका समावेश हुआ, अन्यथासिद्धि एवं अनन्यथासिद्धिके विचारकी चर्चणा हुई, उपादान अथवा समवायी और निमित्तकारणके रूपमें कारणोंके वैविध्यका निरूपण हुआ, स्वरूपकारणता तथा फलोपधायककारणता जैसे मुद्दे भी चर्चामें प्रविष्ट हुए तथा सामग्रीकारणतावाद भी स्पष्ट हुआ।

लक्ष्यलक्षणभावकी विस्तृत चर्चाका, जो कि दार्शनिक युगका एक विशिष्ट स्वरूप है, व्यवस्थित आधार कणादके सूत्रोंमें ही सर्वप्रथम उपलब्ध होता है, और इसीलिए सदोष-निर्दोष लक्षणकी जैसी और जितनी सूक्ष्म चर्चा न्याय-वैशेषिक साहित्यमें हम देखते हैं वैसी और उतनी इतर दर्शनोंके वाङ्मयमें उपलब्ध नहीं होती, और यदि कहीं उपलब्ध होती भी है तो वह न्याय-वैशेषिककी परम्पराके आधार पर ही विकसित हुई है। लक्ष्यलक्षण-भावके विचारमें अव्याप्ति, अतिव्याप्ति, असम्भव जैसे दोषोंका स्पष्ट निरूपण और तद्विषयक ग्रन्थोंकी रचना भी न्याय-वैशेषिक साहित्यकी एक दूसरी विशेषता है।

यद्यपि कणादसूत्रोंमें अनुमानकी चर्चा है, परन्तु इस विषयमें मौलिक और अपनी कही जा सके वैसी विशेषता तो न्यायसूत्रोंकी ही है। स्वार्थ



एवं परार्थानुमान—न्यायवाक्य, उसका सादृश्य-वैगुण्य अथवा सद्भेद-हेत्वाभास, छल, जाति, निग्रहस्थान. आदिकी विशद और मौलिक चर्चा भी न्यायसूत्रोंकी ही विशेषता है।

इसी प्रकार परीक्षापद्धतिसे लेकर प्रामाण्य-अप्रामाण्यकी समीक्षा तकके अवशिष्ट चार मुद्दे भी जिस स्पष्टताके साथ न्यायसूत्रोंमें निरूपित हैं उस स्पष्टताके साथ दूसरे किसी दर्शनसूत्रमें सर्वप्रथम उपलब्ध नहीं होते।

इस प्रकार न्याय-वैशेषिक दोनों दर्शनों ने अलग-अलग और संयुक्तरूपसे जिन उक्त दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तोंकी चर्चा की है और इन दोनों दर्शनोंके व्याख्याकारोंने (अठारहवीं-उन्नीसवीं शती तक) जिनका विकास अपने-अपने ग्रन्थोंमें किया है, उन्हींका उपयोग दूसरे दार्शनिक अपने-अपने ढंगसे करते रहे हैं। सांख्य एवं योगदर्शनके अभ्यासीको यदि इन सिद्धान्तोंका प्रामाणिक और पूर्ण ज्ञान प्राप्त करना हो तो वह न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनके प्रामाणिक अभ्यासके बिना कभी भी प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता। इसी प्रकार बौद्ध और जैन दर्शनोंमें जबसे तर्क और न्यायकी नींव पड़ी और आगे जाकर उन दर्शनोंमें उसका जो विकास हुआ उसमेंसे यदि न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनके द्वारा किये गये इन सिद्धान्तोंके चिन्तनको कमकर दें तो उनका तार्किक आधार समझमें ही नहीं आ सकता। बौद्धोंने भले ही क्षणिकत्व, बाह्यार्थशून्यत्व और शून्यवाद जैसे मन्तव्योंको स्पष्ट करने तथा उनका विकास साधनेके लिए इन कार्यकारणभाव आदि सिद्धान्तोंकी चर्चामें अपनी ओरसे भी सूक्ष्म विचारका योग दिया हो और इसी प्रकार भले ही जैन तार्किकोंने परिणामिनित्यत्व एवं अनेकान्तदृष्टिको स्पष्ट करनेकी तथा उनका विकास करनेकी दृष्टिसे इन सिद्धान्तोंकी विशद चर्चा की हो और उसमें अपना भी योग प्रदान किया हो (और वस्तुतः इन दोनों दर्शनोंने ऐसा प्रदान विशेष रूपसे किया भी है), तो भी उनका मूल आधार तो न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनकी विचारपद्धति ही है।

पूर्वमीमांसाके सूत्रकार जैमिनि और उत्तरमीमांसाके सूत्रकार बादरायणका विचारक्षेत्र मुख्यतया अनुक्रमसे यज्ञकर्म और ब्रह्मस्वरूपका निरूपण है।



स्वभाविक रूपसे ही उनको अपने-अपने मन्तव्य उपस्थित करनेमें कार्य-कारणभाव आदि सिद्धान्तोंका प्रश्रय लेना पडा है, परन्तु उन्होंने इन सिद्धान्तोंके विषयमें अपने सूत्रोंमें कोई विशेष चर्चा नहीं की है। अब, जो व्यक्ति इन दोनों मीमांसाओंका ज्ञान प्राप्त करना चाहता हो और वह भी यथार्थ रूपसे, उसे उक्त सात सिद्धान्तोंका यथावत् परिचय अनिवार्य रूपसे करना ही चाहिए। इन सूत्रोंके भाष्यकारोंको तथा उस-उस भाष्यके उत्तरवर्ती व्याख्याकारोंको दर्शनान्तरोंके वादोंका प्रतिवाद करने में तथा अपने वादको स्पष्ट रूपसे स्थापित करनेमें जब कभी कार्यकारणभाव आदि सिद्धान्तोंके विकसित ज्ञानकी आवश्यकता हुई है, तब उन्होंने न्याय-वैशेषिकदर्शनकी इस विचारसमृद्धिकी ओर ही नज़र घुमाई है। कुमारिल, प्रभाकर और वाचस्पति मिश्र जैसे विद्वान् अपनी-अपनी मीमांसा परकी व्याख्याओंमें अपने मन्तव्य सबल रूपसे उपस्थित कर सके हैं इसका भी आधार यही है। श्रीहर्षने खण्डखण्डखाद्यमें अथवा मधुसूदनने अद्वैतसिद्धि आदिमें जो केवलाद्वैतकी स्थापना की है और उस स्थापनामें जो बल देखा जाता है वह बल उन्होंने पाया कहाँ से ? इसी प्रकार रामानुजने अथवा उनके अनुयायियोंने विशिष्टाद्वैतकी जो सबल स्थापना की है उसका बल उनको कहाँसे मिला है ? उपाध्याय यशोजिजयजीने जैन तर्क और अनेकान्तदृष्टिकी स्थापनामें जो कौशल दिखलाया है वह किसके आधार पर ? इन और इनके जैसे दूसरे प्रश्नोंका उत्तर एक ही है और वह यह कि उन सबने न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनके मूल ग्रन्थ और उन परकी उत्तरोत्तर अधिकाधिक सूक्ष्म और सूक्ष्मतर व्याख्याओंका गम्भीर अध्ययन जितने परिमाणमें किया उतने परिमाणमें उनके निरूपण उस-उस समयमें प्रतिष्ठित हुए।

मेरी यह विचारसरणी यदि ठीक हो तो ऐसा सूचित करना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है कि इस समय दार्शनिक अध्ययन-अध्यापनकी जो प्रणाली ढीली-ढाली नीव पर चल रही है और जिस प्रणालीका अवलम्बन लेकर प्रतिवर्ष तत्तद् दर्शनके अनेक विद्यार्थी उपाधि प्राप्त करते हैं, और फिर भी



चिन्तन-मननकी दृष्टिसे कोई ठोस एवं मौलिक कार्य नहीं दीखता, उसमें आमूलचूल परिवर्तनकी अनिवार्य आवश्यकता है। यह परिवर्तन मेरी दृष्टिसे जैसा होना चाहिए उसकी भी संक्षिप्त रूपरेखा यहाँ सूचित करूँ तो वह अनुचित नहीं समझी जायगी।

भारतीय दर्शनोमेंसे किसी भी एक दर्शनका मुख्य रूपसे अध्ययन करना हो तो सबसे पहले जिस प्रकार संस्कृत भाषा एवं साहित्यका पर्याप्त ज्ञान आवश्यक है उसी प्रकार न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनके मूल एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थोंका अथवा उस दर्शनके सर्वसंग्राही किसी एक ग्रन्थका तलस्पर्शी अध्ययन अनिवार्य रूपसे आवश्यक है। वह एक ग्रन्थ भी ऐसा होना चाहिए जिसमें उक्त सात मुद्दोंके बारेमें विशद चर्चा आती हो तथा न्याय-वैशेषिककी सभी परिभाषाएँ असन्दिग्धभावसे समझमें आ जायें उस प्रकार जिसमें उनकी चर्चा हो। इतनी नींव तैयार होनेके उपरान्त अभिप्रेत एक दर्शनका अभ्यासी भले ही उस दर्शनका क्रमिक अभ्यास शुरू करे, परन्तु वह अभ्यास किसी भी प्रकारसे एकांगी न रहे इसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वह अभ्यासी साथ-ही-साथ अपने मुख्य विषयसे भिन्न इतर भारतीय दर्शनोका प्रामाणिक ज्ञान प्राप्त करने के लिए उस-उस दर्शनके परिचायक एवं मौलिक ऐसे कमसे कम एक-एक ग्रन्थका तलस्पर्शी ज्ञान प्राप्त करे, क्योंकि भारतमें दार्शनिक चिन्तन इस प्रकार उत्तरोत्तर आगे बढ़ा है कि उसमें किसी एक दर्शनकी परम्पराको इतर दर्शनकी परम्परासे अलग किया ही नहीं जा सकता। अतएव अपने अभिप्रेत दर्शनका मर्म समझनेके लिए तथा उसमें किये गये इतर दर्शनोके मन्तव्योंके प्रतिवादका मूल्यांकन करनेके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि मुख्य विषयके रूपमें स्वीकृत दर्शनके अतिरिक्त इतर दर्शनोका ज्ञान भी उन्हींके ग्रन्थोके द्वारा प्राप्त करना चाहिए। ऐसा न होनेसे बहुत बार दर्शनका अभ्यासी इतर दर्शनोका यथावत् एवं तटस्थ मूल्यांकन करनेके बदले एकांगी दृष्टिकर शिकार हो जाता है और अपने अभिप्रेत मुख्य दर्शनके मन्तव्योंसे भिन्न मन्तव्योंकी, पूरी समझके बिना ही,



अवगणना करता है। फलतः वैसे अभ्यासीके भीतर वादकथाके स्थानमें जरूप एवं वितण्डाका प्रवेश, अज्ञात रूपसे भी, हो जाता है।

यहाँ तककी चर्चा अब हमको 'तत्त्वज्ञान' पदका अर्थ समझनेके लिए प्रेरित करती है। दर्शनोंमें 'तत्त्वज्ञान' पदका सामान्य अर्थ ऐसा रूढ़ हो गया है कि जिसके कारण दर्शनका अभ्यासी या चिन्तक अपने-अपने दर्शनमें प्रतिपादित तत्त्व ही यथावत् एवं परिपूर्ण हैं ऐसा मानने लगता है। उदाहरणार्थ न्याय-वैशेषिक दर्शनका अभ्यासी छः या सात पदार्थ अथवा सोलह पदार्थ जो अनुक्रमसे वैशेषिक और न्यायसूत्रमें निरूपित हैं और उन तत्त्वोंका जिस रूपमें एवं जिस प्रकारसे निरूपण हुआ है उसीको परिपूर्ण मानकर और उन्हींके ज्ञानको पारमार्थिक समझकर उनका सम्बन्ध अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयसके साथ जोड़ता है। वह ऐसा मानने लगता है कि इन तत्त्वोंका यथावत् ज्ञान हो जाय तो निःश्रेयस सिद्ध होगा ही। इसी प्रकार सांख्य-योग, जैन-बौद्ध और मीमांसाद्वयके बारेमें भी कहा जा सकता है। प्रत्येक दर्शनका सूत्रपात मोक्षके ध्येयसे हुआ है और इस ध्येयकी सिद्धिके अनन्य उपायके तौर पर तत्तद् दर्शनके ही प्रमेयोंका यथावत् ज्ञान पर्याप्त समझा जाता है। एक ही ध्येयकी सिद्धिके उपायरूप उस-उस दर्शनके मन्तव्यों अथवा प्रमेयोंका एकमात्र यथावत् ज्ञान ही यदि उस ध्येयको सिद्ध करनेमें पर्याप्त हो तो इस परसे ऐसा ही फलित होगा कि एक दर्शनका तत्त्वज्ञान यथावत् होनेसे पूर्ण है और इतर दर्शनोंके तत्त्वोंका ज्ञान या तो भ्रान्त है या फिर सर्वथा नगणा है। यह फलितार्थ 'तत्त्वज्ञान' पदके रूढ़ अर्थकी समझमेंसे स्वतः उत्पन्न होता है। इसीलिए हम दार्शनिक अभ्यास एवं चिन्तनको पन्थ अथवा चौकेकी संकुचित सीमामें आवद्ध देखते हैं। दार्शनिक अभ्याससे जिस उज्ज्वल एवं उदार प्रकाशकी आशा रखी जाती है और जो सम्भावतः निःश्रेयसकी दिशाका एक प्राथमिक सोपान बननेकी क्षमता रखता है, वही अभ्यास और चिन्तन अभ्यासीको संकुचित करघरेमें बन्द करके तमिस्रके गर्तकी ओर ले जाता है। अतः 'तत्त्व' पदके तात्पर्यार्थका हमें विचार करना चाहिए।



मेरी समझमें 'तत्त्व' पदका अर्थ इतना ही लेना चाहिए कि तत्त्व दर्शनके मूल चिन्तक अथवा प्रवर्तकने जिन प्रमेयोंका जिस रूपमें ज्ञानप्राप्त किया था उन प्रमेयोंको उसने उसी रूपमें निरूपित करनेका प्रयत्न किया। वह निरूपण उस चिन्तक अथवा प्रवर्तककी विचारसीमा तक तो यथावत् है, परन्तु उसमें विचारके दूसरे प्रवाहों अथवा दृष्टिबिन्दुओंका समावेश न होनेसे वह, उतनी हद तक, एकदेशीय है; और वैसे एकदेशीय ज्ञानको तत्त्वज्ञान कहनेका अर्थ इतना ही है कि उस-उस चिन्तक अथवा प्रवर्तकने जो कुछ जाना सोचा उसका प्रामाणिक रूपसे निरूपण किया और उस निरूपणमें कोई विप्रतारण अथवा विप्रलम्भकी दृष्टि थी ही नहीं। जो कुछ समझमें आया उसीको, और वह भी निःस्वार्थभावसे, अन्य जिज्ञासुओंके बोधके लिए ग्रथित किया तथा उसका सम्बन्ध अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयसके साथ जोड़ा।

जिस समय जिस समाजमें जिस ध्येयकी मुख्य प्रतिष्ठा होती है उस समय उस समाजमें मुख्य चिन्तक और प्रवर्तक उस ध्येयके साथ अपने उपदेशका सम्बन्ध जोड़ दे यह स्वाभाविक है। इसीलिए स्वर्ग एवं मोक्षके ध्येयकी प्रतिष्ठा होनेके कारण प्रत्येक दर्शनने अपना सम्बन्ध उस ध्येयके साथ जोड़ दिया, परन्तु अधिकांशतः अभ्यासी और साम्प्रदायिक व्यक्ति यह बात सोचना प्रायः भूल गये कि यदि किसी एक दर्शनका तत्त्वज्ञान मोक्षसाधक से तो उसके विरोधी प्रतीत होनेवाले तत्त्वज्ञान क्या मोक्षसाधक नहीं ?

इससे 'तत्त्वज्ञान' पदका जो अर्थ मैंने ऊपर सूचित किया है उस अर्थको लेकर यदि हम विचार करें तो हमें ज्ञात होगा कि प्रत्येक प्रामाणिक चिन्तक एवं प्रवर्तकका तत्त्वज्ञान उसकी विचारसीमामें यथावत् है और सब मिल करके एक-दूसरेके पूरक भी हैं। वे सब विशाल तत्त्वज्ञानके अंश रूप होनेसे अज्ञाननिवारक हैं तथा सत्य ज्ञानकी दिशामें ले जाते हैं। इस दृष्टिसे वे निःश्रेयस सिद्धिके उपाय भी हो सकते हैं।



इस प्रकार विचार करने पर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि दर्शनके सच्चे अभ्यासीको अपने अभ्यासमें तुलना एवं इतिहासका दृष्टिबिन्दु रख करके ही आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिबिन्दु इसलिए आवश्यक है कि एक-एक दर्शनका विकास जिस क्रमसे हुआ हो वह समझमें आसके तथा इतर दर्शनोंके साधका सम्बन्ध भी अवगत हो सके। तुलना दृष्टि इसलिए आवश्यक है कि उससे दूसरेको गलत समझनेके भ्रमसे बचा जा सकता है। दूसरेके द्वारा किये गये प्रतिवादोंका मूल्यांकन करनेमें भी तुलना एवं इतिहासकी दृष्टि उपकारक होती है। इसलिए मेरी तो ऐसी फक्की धारणा है कि प्रत्येक शास्त्रके अभ्यासीकी भाँति दर्शनशास्त्रके अभ्यासीको भी अभ्यासके केन्द्रमें तुलना और इतिहासकी दृष्टि अवश्य रखनी चाहिए।

पाठशालाओंमें प्राचीन प्रणालिकाके अनुसार तथा कालेज-विश्वविद्यालयोंमें नवीन प्रणालिकाके अनुसार अध्ययन करनेवाले अभ्यासी आगे जाकर दार्शनिक प्रश्नोंके ऊपर संशोधन करनेके लिए प्रेरित होते हैं। अधिकांशतः वैसे संशोधन बहुत छिछले और मात्र वर्णनात्मक अथवा संग्रहात्मक देखे जाते हैं। इस कमीका एक कारण, मेरे अभिप्रायके अनुसार, यह भी है कि संशोधनकर्ता योग्य रूपसे अध्ययन-वाचन नहीं करते और एकांगी बन जाते हैं। मौलिकतासे शून्य संशोधन प्रायः निरर्थक और पुनरुक्तिरूप ही होते हैं। भारतीय दर्शनोंकी किसी भी एक शाखा अथवा किसी भी एक दर्शनके किसी एक मुद्दे पर मौलिक संशोधन करना हो तो, मेरी दृष्टिसे, कमसे कम निम्नांकित तैयारीका होना आवश्यक है—

१. प्रत्येक दर्शनके, विशेषतया उद्दिष्ट दर्शनके, ग्रन्थोंका मूलसे लेकर ही पठन-मनन होना चाहिए; यहां तक कि उसके प्राचीनतम उपलब्ध मूलसे लेकर उसके भाष्य, व्याख्या आदि उत्तरकालीन सब प्रमुख ग्रन्थोंका मनन और धीरजपूर्वक अवलोकन करना चाहिए।

२. संशोधनका मुख्य विषय चाहे जिस दर्शनका हो, परन्तु इतर दर्शनोंके महत्त्वपूर्ण और संशोधनके साथ सम्बद्ध साहित्यका, हो सके वहाँ



तक मूल ग्रन्थोंके आधार पर ही, परिशीलन करना आवश्यक है। इसके बिना विचारणीय प्रश्नमें उत्पन्न होनेवाली उलझनें सुलझ नहीं सकतीं।

३. ऐसा अवलोकन और चिन्तन करते समय तथा ग्रन्थोंके नोट्स बनाते समय जिस प्रकार तुलना और इतिहासकी दृष्टि आवश्यक है उसी प्रकार उस अवलोकन-चिन्तन आदिमें पन्थगत संकुचित पूर्वग्रहोंसे मुक्ति भी अनिवार्य रूपसे आवश्यक है।

यदि कमसे कम इतनी तैयारीके साथ दार्शनिक संशोधन हो तो भारतीय दर्शनोंकी उपलब्ध सामग्री इतनी अधिक विशाल और अर्थपूर्ण है कि उसके आधार पर किया गया संशोधन आजकी नयी दुनियाके नवजिज्ञासुओंको भी पर्याप्त मात्रामें सन्तुष्ट कर सकता है और साथ ही भारतीय चिन्तकोंकी गम्भीर तपश्चर्याके प्रति चाहे जिस व्यक्तिका बहुमान उत्पन्न कर सकता है, ऐसा मेरा पूर्ण और पक्का विश्वास है।

\*

\*

\*

दार्शनिकोंके विचार-चिन्तनके लिए तत्त्वज्ञानसे सम्बद्ध एकाध मुद्देकी भी मैं यहाँ चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ। वह मुद्दा ज्ञान-प्रक्रियाके बारेमें हैं।

भारतीय परम्पराओंमें लौकिक-लोकोत्तर, व्यवहार-निश्चय, संवृति-परमार्थ, माया-परमार्थ, परिकल्पित-परिनिष्पन्न जैसे शब्दयुगल प्रसिद्ध हैं। इन सब युगलोंमें एक भाव समान है और वह है स्थूलसे सूक्ष्मकी ओर विचारप्रगति। जैन परिभाषामें कहें तो द्रव्यसे भावकी और प्रगति। यह प्रगति विचार और आचार दोनों क्षेत्रोंमें मानसिक एवं आध्यात्मिक विकास-क्रमके आधार पर और उसीके अनुपातमें हुई है।

जो वस्तु सामान्यतः सर्वसाधारणगम्य हो अथवा सर्वसाधारणगम्य हो सके वह लौकिक प्रदेशमें आती है। इससे उल्टा, जो वस्तु सर्वसाधारणगम्य न हो और फिर भी विशिष्ट अधिकारी व्यक्तिको अथवा व्यक्तियोंको ही गम्य



ही वह लोकोत्तर कहलाती है। यही भाव, एक अथवा दूसरे रूपमें, इतर शब्दमुगलोंमें निरूपित है। मानवजीवनका विकास देखने पर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि सर्वप्रथम लौकिक भूमिकाकी रचना होती है और उसमें प्रगति होने पर बादमें लोकोत्तर भूमिकाकी स्थापना होती है। इसीलिए भाषाओं में हम देखते हैं कि जो शब्द लौकिक विचार-आचारमें सर्वविदित होते हैं उनमेंसे बहुतसे कालक्रमसे लोकोत्तर विचार-आचारके बोधक भी बन जाते हैं। यज्ञ, प्रत्यक्ष जैसे शब्द, जो व्यवहारभूमिमें प्रचलित थे और हैं, वे ही कालक्रमसे ज्ञानयज्ञ, ध्यानयज्ञ, परमप्रत्यक्ष, योगिप्रत्यक्ष जैसे लोकोत्तर अर्थमें भी रूढ़ हुए हैं।

लौकिक और व्यावहारिक भूमिकाकी अपेक्षा लोकोत्तर और पारमार्थिक भूमिकाकी प्रतिष्ठा अत्यन्त उच्च कक्षा की मानी गई है। लौकिकमेंसे लोकोत्तरमें क्रमिक संक्रम तो प्रसिद्ध है, परन्तु कभी-कभी लोकोत्तर और पारमार्थिक भूमिकाकी प्रतिष्ठा रखनेवाले शब्द भी, उस प्रतिष्ठाके साथ ही, लौकिक और व्यावहारिक भूमिकामें प्रविष्ट हो जाते हैं और वैसे प्रवेशके साथ ही तत्त्वचिन्तन एक नया मोड़ लेता है यह कैसे होता है इसका एक दृष्टान्त प्रस्तुत मुद्देके द्वारा उपस्थित करनेका मैं यहाँ प्रयत्न करूँगा।

न्याय-वैशेषिक, सांख्य-योग, जैन और पूर्वमीमांसक जैसे दर्शन जड-चेतन उभयकी वास्तविकतामें मानते हैं। इनका ज्ञान लौकिक भूमिका-वालेको भले ही अस्पष्ट, अपूर्ण और एकांगी हो, परन्तु लोकोत्तर भूमिका-वालेको इन्हीं जड-चेतन उभय पदार्थोंका स्पष्ट, पूर्ण और सर्वांगीण ज्ञान होता है। ज्ञानमें तारतम्य है, परन्तु उससे इन दोनों तत्त्वोंके अस्तित्वमें कोई तारतम्य नहीं है। जड एवं चेतन दोनों तत्त्वोंका अस्तित्व अपने-अपने स्वरूपकी दृष्टिसे त्रिकालाबाधित माना जाता है। परन्तु इससे उल्टा बौद्ध एवं वेदान्त परम्पराओंकी कुछ शाखाओंमें माना जाता है। योगाचार और शून्यवाद तथा केवलद्वैत ये तीनों परम्पराएँ तो इस विषयमें इतनी प्रसिद्ध हैं कि उनका संकेतभर करना पर्याप्त होगा।



योगाचार और शून्यवाद इन महायानी शाखाओंके मन्तव्यसे सर्वथा भिन्न मन्तव्य रखनेवाली बौद्ध परम्पराकी ही शेरवाद, सर्वास्तिवाद और सौत्रान्तिक जैसी शाखाएँ हैं। इसी प्रकार विशिष्टाद्वैत, शुद्धाद्वैत जैसी वेदान्त परम्पराएँ केवलाद्वैती परम्परासे सर्वथा भिन्न मन्तव्य रखती हैं। मन्तव्यका यह भेद बाह्यार्थका अस्तित्व वास्तविक मानना अथवा अज्ञान-कल्पित इस पर आधारित है। योगाचार, शून्यवाद और केवलाद्वैत इन तीनोंके मन्तव्योंमें दूसरा चाहे जो और चाहे जितना मतभेद हो परन्तु इन तीनोंका एक बातमें समान मन्तव्य है और वह है बाह्यार्थका अस्तित्व वास्तविक नहीं, किन्तु अज्ञानकल्पित है। इस मन्तव्यका अस्पष्ट बीज तो कतिपय प्राचीन उपनिषदोंके अमुक वाक्योंमें तथा बौद्ध पिटकके उपलब्ध कुछ शब्दोंमें है, परन्तु इस मन्तव्यका स्पष्ट विचारविस्तार तो इस समय हमें उपलब्ध साहित्यमेंसे योगाचार और शून्यवादके साहित्यमें ही मिलता है। लंकावतार जैसे प्राचीन सूत्र, प्रज्ञापारमिता जैसे प्राचीन ग्रन्थ और मध्यमककारिका जैसे दार्शनिक ग्रन्थोंके देखने पर यह बात स्पष्ट होती है कि उन ग्रन्थोंके रचयिताओंने बाह्य, इन्द्रियगम्य एवं भेदप्रधान विश्वको अविद्यामूलक और मनोविकल्पप्रसूत माना है। जब अविद्या और मनो-विकल्प नष्ट हो जाते हैं तब इस विश्वका कोई अस्तित्व ही नहीं रहता। सच्चा अस्तित्व मनोविकल्प और वाक्प्रपञ्चसे पर होनेके कारण निर्विकल्प और निष्प्रपञ्च है। योगाचार और शून्यवादने जो स्थापना की वही स्थापना वेदान्तपरम्पराके ब्रह्मतत्त्वके निरूपणमें अवतीर्ण हुई। इसीलिए केवलाद्वैत परम्परामें भी ब्रह्मतत्त्वका निर्विकल्प और निष्प्रपञ्चके रूपमें वर्णन हुआ है।

बाह्य और आन्तरिक अथवा जड़ और चेतन इन दोनों तत्त्वोंके वास्तविक अस्तित्वके मन्तव्यमेंसे एक ही आन्तरिक ज्ञान अथवा चेतनातत्त्वके वास्तविक अस्तित्वका जो मन्तव्य भिन्न-भिन्न दर्शन-परम्पराओंमें स्थापित एवं चर्चित हुआ उसका प्रेरक बल कौनसा है, यह भी एक प्रश्न है। इसका उत्तर भारतीय परम्पराओंकी प्राचीन सम्पत्ति-जैसी योगप्रणालीमेंसे उपलब्ध होता है। सांख्य-योग, जैन और बौद्ध इन तीनों परम्पराओंमें योग-विषयक



उच्च भूमिकाकी अमुक मान्यताएँ और उनकी परिभाषाएँ आज तक समान रूपसे सुरक्षित रही हैं। पातंजल योगसूत्रमें सवितर्क, निर्वितर्क, सविचार और निर्विचार ये चार समापत्तियाँ प्रसिद्ध हैं। बौद्ध परम्परामें सवितक्क-सविचारपीतिसुखएकगता आदि चार अथवा पाँच ध्यान, नयभेदसे, उपलब्ध होते हैं। जैन परम्परामें भी पृथक्त्ववितर्क-सविचार, एकत्ववितर्क-अविचार, सूक्ष्मक्रिय-अप्रतिपाती तथा समुच्छिन्नक्रिय-अप्रतिपाती ये चार ध्यान पहलेसे ही प्रचलित हैं। इनमेंसे निर्वितर्क एवं निर्विचारसमापत्तिको योगसूत्र और उस परके भाष्यमें निर्विकल्पक और इन्हीं समापत्तिकालीन दर्शनको परम-दर्शन एवं ऋतम्भरा प्रज्ञा कहा है। बौद्ध परम्परामें भी वितर्क एवं विचारकी उपशान्ति होने पर जो ज्ञान होता है उसीको निर्विकल्प कहा है। जैन परम्पराकी भी ऐसी ही मान्यता है। ध्यानकी ऐसी उच्च कक्षामें प्रकट होनेवाले ज्ञानको ही प्रत्येक परम्परा परम प्रमाण मानती है। परन्तु योगाचार महायानियोंने योगकी निर्विकल्प भूमिको ही अन्तिम और परमार्थ मानकर और तत्कालीन निर्विकल्प ज्ञानके अनुसार विश्वका निर्विकल्प एवं निष्प्रपञ्च रूप ही वास्तविक है तथा उसके अतिरिक्त सब-कुछ मनःकल्पित और अविद्यामूलक है ऐसा कहकर विज्ञानचित्तके अतिरिक्त सभी लौकिक और बाह्य पदार्थोंका निषेध किया है। शून्यवादी और केवलाद्वैती भी इसी मार्ग पर गये हैं।

इस प्रतिपादनका परिणाम ज्ञानप्रक्रियामें यह आया कि जो ज्ञान निर्विकल्पक और निष्प्रपञ्च वही परमार्थसत्य और जिस ज्ञानमें शब्दविकल्प अथवा मनका अनुवेध हो वह भ्रान्त या सांवृत।

ध्यानकी अमुक भूमिकाके आधार पर विश्वके स्वरूपका वर्णनतो विज्ञानवादियोंने किया, परन्तु उनके आगे अपने ही सगे भाइयोंका बड़ा भारी मोर्चा था। उन्होंने कहा कि बुद्धके उपदेशमें जो स्कन्ध, आयतन, लोकधातु, इन्द्रिय आदि बाह्य पदार्थोंका निरूपण आता है उसका क्या होगा? विज्ञानवादी और शून्यवादीने कहा कि पिटकोंमें जो वैसा उपदेश



है वह तो बुद्धने स्थूल अधिकारियोंमें बुद्धिभेद न हो और कालक्रमसे वे भी समझने लगेंगे ऐसा मानकर लौकिक दृष्टिसे किया है। बुद्धकी पारमार्थिक दृष्टि तो हम जो कहते हैं वही थी, इत्यादि।

विज्ञानवादी, शून्यवादी और केवलद्वैतीको दो-दो मोर्तों पर लड़ना पड़ता था। अपनी-अपनी परम्परामें जो बाह्यार्थका अस्तित्व मानते उनके साथ अपने पुराने ग्रन्थोंका तात्पर्य अपने ढँगसे स्पष्ट करके चर्चा करनी पड़ती, तो इतर बाह्यार्थवादी परम्पराओंकी दलीलोंका जवाब भी युक्ति-प्रयुक्ति द्वारा देना पड़ता। इस चर्चा और विवादकी प्रक्रियाका निर्देशक साहित्य विपुल परिमाणमें उपलब्ध है।

विज्ञानवादी एकमात्र ध्यानात्मक लोकोत्तर भूमिमें होनेवाले निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानको ही मुख्य और पारमार्थिक प्रमाण मानकर बाह्यार्थके स्वतंत्र अस्तित्वका खण्डन करते थे और लौकिक भूमिकामें होनेवाले सविकल्पक, अनुमान एवं आगम जैसे ज्ञानोंको पारमार्थिक वहीं मानते थे। अतः स्वाभाविक रूपसे ही बाह्यार्थवादी न्याय-वैशेषिक, सांख्य-योग, पूर्वमीमांसक एवं जैन जैसी परम्पराओंने तो विज्ञानवादीको ललकारा; इतना ही नहीं, बौद्ध परम्पराकी स्थविरवादी, सर्वास्तिवादी और सौत्रान्तिक जैसी बाह्यार्थका अपने ढँगसे भी वास्तविक अस्तित्व माननेवाली शाखाओंने भी विज्ञानवादके मन्तव्यका प्रतिवाद किया। अब विज्ञानवादके लिए नया रास्ता निकाले बिना कोई चारा नहीं था। इसलिए ध्यानावस्थ निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानकी उसके यहाँ जो प्रामाण्य-प्रतिष्ठा थी उसके आधार पर उसने लौकिक भूमिकाके ज्ञानक्रममें प्रामाण्यका विचार व्यवस्थित किया। उसने अपनी भूल मान्यताको सुरक्षित रखकर कहा कि ज्ञान तो निर्विकल्प ही प्रमाण है; लौकिक भूमिकामें जो इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षजन्य सर्वप्रथम ज्ञान होता है वह भी कल्पनापोढ होनेसे निर्विकल्प है और इसलिए वह भी प्रमाण है। परन्तु उसके पश्चात् होनेवाले सविकल्पक प्रत्यक्ष अनुमान या आगम ज्ञान सविकल्पक होनेसे साक्षात् प्रामाण्यवाले नहीं हैं। उनमें जहाँ कहीं प्रामाण्य



माना जाता है और लोकव्यवहार चलता है वहाँ उनका प्रमाण परम्परागत अथवा कहो कि निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानके आधार पर ही मानना चाहिए ।

विज्ञानवादने यह उत्तर तो दिया, परन्तु उसके समक्ष प्रश्न तो यह था कि बाह्यार्थके वास्तविक अस्तित्वके बिना इन्द्रियोंका सन्निकर्ष किसके साथ होगा ? इस पर उसने सौत्रान्तिक दृष्टिका अवलम्बन लिया । उस दृष्टिके अनुसार माने जानेवाले क्षणिक एवं निरंश बाह्य पदार्थका अस्तित्व मानकर और उसके साथ इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षको घटाकर उसने निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानकी प्रामाण्य-प्रतिष्ठा लौकिक ज्ञानमें भी की, परन्तु उसने सविकल्पक ज्ञानोंका निर्विकल्पक जैसा साक्षात् प्रामाण्य तो माना ही नहीं । इस प्रकार विज्ञानवादने अपने सबन्धु बौद्धोंको तो एक प्रकारसे सन्तुष्ट किया और मात्र निर्विकल्पको ही मुख्य प्रमाण माननेकी अपनी स्थिति भी सुरक्षित रखी । परन्तु इतनेसे इतर दार्शनिक वादियोंको सन्तोष नहीं ही सकता था, क्योंकि बाह्यार्थवादी सभी दर्शन सविकल्पक प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान एवं आगम जैसे सविकल्पक ज्ञानोंका मुख्य प्रामाण्य मानते थे । यह मतभेद और इसमेंसे फलित होनेवाली विवादप्रधान चर्चा भिन्न-भिन्न दार्शनिकोंके द्वारा भिन्न-भिन्न दृष्टिबिन्दुसे प्रवृत्त हुई है ।

सर्वप्रथम हम न्याय-वैशेषिक परम्पराका दृष्टिबिन्दु लेकर विचार करें । उसने कहा कि जिसका हम स्वरूपालोचनमात्र अथवा अव्यपदेशाके नामसे व्यवहार करते हैं वह ज्ञान इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षसे सर्वप्रथम अवश्य उत्पन्न होता है और उसमें विशेषण-विशेष्यभावका अवगाहन न होनेसे उसे निर्विकल्पक कहनेमें भी हमें कोई ख़ास हर्ज नहीं है, परन्तु यह प्राथमिक निर्विकल्प ज्ञान ही विषयस्वरूपकी दृष्टिसे प्रमाण है और उसके पश्चात् होनेवाला विशिष्ट ज्ञान अथवा सविकल्पक ज्ञान मुख्य प्रमाण नहीं है—ऐसा विज्ञानवादीका मन्तव्य यथार्थ नहीं है । इसी प्रकार अनुमान और आगम ज्ञानोंका मुख्या प्रामाण्य भी हम प्रत्यक्षके जितना ही मानते हैं । इस दृष्टिबिन्दुको न्याय-वैशेषिक परम्परा अन्ततक मानती रही है । उसने विज्ञानवादके मन्तव्यको अनेक युक्ति-प्रयुक्तियोंसे बाधित सिद्ध किया है ।



सांख्य-योग परम्पराने भी प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान एवं आगम ज्ञानकी प्रक्रिया एक तरहसे न्याय-वैशेषिक जैसी ही मानी है। फलतः उसने भी विज्ञानवादके मन्तव्यका प्रतिवाद किया है। अलबत्ता, सांख्य-योग परम्परा अन्तः करणवृत्तिको लेकर अपनी ज्ञान-प्रक्रिया घटाती है।

कुमारिल आदि मीमांसकोंने भी कहा है कि इन्द्रियजन्य सर्वप्रथम आलोचनाज्ञान अथवा निर्विकल्पकज्ञान अवश्य इष्ट है, परन्तु सन्निकर्षपरम्परा-मेंसे उत्पन्न होनेवाले सविकल्पक प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान और आगम आदि सविकल्पक ज्ञानोंके मुख्य प्रामाण्यका निषेध किया ही नहीं जा सकता। ऐसा कहकर इन ज्ञानोंका मुख्य प्रामाण्य उन्होंने अनेक युक्ति-प्रयुक्तियोंसे स्थापित किया है।

जैन परम्पराने भी विज्ञानवादका विरोध करके कहा कि तुम जिसे निर्विकल्पक कहते हो वैसा प्राथमिक ज्ञान व्यञ्जनावग्रह, अर्थावग्रह अथवा दर्शनके रूपमें हमें मान्य है परन्तु सभी सविकल्पक ज्ञानोंका प्रामाण्य तुम जो नहीं मानते वह हमें किसी प्रकार युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होता।

भर्तृहरि जैसे शब्ददर्शनके अनुगामियोंने तो विज्ञानवादी जैसे निर्विकल्पक ज्ञान पर अत्यन्त चार देनेवालोंको सुना दिया कि ज्ञानमात्र शब्द-सम्बद्ध होनेसे सविकल्पक ही है। यह शाब्दिक दर्शन का पक्ष एक प्रकारसे विज्ञानवादका सर्वथा विरोधी पक्ष कहा जा सकता है। यद्यपि शाब्दिक दर्शन अपनी रीतिसे सब ज्ञानोंको शब्दानुविद्ध मानता है, फिर भी उसकी परा, पश्यन्ती आदि वाक्की चतुर्विध प्रक्रिया विशेषरूपसे विचारणीय तो है ही। विज्ञानवाद लोकोत्तरभूमिमें सर्वथा शब्दसंसर्गसे रहित ज्ञानका अस्तित्व तो मानता है, तो शाब्दिक दर्शन लौकिक और लोकोत्तर किसी भी भूमिकामें शब्दसम्पर्कसे विरहित ज्ञानका अस्तित्व मानता ही नहीं। ये ही इन दोनों परम्पराओंके सर्वथा भिन्न दृष्टिबिन्दु हैं।

विज्ञानवादने सौत्रान्तिक दृष्टिका अवलम्बन लेकर और क्षणिक, निरंश एवं वर्तमान वस्तुमात्रके साथ इन्द्रियसंसर्गको मानकर तज्जन्य निर्वि-



कल्पक ज्ञानकी जब मुख्य प्रमाणके रूपमें स्थापना की, तब उसके पीछे उसकी दृष्टि यह रही कि निर्विकल्प ज्ञान जाति-गुण-क्रियाकी किसी भी कल्पनाका स्पर्श किये बिना ही अखण्ड, क्षणिक और वर्तमान वस्तुमात्रका अवगाहन करता है ; उसमें किसी धर्म-धर्मीका भेद भासित नहीं होता और न उसमें किसी भी प्रकारकी कल्पनाका प्रवेश होता है । इस प्रकार उसने लोकोत्तरभूमिके निर्विकल्पकको, अपने ढँगसे, लौकिक भूमिकामें घटाकर निर्विकल्पकमात्रके मुख्य प्रामाण्य और पारमार्थिकत्वकी प्रतिष्ठा के लिए येन केन प्रकारेण असाधारण प्रयत्न किया । इस प्रयत्नका प्रतिषेध करनेवाले इतरवादियोंने भी उतने ही बल तथा उतनी ही सबल एवं सूक्ष्म युक्तियोंसे उत्तर दिया । इस प्रकार निर्विकल्प और सविकल्पकी चर्चा केवल प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान तक ही मर्यादित न रही ; उस चर्चाने अनुमान, आगम आदि ज्ञानोंमें तथा ईश्वरीय प्रत्यक्ष, सर्वज्ञप्रत्यक्ष और योगिप्रत्यक्ष जैसे अलौकिक ज्ञानोंमें भी प्रवेश किया है ।

परन्तु अब प्रश्न यह है कि केवलाद्वैती वेदान्तियोंका इस बारेमें क्या मानना है । यह तो सर्वस्वीकृत बात है कि केवलाद्वैती शुद्ध ब्रह्मचैतन्यके अतिरिक्त दूसरी किसी भी वस्तुका वास्तविक अस्तित्व नहीं मानते । यदि ऐसा है तो उनके मतसे ज्ञान-व्यवस्था कैसी है ? इसका उत्तर संक्षेपमें इतना ही है कि मूल केवलाद्वैतीचिन्तकोंने अखण्ड ब्रह्म-विषयक निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानको ही मुख्य और पारमार्थिक प्रमाण माना है । ऐसा होने पर भी उनकी स्थिति विज्ञानवाद और शून्यवादकी अपेक्षा भिन्न है, क्योंकि केवलाद्वैती परम्पराका मुख्य आधार उपनिषद् हैं । आगमरूप होनेसे उनका समावेश तो शब्दप्रमाणमें ही होगा, और जहाँ शब्दप्रमाण होगा वहाँ सविकल्पक ज्ञान तो आ ही जायगा । अतएव केवलाद्वैती परम्परा यदि ब्रह्ममात्र-विषयक निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानको, विज्ञानवादकी भाँति, पारमार्थिक प्रमाण माने, तो फिर 'तत्त्वमसि' इत्यादि आगमजन्य सविकल्पक ज्ञानका क्या हो ? विज्ञानवादी तो अनुमान और बुद्धवचन जैसे आगमोंको भी सांगृत कह देते थे, परन्तु केवलाद्वैतीके लिए वहाँ तक जाना, अनेक



कारणोंसे, शक्य था ही नहीं। इससे उन्होंने दूसरा मार्ग अपनाया और कहा कि ज्ञान शब्दजन्य होनेसे ही सविकल्पक नहीं हो जाता। शब्दजन्य होने पर भी औपनिषद् ज्ञान संसर्गानवगाही होनेके कारण निर्विकल्पक ही है और इसीलिए वह मुख्य प्रमाण है। इस प्रकार केवलाद्वैतवादियोंने अपने निर्विकल्पक ज्ञानकी व्याख्या की।

ऐसा लगता है कि केवलाद्वैती परम्परामें निर्विकल्पक-सविकल्पक विषयक चर्चाका और उनकी व्याख्याओंका जो प्रवेश हुआ है वह चाहे जितना प्राचीन हो, परन्तु वह प्रवेश विज्ञानवाद और शून्यवादके बढ़े हुए तथा बढ़ते जाते प्रभावके बादका ही है। इसीलिए केवलाद्वैती परम्परामें इस प्रकारकी चर्चा करनेवाले प्राचीन ग्रन्थ नहीं हैं और यदि हैं भी तो वे आगमशास्त्रसे प्राचीन नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार देखनेसे ज्ञान होता है कि ज्ञानकी प्रक्रियामें लोकोत्तरभूमिकाका आश्रय लेकर विज्ञानवाद और शून्य-वादने जो नवप्रस्थान किया उसने इतर सभी दार्शनिकोंको अपना-अपना पक्ष स्थापित करनेके लिए बाध्य किया, और उन पक्षोंने भी विज्ञानवादी आदिको ऐसा तो परेशान किया कि अन्तमें उनको भी लोकोत्तरभूमिकी मादकतामेंसे मुक्त होकर और लौकिक भूमिकामें आकर ज्ञानकी प्रक्रियाका विचार सुव्यवस्थित करनेके लिए बाध्य होना पड़ा। इस प्रकार देखें तो भारतीय दार्शनिक और तार्किक वाङ्मयमें इस चर्चाका बहुत बड़ा और रसदायी भाग है। यह चर्चा उस-उस दर्शनके चिन्तक और स्थापकोंका सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म बुद्धिबल और दृढ़ मनोयोग सूचित करती है।

यहाँ एक बातका उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है कि जिस प्रकार विज्ञानवाद और शून्यवाद बौद्ध परम्पराकी सर्वास्तिवाद और सौत्रान्तिक शाखाओंके बादके ही क्रमिक विकास हैं और इसीलिए उनको अपनी पूर्वभूमिका जैसी उन शाखाओंका आश्रय लेकर ही शास्त्रीय चर्चामें उतरना पड़ा है, उसी प्रकार, मेरी दृष्टिसे, मात्र केवलाद्वैती ही नहीं, परन्तु रामानुज, बल्लभ आदि परम्पराएँ भी सांख्य तत्त्वज्ञानकी पीठिकाके ऊपर ही विकसित



हुई हैं। इसीलिए उन्हें जब कभी परिभाषाओं तथा अन्य बहुत-सी बातोंकी आवश्यकता पड़ी तब उन्होंने सीधे तौर पर अथवा कुछ रूपान्तर करके सांख्य परम्पराका ही आश्रय लिया है। इसका एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत निर्विकल्प-सविकल्पकी चर्चा है। केवलाद्वैती परम्पराके उत्तरवर्ती ग्रन्थोंमें जब प्रमाणनिरूपणकी आवश्यकता उपस्थित हुई तब उन्होंने सांख्यसम्मत अन्तःकरण, उसकी वृत्ति और उस अन्तःकरणका विषयदेशमें निर्गमन इत्यादि बातोंको स्वीकार करके अपना कथन पूरा किया है।

### धर्म और उसके तीन पहलू

भारतीय भाषाओंमें जो कतिपय शब्द सविशेष विख्यात हैं और जिनके अर्थका विकास एवं विस्तार बीजोंसे वटवृक्षकी भाँति हुआ है तथा जो शब्द प्रायः प्रत्येक भारतवासीको श्रवण-परिचित हैं वे शब्द हैं : ब्रह्म, व्रत, ऋत, जीव, आत्मा, यज्ञ, कर्म, पुनर्जन्म आदि। इनमें 'धर्म' शब्दका भी निर्देश करना चाहिए। दूसरे शब्दोंकी अपेक्षा 'धर्म' शब्दका परिचय क्षेत्र तथा विविध अर्थोंमें उसका उपयोग विशेष ध्यान आकर्षित करता है। 'धर्म' शब्द केवल आचार अथवा कर्तव्यके अर्थमें ही विकसित नहीं हुआ, उसने तो भक्ति एवं ज्ञानके सभी स्तरों और सभी सम्प्रदायोंको अपनेमें समेट लिया है। इसीलिए श्रमण-ब्राह्मण सभी परम्पराओंके साहित्यमें तत्त्वज्ञान, भक्ति और आचारप्रधान ग्रन्थ 'धर्म' पदके साथ संकलित उपलब्ध होते हैं। इस दृष्टिसे देखने पर धर्मका वर्णन करनेवालेको उसकी प्रत्येक शाखामें जो अर्थविकास हुआ है उसका आकण्ठ आकलन-संकलन करना चाहिए। मैं इस कार्यको अपनी मर्यादासे बाहरका समझकर उसके केवल तीन पहलुओंका स्पर्श करके यहाँ पर कुछ विचार करना चाहता हूँ। इनमेंसे प्रत्येक पहलूका किस प्रकार और किस क्रमसे विकास, मेरी दृष्टिके अनुसार, हुआ है तथा इन पहलुओंका पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध कैसा है, यह संक्षेपमें दिखलानेका मैं प्रयत्न करूँगा।



जीवनमात्र अखण्ड है। उसे समझनेके लिए बुद्धिसे उसको कुछ भागोंमें बाँटकर मनुष्य उसके विषयमें जानकारी प्राप्त करनेका प्रयास करता है, परन्तु जीवनके—अन्तः-बाह्य जीवनके—वे विभाग न तो एक-दूसरेसे सर्वथा भिन्न हैं और न एक-दूसरेके प्रभावसे नितान्त विमुक्त। वैसे विभागोंमें दो विभाग ऐसे हैं जो सर्वविदित हैं और जिनका कार्य प्रत्येक व्यक्ति सरलतासे समझ भी सकता है। वे दो विभाग अथवा अंश यानी श्रद्धा और बुद्धि। प्राणिमात्रका जीवन इन दो मुख्य तटोंके बीच प्रवाहित और विकसित होता है। यह विकास ही धर्म है, क्योंकि यही जीवनको धारण करता है।

परन्तु हम इस समय जिस कक्षाके धर्मके विषयमें विचार करनेवाले हैं वह कक्षा तो मानवजातिके आरम्भ-कालसे शुरू होती है और इतर प्राणियोंकी जीवन-कक्षासे प्रायः भिन्न ही है।

आदिम मानवसे लेकर आज तकके विकसित एवं संस्कृत मानवमें जिस धर्मका विकास हुआ है उसकी नींव यद्यपि श्रद्धा एवं बुद्धि ही है, तथापि उस विकासके मुख्य तीन पहलू हैं। पहला पहलू भक्ति, उपासना पूजा अथवा प्रार्थनाका है, जिसकी आधारशिला श्रद्धा है और जिसमेंसे क्रमशः साम्प्रदायिक एवं पन्थधर्मका विकास होता है तथा जो भिन्न-भिन्न चौकोंमें रूपान्तरित होता है। दूसरे पहलूका विकास मुख्य रूपसे बुद्धि अथवा विशेष प्रकारकी समझमेंसे होता है। यह समाजलक्षी है; अर्थात् ऐतिहासिक बलोंके परिवर्तनके साथ ही इस पहलूका सम्बन्ध उत्तरोत्तर विशाल मानव-समाजके साथ बढ़ता जाता है। इसीको हम समाजधर्मके नामसे पहचानते हैं। तीसरा पहलू व्यक्तिगत अन्तर्लक्षी निगूढ अनुभवके आधार पर विकसित होता है, जिसे हम अध्यात्मधर्म कह सकते हैं।

आदिमानव पत्थर, वृक्ष अथवा प्राणीकी पूजा करता था। इसके अवशेष आज भी अनेक रूपमें विद्यमान हैं। इसके अनन्तर वह प्रकृतिके सूर्य, चन्द्र, समुद्र, पर्वत, नदी आदि स्वरूपोंका पूजन-सत्कार करने लगा।



इस पूजा-उपासनाका प्रेरक तत्त्व किसी अगम्य एवं अलौकिक शक्ति-विषयक उसकी श्रद्धा ही रहा है। धीरे-धीरे यह श्रद्धा किसी एक सर्वशक्तिमान, सर्वज्ञ और सृष्टि-संहारकर्ता दिव्य एवं अलौकिक तत्त्वके विषयमें स्थिर होती गई। यही श्रद्धा अद्वैत ब्रह्म तथा सबमें आत्मौपम्यकी भावनाका परिपोष करके भी पूजा-उपासनाके विविध स्वरूपोंमें परिणत हुई है। इस प्रकार हम देखें तो मानवजातिके सांस्कृतिक समुत्थानमें श्रद्धाकी वृत्ति अगम्य एवं अलौकिक शक्तिके प्रति, भिन्न-भिन्न प्रयोजनके अनुसार, मनुष्यकी विनम्र, भक्त तथा उपासनाशील बनानेकी ही रही है। भूमण्डल पर इस समय जितने मुख्य पन्थ विद्यमान हैं और उनका जो इतिहास ज्ञात हुआ है उस परसे ऐसा कहा जा सकता है कि प्रायः सभी धर्म-पन्थ, कर्मोद्देश अंशमें, श्रद्धाकी परिवर्तिष्ण एवं विकसनशील वृत्तिमेंसे होकर गुजरे हैं।

धर्मकी प्रारम्भिक भूमिकामें श्रद्धा ही, फिर वह चाहे जिस कारणसे उत्पन्न हुई हो, मुख्य होती है; परन्तु जब उस श्रद्धामें कोई स्फोटक तत्त्व समाविष्ट होता है, अर्थात् कोई व्यक्ति उस प्रचलित श्रद्धाको शिथिल बनाकर उसमें कुछ संशोधन करता है और उस पुरानी श्रद्धाके बारेमें मनको बुद्धिबलके सहारे, साशंक बनाता है, तब उस पुरुषके आसपास भी एक समुदाय इकट्ठा हो जाता है। यही समुदाय आगे जाकर उस धर्मका एक सम्प्रदाय अथवा उपपन्थ बन जाता है। इस प्रकार बुद्धि और ज्ञान-विज्ञानका जैसे-जैसे विकास होता गया, लोगोंमें समझदारि अधिकाधिक बढ़ती गई पहले दूर-दूर रहनेवाले मानवसमुदाय एवं समाज अधिक समीप आते गये और एक-दूसरेके जीवनमें ओतप्रोत होते गये, वैसे-वैसे प्राचीन श्रद्धा, पूजाविधि और उपासनाके स्वरूपोंमें अवश्य परिवर्तन होता गया। कभी-कभी मनुष्य बुद्धि एवं ज्ञानके प्रकाशमें चौंधियाकर श्रद्धाका कार्य, जोकि अन्तिम आश्वासन प्रदान करता है उसको, भूल भी गया; फिर भी श्रद्धा तो सामुदायिक जीवनमें अपना निर्धारित कार्य करती ही रही, क्योंकि मानवका व्यक्तिगत मन समष्टि-मनके साथ इस प्रकार जुड़ा हुआ है कि वह प्रयत्न करे तो भी समष्टि-मनसे अलग होकर शान्तिका अनुभव कभी कर ही नहीं सकता;



और समष्टि-मन तो सामुदायिक जीवनके पूजा-उपासना आदि धार्मिक पहलुओंमें भी व्यक्त होता है । इसीलिए हम देखते हैं कि भिन्न-भिन्न जातियों टोलियों तथा देशोंमें बसनेवाले सभी मनुष्य किसी-न-किसी धर्म-पन्थका अवलम्बन लेकर गहरा सन्तोष अनुभव करते हैं ।

ये धर्म-पन्थ एक-दूसरेकी मान्यता एवं पूजाप्रणालिकाकी भिन्नताके कारण बहुत बार लड़े-झगड़े भी हैं, परन्तु अनिवार्य रूपसे सहजीवन बिता-नेका अवसर उपस्थित होने पर पुनः एक-दूसरेके साथ तटस्थ रहना तथा सहिष्णु बनना भी सीखे हैं । इस समय जानने योग्य बड़े और मुख्य धर्म-पन्थ लगभग तेरह हैं, यद्यपि इनके अवान्तर भेद-प्रभेद तो असंख्य हैं । धर्मके पहलूका स्वरूप इस प्रकार कहा जा सकता है :—

१. इसका आधार मुख्यतया श्रद्धा है । वह श्रद्धा भी किसी अगम्य एवं अलौकिक दिव्य शक्तिके प्रति होती है, फिर भले ही इसके प्रतीक दृश्य और गम्य प्रकारके हों ।

२. श्रद्धाजीवी धर्म-पन्थोंका एक लक्षण यह भी है कि वे अन्य पन्थोंके साथ जो महत्त्वका साम्य है उसकी ओर ध्यान न देकर उनसे अपना भेद दिखलानेवाले स्वरूप पर ही ध्यान केन्द्रित करते हैं । इसके परिणामस्वरूप भेदका ही पोषण होता रहता है ।

३. कोई भी धर्म-पन्थ अपने आसपास समुदाय जमा करके ही पनप सकता है । इसलिए उस-उस धर्म-पन्थके अनुयायी व्यक्तिके मनमें सर्वदा ऐसा ही विचार और उत्साह रममाण रहता है कि किसी भी प्रकारसे दूसरे पन्थके अनुयायियोंको अपने पन्थकी ओर मोड़ना चाहिए । इतना ही नहीं, यदि कोई व्यक्ति उसके पन्थका त्याग करता हो तो वह उसके प्रति घृणाभाव रखता है अथवा उदासीनता धारण करता है ।

४. धर्मके पान्थिक अथवा साम्प्रदायिक पहलूके साथ अनेक तत्त्व संकलित होते हैं । उनमेंसे पूजा-उपासनाके अमुक विशेष प्रकार, इनके



लिए गुरु एवं पुरोहितवर्गका अस्तित्व तथा उसके निर्वाहके लिए कुछ व्यवस्था, मन्दिर और तीर्थ जैसे धर्मस्थान, धर्मप्रधान ग्रन्थ, उन ग्रन्थोंकी प्रारम्भसे ही पवित्र मानी जानेवाली कोई एक भाषा, पन्थके अनुयायियोंका क्रियाकाण्ड एवं उत्सवप्रधान सामुदायिक जीवन, अपने-अपने पन्थके अनुयायियोंमें पारस्परिक एकत्वकी भावना इत्यादि लक्षण प्रत्येक पन्थमें दीये जैसे स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ते हैं ।

इस श्रद्धाप्रधान सम्प्रदायका अस्तित्व मानववर्गके साथ, उसके जीवनकी भाँति, अविभाज्य रूपसे जुड़ा हुआ है । इसका एक और अनन्य कहा जा सके वैसा लाभ यह है कि मनुष्य केवल इन्द्रियगम्य दृश्य लोकमें ही आवद्ध न रहकर दृष्टिमर्यादासे बाहरके ऊर्ध्वलोककी ओर भी दृष्टिक्षेप करने लगता है, उसको ध्यानमें रखकर जीवनमें ऊर्ध्वगामिताके पोषणके लिए यथाशक्ति पुरुषार्थ भी करता है और उसमें एक प्रकारकी आन्तरिक तृप्ति भी अनुभव करता है, जिसके बिना उसका जीवन नीरस और शुष्क हो जानेकी अधिक सम्भावना रहती । इस ऊर्ध्वगामी जीवनकी दिशामें प्रयाण करने पर बीचमें अनेक वहम और संकुचितताके भयस्थान बाधा उपस्थित करते हैं, परन्तु अन्तमें बुद्धि एवं पुरुषार्थ सहायता करके उसका उद्धार भी करते हैं । इसी कारण धर्मका साम्प्रदायिक पहलू सर्वदा कुछ-न-कुछ सिद्धि दिखलाता ही रहा है ।

धर्मका दूसरा पहलू सामाजिक है । समाज एक-से क्रदका और एक एक ही प्रकारका सर्वदा नहीं रहा है । हज़ारों वर्षोंमें वह परिवर्तन और विकासकी अनेक भूमिकाओंमेंसे व्यतीत होकर आजकी स्थिति पर पहुँचा है ।

मनुष्य गुहावासी था तब उसका समाज बहुत छोटा और इधर-उधर बिखरा हुआ था । इसके पश्चात् जब वह अपने पशुओंके साथ भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों में खानाबदोश स्थिति में भटकने लगा, उस समय यद्यपि उसके सामाजिक स्वरूपमें कुछ परिवर्तन तो हुआ, किन्तु उसके समाजका क्रद तो



छोटा ही रहा। खानाबदोश स्थिति में से जब वह खेती पर आया तब वह कुछ स्थिर हुआ और उसके छोटे-बड़े यूथ बनने लगे। इसी में से आगे जाकर छोटे-बड़े गाँवों का विकास हुआ। इस प्रकार परिवर्तित होते-होते मानवसमाज आजकी स्थिति पर पहुँचा है। आज तो भिन्न-भिन्न महाद्वीपों देशों और उनके प्रदेशों में रहने पर भी, विकसित यांत्रिक वाहनव्यवहारके कारण, मानो एक ही बड़े नगर में सब बसते हों ऐसा प्रतीत होता है।

आदिम मानव-कुटुम्बों से लेकर आजके विशाल समाजकी स्थितिमें मनुष्य पहुँचा है तो सही, परन्तु वह सर्वथा सीधे मार्गसे—उलझन, संघर्ष और मारकाटके बवण्डरों की थपेड़े खाये बिना नहीं पहुँचा। अनेक बार भिन्न-भिन्न समाज और दल, छोटे-बड़े कारणों से रणक्षेत्र में उतरे हैं और विरोधी दलका नामोनिशान न रहे इस प्रकार का उनका एक-दूसरेके साथ व्यवहार रहा है, फिर भी मानवसमाज तो उत्तरोत्तर सम्पन्न ही होता गया है और दिन-प्रतिदिन विस्तृत होनेवाले आप भी सम्बन्धों के कारण उनमें निकटता भी अधिकाधिक आती गई है।

अनेकविध आसुरी संग्रामों के होने पर भी भिन्न-भिन्न छोटे-बड़े मानव-समुदायोंके बीच संवाद का जो तत्त्व ऊपर उठता रहा है उसके मूलमें क्या है?—ऐसा प्रश्न सहजभावसे हो सकता है। इसका उत्तर सामाजिक धर्ममें से प्राप्त होता है। इतर प्राणियों की अपेक्षा मनुष्य में प्रेम, आत्मौपम्य और अहिंसा का बीज अत्यधिक मात्रा में सन्निहित रहता है। यह बीज चाहे जैसे विसंवादों को भी अन्तमें शान्त करके अपना काम करता ही रहता है। जिस प्रकार एक कुटुम्बमें अथवा एक देहात में बहुत बार विकट संघर्ष पैदा होने पर भी अन्तमें एक-दूसरे से मिले बिना चैन नहीं पड़ता, उसी प्रकार छोटे-बड़े सभी मानव समुदायों का है। मनुष्य जैसे अपने आपको अत्यन्त चाहता है, वैसे ही वह औरोंको भी उसी परिमाण में चाहकर सन्तोष का अनुभव करता है। यह चाह प्रेमशक्ति का बाह्य रूप है। प्रेम या अहिंसा जैसे-जैसे, समझदारी के साथ अथवा लाचारीसे, जीवन में विकसित



होती है, वैसे-वैसे विरोधी समाजोंके बीच संवाद स्थापित होता जाता है। यह मूलगत प्रेमवृत्ति ही समाजधर्म की आन्तरिक और ठोस नींव है। जिन्होंने इस आधारभूत तत्त्वको जीवनमें उतारा था और जो इसके लिए विशेष प्रयत्न करते रहे उन प्रज्ञाशील एवं विवेकी सन्तोंने मानव वर्गका मुख धर्मके इस सामाजिक पहलूकी ओर मोड़ा। इसके फलस्वरूप मानवजाति परलोक-लक्षी एवं श्रद्धाजीवी साम्प्रदायिक धर्मकी भूमिका में से आगे बढ़कर प्रत्यक्ष-गम्य एवं इहलोकलक्षी सामाजिक धर्मकी भूमिका को सविशेष समझनेके लिए प्रेरित हुई।

समाज धर्मके बाह्य नियम देश एवं कालभेदसे बदलते रहते हैं, परन्तु उन नियमों का जीवातुभूत तत्त्व तो प्रेम अथवा अहिंसा का बीज ही है। इस बीजका पोषण श्रद्धासे भी होता है, परन्तु उसमें माताकी-सी सँभाल रखनेवाले विवेकरूपी पोषक तत्त्वकी विशेष अपेक्षा रहती है। इस समय सब देशोंमें जैसे समाजलक्षी नियम हैं वैसे ही पहलेके समय में भी थे। भारत में वैसे नियमों का दिग्दर्शक विशाल साहित्य उपलब्ध भी है। गौतम धर्मसूत्र और मनुस्मृति जैसे स्मृतिग्रन्थ इसके निदर्शन हैं।

चार वर्ण और चार आश्रमके ढाँचे में उन ग्रन्थोंने उस समय तक के विकसित मानव धर्मका निरूपण किया है। उनमें जैसे जीवन व्यवसाय की भिन्न-भिन्न प्रवृत्तियोंको सुसंवादी बनानेके नियम हैं, वैसे ही व्यक्तिगत जीवनको आद्यन्त सुसंवादी बनानेके भी विधान हैं। इजिप्त, यूनान तथा अन्य प्राचीन सभ्यतावाले देशोंमें भी इसीसे मिलती-जुलती समाज धर्म की व्यवस्था थी। आज जैसे-जैसे विश्व समीप आता गया, वैसे-वैसे मानव-समाजके लिए शान्तिपूर्वक जीनेके नये नियम भी बनते गये और वे मान्य भी होते रहे। यह एक सामाजिक धर्मका आशीर्वादरूप बाह्य-देखा जा सके वैसा-पहलू है, परन्तु वास्तव में उसका मूल तो मानवके चित्तमें अविभाज्य एवं सहजसिद्ध है।



जब मनु अनेकविध वर्ण और आश्रम-विषयक व्यावहारिक नियमों का वर्णन करते हैं तब वे उस आन्तरिक मूलगत धर्मके स्वरूप को तनिक भी नहीं भूलते। इसीलिए वे मनुस्मृतिमें अहिंसा, सत्य आदि दस प्रकारके धर्मके रूपमें अथवा सत्पुरुषके विवेकके रूपमें उस आन्तरिक धर्मका भी सूचन करते हैं।

जैन, बौद्ध आदि अनेक श्रमणधर्म भी अस्तित्व में आते गये और उनका विकास भी होता गया। उन्होंने यद्यपि समाजके सभी स्तरोंको लक्षमें रखकर मनु आदि स्मृतिकारों की भाँति सामाजिक धर्मोंका वर्णन तो नहीं किया, परन्तु उन धर्मोंके अन्तःप्राणतुल्य अवैर अथवा प्रेमधर्म का निरूपण करने और उसका विकास करनेमें उनका अपेक्षाकृत अधिक योगदान रहा है।

धर्मके पहले पहलके रूपमें निरूपित उपासना अथवा पन्थधर्मके तथा दूसरे पहल इस सामाजिक धर्मके बीच जो अन्तर है वह खास उल्लेखनीय और ज्ञातव्य है। पहला पन्थधर्म मुख्यतया परलोकलक्षी एवं अतीन्द्रिय तत्त्वकी किसी-न-किसी प्रकारकी श्रद्धा पर स्थापित होता है और टिकता है, जबकि इस सामाजिक धर्मकी रचना मुख्यतया दृश्य इहलोकको लक्षमें रखकर हुई है। उपासना और पन्थधर्म तो उस-उस धर्मके अनुयायी तक ही मर्यादित होते हैं, जबकि सामाजिक धर्म विभिन्न पन्थोंके अनुयायियों को ही नहीं, बल्कि विभिन्न जातियों और लोगोंको भी एक-सा मान्य होता है। उपासना और पन्थधर्ममें बुद्धि एवं ज्ञानशक्ति अवश्य सहायता करती है, परन्तु उसका मूल आधार श्रद्धा है, जबकि सामाजिक धर्ममें मूल आधार बुद्धि, समझदारी और विवेकका है; अलबत्ता, इस आधारको दृढ़ बनानेमें श्रद्धाका बल काम तो करता ही है। उपासना और पन्थधर्मका यदि बहुत विकास हो भी तो वह केवल दूसरे पन्थके प्रति सहिष्णुता अथवा तटस्थता धारण करनेकी सीमा तक ही होता है परन्तु सामाजिक धर्म जब अपने सही अर्थमें विकसित होता है तब वह पंथ, जाति, देश और वर्णके भेदोंको भी मिटा डालता है।



जिस प्रकार उपासना और पन्थधर्म मानवजीवन का एक उज्ज्वल पहलू है उसी प्रकार सामाजिक धर्म भी उसका दूसरा उज्ज्वल पहलू है। इन दोनों पहलुओंके आधार पर ही सामुदायिक जीवन तृप्तिका अनुभव करता है। सामाजिक धर्मकी जो मूल नींव है वह उपासना अथवा पंथधर्मकी विरोधी नहीं है; उल्टा, वह उसके उज्ज्वल अंशके अधिक समुज्ज्वल बनाती है।

धर्मका तीसरा पहलू आध्यात्मिक है। आध्यात्मिक धर्मका उद्गम जीवमें जब अपने सत्य स्वरूपकी जिज्ञासा और उसकी अभीप्सा जगती हैं तब होता है। जब ऐसा उद्गम होता है तब वह जीव परमात्मा अथवा वीतराग जैसे अत्यन्त विशुद्ध आदर्श की ओर अभिमुख होता है। यह अभिमुखता ही उसे अपने आपका अन्तर्निरीक्षण करनेके लिए सतत प्रेरणा देती रहती है, जिसके कारण वह आध्यात्मिक जीव अपने किसी भी दोष अथवा मलको सहन नहीं कर सकता और उसके निवारणकी दिशामें निरन्तर प्रयत्नशील रहता है।

आध्यात्मिक धर्मको इस यात्रा का प्रेरक बल है श्रद्धा और विवेक-बुद्धि अर्थात् प्रज्ञा का समत्व। इस यात्रामें श्रद्धा जीवको सन्मार्ग पर टिकाये रखती है और प्रज्ञा उसे उन्मार्गमें जानेसे रोकती है। यह स्थिति ही श्रद्धा और प्रज्ञाकी भूमिका है।

जैसे-जैसे श्रद्धा और प्रज्ञाकी भूमिका विकसित होती जाती है, वैसे-वैसे जीवके मूलगत शुद्ध स्वरूप का अधिकाधिक आविर्भाव होता जाता है। तब ऐसे आध्यात्मिक धर्ममें सत्य, अहिंसा आदि सद्गुणोंका स्वतः विकास होने लगता है।

आध्यात्मिक धर्म साम्प्रदायिक अथवा सामाजिक धर्मकी भाँति सामुदायिक नहीं है। वह है तो व्यक्तिगत, परन्तु वह साम्प्रदायिक और सामाजिक दोनों सामुदायिक धर्मोंको उज्ज्वल करता है। एक प्रकारसे देखें



तो आध्यात्मिक धर्मका इन दोनों धर्मोंके साथ कोई विरोध नहीं है, तो दूसरी ओर उसका इन धर्मोंके साथ कभी-कभी विरोध भी पैदा होता है। परन्तु आध्यात्मिक धर्मकी विशेषता यह है कि वैसे विरोधको कालक्रमसे दूर करके वह उसमेंसे मानवजातिके लिए एक नया ही रसायन पैदा करता है और साम्प्रदायिक धर्मके छोटे-बड़े चौकोंको भेदकर सामाजिक धर्मकी संकुचित सीमाओंको विशाल बनाता है। इसलिए हम देखते हैं कि मूलतः व्यक्तिगत होने पर भी यह आध्यात्मिक धर्म मानवजातिके लिए सदा आशीर्वाद रूप ही रहा है।

इस प्रकार धर्मके इन तीन पहलुओंके द्वारा मानवधर्म की समग्र आकृति अंकित हुई है।

भारतीय तथा विश्वके इतर धर्मोंके बारेमें अंग्रेजी आदि भाषाओं में अनेक पुस्तकें पठनीय हैं। कई भारतीय भाषाओं में भी इस विषयकी पुस्तकें उपलब्ध हैं, तथापि मैं यहाँ तो दो पुस्तकों का निर्देश करना योग्य समझता हूँ, जो इस विषयके जिज्ञासुओंके लिए खास पठनीय है। पहली पुस्तक है श्री जे. ए. मैकयूलोश-लिखित Religion: Its Origin and Forms (प्रकाशक: The Temple Primers, London, 1904). दूसरी पुस्तक गुजराती में है, जिसका नाम है 'धर्म वर्णन' (प्रकाशक: प्राच्यविद्या मन्दिर, बड़ौदा)। इसके लेखक सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान स्वर्गीय डॉ. आनन्दशंकर बापूभाई ध्रुव हैं। निस्सन्देह डॉ. ध्रुवकी यह पुस्तक इतनी अधिक प्रामाणिक और उपयोगी है कि कमसे कम सभी जिज्ञासु भारतवासियों के लिए यह पठनीय है।



## SECTION XIII: TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS

SRI KRISHNA DEVA

Fellow delegates,

I am immensely grateful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference, led by Dr. Raghavan, for inviting me to act as President of this section, an honour which I hardly deserve. I have been a student of Indian art and archaeology and have recently been entrusted with the architectural survey of temples in north India in which I am now engaged. I should like to share with you some of the thoughts which have been uppermost in my mind during the execution of my present assignment.

Extremely valuable work has been done in the field of architectural studies by pioneers like Cunningham, Fergusson, Burgess, Cousens, Dubreuil, Longhurst, Rea, Vogel, Coomaraswamy, Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji who brought to light so many architectural monuments of this country and studied and classified them in the light of the existing knowledge which was inevitably dominated by the western concepts of architecture. Since then many more temples have come to light and many old Indian texts published on fine arts and architecture, some in the well-known Sanskrit series like the Trivandrum, Calcutta, Anandasrama, Tanjore Sarasvatimahar and Gaekwad Oriental series through the joint efforts of their authorities and scholar-editors and others through the efforts of individual scholars like P. K. Acharya and Nirmal Kumar Bose. The time has now come when Indian architecture should be studied in the light of the Indian Śilpa-texts. A beginning in this direction has been made by Stella Kramrisch, N. K. Bose, Narmadashankar M. Sompura and Prabhashankar O. Sompura and these have yielded good results. A study of the published Śilpa-texts shows that the various regions had their own traditions of architecture with complete terminology for all the temple-parts together with detailed directions for their construction and decoration, providing also measurements and proportions of each member. When the temples are studied in the light of our Śilpa-texts, we understand the function and purpose of each part better and get an idea of the concepts and traditions which inspired these artistic creations.



For example, let us take the term *Kapota* which is used both in north and south India for the overhanging cornice or a moulding representing it. Originally derived from timber-architecture and intended for sheltering domestic birds, its form is often flexed and nearer the timber—original in south India where it is also significantly called *Kapota-pālikā*. The same idea is implied in the western Indian *Kapotāli* which is a synonym for *Kapota*, a term at once so significant and rich in historical and cultural content. Again, through *Taraṅgapotikā*, we visualise the wave-like shape of the bracket much better than through the term *roll-bracket*. No western Classical term can be more appropriate than the north Indian *Khura* or the south Indian *Upāna*, literally meaning the hoof or the shoe and standing for the lowest moulding of the *Adhiṣṭhāna*. *Kaṇṭha*, *Gala*, or *Grīvā* are much more pictorial terms than recess or constriction and conjure up to our mind's eye the analogy with human anatomy convincingly. Traditionally the temple is likened to the human body and accordingly the basement is compared to the foot, the wall-portion to the thigh (*Jaṅghā*) and the structure between the wall and the *Śikhara* is aptly called the waist (*Mekhalā* or *Varaṇḍikā*). Incidentally it may be noted here that of all the northern regions the terminology of Orissa for the upper parts of the temple is most appropriate. Consistently with human analogy, the superstructure rising over the waist or *Mekhalā* is called here *Gandī* or trunk and not *Śikhara* which etymologically means the head—a sense in which this term is correctly used in south India. In Orissa it is only the crowning ornaments coming above the neck (*Bekī* or *Grīvā*) which are conjointly known as *Mastaka*, a synonym for *Śikhara*.

To take another illustration, it is easy enough to describe according to the traditional terminology the clustering of the main stem of the *Śikhara* by means of the subsidiary ones, a well-known characteristic of many medieval temples of central and western India. To distinguish a *Latina* or *Ekāṇḍaka-śikhara*, a *śikhara* clustered by four miniature *śṛṅgas* is called *Pañcāṇḍaka*, that clustered by eight miniature ones *Navāṇḍaka*, by twelve miniature ones *Trayodaśāṇḍaka*, etc. Again it is often found to be very cumbersome to describe the lay-out plan of a temple like *Udayeśvara* at *Udaipur* (Dist. *Vidisha*) with a sanctum which is square internally, but having a circular outline externally with projections some



of which are not at right angles. This is often cumbrously described as the plan obtained on the principle of a rotating square round a central axis. For such temples, the texts give a very convenient term viz, *Vṛtta-saṁsthāṅka*. The Udayeśvara temple is of this type with four *bhadrās* (Catur-bhadra), the Galteśvara temple at Sarnel (Gujarat) is of this type with eight *bhadrās* (Aṣṭa-bhadra), while the Śiva temple at Indore (District Guna) is of this type with twelve *bhadrās* (Dvādaśa-bhadra).

The term used in the texts for the Paramāra style of architecture is *Bhūmija*. The Śikhara of this style of temples shows four *Latās* or spines decorated as usual with the *Jālaka* of *caitya*-arches in the principal cardinal directions and a grouping of minor Śikharikās in the four quadrants or inter-spaces of the spines. The Śikharikās vary in number from three to five in the horizontal row and from five to nine in the vertical row. Each Śikharikā is a miniature Nāgara-Śikhara standing on a pilaster. These temples are called *Bhūmija* in the texts because their distinctive trait is the grouping of the Śikharikās into storeys or *Bhūmis*. The number of storeys varies from five to nine, the last known in the texts as *navamālikā*. Each unit of the Śikharikā is known as a *Kūṭastambha* which is an appropriate description of the Śikharikā standing on the pilaster.

The practical utility and validity of the texts is proved by the fact that in Gujarat, as in south India, architecture is a living tradition and the traditional architects, for example of Gujarat, place a good reliance on some of the old texts like the *Dīpārṇava* and *Vṛikṣārṇava* which are of immense help to them. It is true that the texts also deal with theories or mere theoretical possibilities and many of them have corrupt recensions and have therefore to be used with caution. Nevertheless, the importance of the texts as authentic records of the structural mode, functional validity and decorative embellishment of the temples in the respective regions cannot be underestimated. I may mention here that in the architectural survey being conducted by the speaker in north India and by his colleague, K. R. Srinivasan, in south India, the ancient concepts and terminology have been fully exploited and have paid rich dividends, by solving many knotty problems.



Another point which I propose to emphasize is that the study of architecture should be carried on through the analytical or stratigraphical method. Many temples continued in use over long centuries and were renovated either partly or completely, once or sometimes more often. Jīrṇoddhāra or renovation was always regarded as an act of merit. In many cases old sculptures were retained, while in other cases older sculptures were introduced in later structures or *vice versa*. When the structure is of one period and has not been meddled with subsequently, the problem is simple enough. Again when we have authentic inscribed record as in many temples of south India stating that such-and-such temple was built by so-and-so in such-and-such year or such-and-such part was renovated in such-and-such year we should consider ourselves to be extremely lucky. But quite often the inscriptions may be mere pilgrim-records and may be too incomplete or laconic to be helpful. In all such cases and in cases where inscriptions do not exist at all, the sole guide is the analytical or the stratigraphical method. We have to analyse each significant structural member in the perspective of the development of the total plan and elevation and carefully study the plastic style, the decorative motifs, and the architectural designs and thus by pursuing the art-historical methodology alone can one fix a date for the temple or its parts. For example, the use of a few older architectural members in the Catarmukha Mahādeva Temple at Nachna (District Panna) confused scholars like K. P. Jayaswal in believing that the entire temple belonged to the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age. But the truth is that the door-way and the three latticed windows, carved with friezes of Gaṇas, scrolls, river-goddesses, mithunas, etc. in the Classical style are of the Gupta age, while the rest of the temple with its developed basement-mouldings and śikhara-design, with its figures of Dikpālas and Vidyādhara and typical Pratīhāra motifs like tall udgamas, garland loops, and square rafter ends, carved with lion heads, belongs to the 8th-9th centuries.

Similarly, the Vimāla-Vasahi on Mt. Abu, as it has come down to us, was not entirely built by Daṇḍanāyaka Vimāla in A. D. 1032. While its Guḍha-maṇḍapa and Nava-chaukī with its chastely ornamented pillars and ceilings were built by Vimāla, the Raṅga-maṇḍapa displaying a more ornate style of carvings was added to it subsequently probably by the minister Prithvipāla, a descendant of Vimāla, who is recorded to have made extensive additions and



renovations (*tīrthoddhāra*) to the temple in circa 1150. To a discerning eye the advanced ornaments on the pillars, architraves and ceilings of the Raṅga-maṇḍapa and the modelling and style of the Vidyā-devis abutting against its principal ceiling distinctly stand out from the artistically earlier and superior work of the time of Vimala, seen on the superb Nava-chaukī.

Again, until recently it was widely believed that all the Khajuraho temples were built within a hundred years, from *circa* 950 to 1050. But from a comparative study of the significant details of architectural lay-out and design, the style and modelling of the sculptures and the development of the decorative motifs and ornaments together with available inscriptional evidence, the speaker has shown (*Ancient India* No. 15) that the architectural activity at Khajuraho ranges in date from *circa* 850 to 1150. We have to allow for more than half a century for the gradual transition from granite to sandstone and then account for the progressive development of plan, design and ornamentation on the large group of the sandstone temples. On a comparative analysis of the sculptural, architectural and decorative features of the latter temples, it is found that the Lakṣmaṇa and Duladeo are endowed with pronounced individual features of a marked diversity, representing the two extremes of the same movement. Thus, while the plastic modelling of the Lakṣmaṇa is sensitive and massive, that of the Duladeo is stereotyped, crusty and angular, often showing very shallow relief. While the Śikhara of the Lakṣmaṇa has a single row of Urah-śṛṅgas and two rows of Karṇa-śṛṅgas, that of the Duladeo is clustered by three rows both of Urah-śṛṅgas and Karṇa-śṛṅgas. Again, the individual chaitya-arches forming the lattice-ornament of the Śikhara are bold, distinct and of a pristine form on the Lakṣmaṇa, while those on the Duladeo are confused and complicated. The Lakṣmaṇa, therefore, stands at the beginning of the finer series of the Khajuraho temples and the Duladeo at its fag end. While the dedication of the former is precisely dated in A. D. 954, the latter is stylistically assignable to *circa* 1150. In between are to be placed the other temples. In fact, the typical Khajuraho style begins with the Lakṣmaṇa, which is followed by the Pārśvanātha, Viśvanātha (dated 1002), Jagadambi and Citragupta, marking the successive stages in the evolution of the architectural and sculptural efflorescence at Khajuraho. The peak is



reached in the Kandariya-Mahadeva which represents the grand finale and culmination of the architectural movement. The temples which followed the Kandariya, viz. the Vāmana, Ādinātha and Javari, keep up the sculptural excellence of the style but are less ambitious projects. The Caturbhuja, which closely follows the Javari, continues the same sculptural and architectural traditions, but the signs of decline are already evident. The Duladeo marks the last glow of the dying lamp, as it combines highly dynamic and vigorous sculptures with degenerate, stereotyped and lavishly-ornamented figures and art-motifs.

Thus it is only by a comparative analysis of the relevant elements of the temple plan, design and ornamentation, supplemented by the available literary, historical and epigraphical data that it is possible to arrive at a reasoned chronology of any group of temples. In recent years such a study of the south Indian temples has been made by K. R. Srinivasan, whose book on the Pallava Cave-Temples is already in the Press. Similar work on the Gujarat temples has been undertaken by a band of young and devoted scholars led by J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky. The latter has contributed a long paper on the Pre-Solanki and Solanki temples of Gujarat after a penetrating study of all the western Indian monuments. The speaker is currently engaged on a general survey of the early temples of north India together with a detailed study of the temples built by the medieval dynasties of central India. Now all the temples built between the tenth and thirteenth centuries by the Kalachuris, Chandellas, Kachhapaghātas and Paramāras, who vied with each other in the arts of war and peace, apparently look alike and share together many elements of plan, design and decorative scheme, due obviously to a common Gupta and Pratihāra heritage, and it is only by the application of the analytical method just discussed that it is possible to appreciate and bring out the variations which characterize the temple-style of each of these dynasties. The principal distinctive features of the Paramāra or Bhūmija style have already been discussed, to which may be added a Saṁvaraṇa roof for the Maṇḍapa. The Kachchhapaghāta temples are distinguished by a low plinth, double registers on the Jaṅghā, low pillars decorated with pot-and-foliage design, a Pañca-śākhā doorway characterized by stylised Nāga-śākhā and Stambha-śākhā carved with spiral decorative bands, a frieze of



square rafter-ends carved with monkey-heads on the Varāṇḍikā and a Śikhara designed on the principle of Pañca-guṇa-sūtra and crowned by a small Āmalaka. The Kālachuri temples have their own regional idioms and individual traits, though by the eleventh century they had absorbed many Chandella features as seen in the Virāṭeśvara temple at Sohagpur which shows a similar arrangement and ornamentation of the Jaṅghā, but a different treatment and proportion for the Śikhara and the Mahāmaṇḍapa. The Chandella temples have their own peculiarities of plan, elevation and decorative scheme which are oft discussed and need not be repeated. Their plan is compact and integrated, combining all the developed constituents and their elevation is marked by a rare accentuation of all the elements including the Jagatī, Adhiṣṭhāna and Jaṅghā, the latter girdled by three splendid bands of sculptures and crowned by roofs which are unparalleled in vertical accent and rhythm. With their Saptāṅga plan and elevation, marked by their exquisite proportion, accentuation and plastic exuberance, the Chandella temples, particularly of Khajuraho, attain the highest water-mark of the Nāgara temple-design. Among the factors leading to this consummation the most potent one was that of the Chandellas, being the political and cultural heirs of the Imperial Pratīhāras, inherited the best traditions of the Pratīhāra art and architecture both of central India and Rajasthan and pressed into service the artistic talents of both the regions. They borrowed the plan from the Kālikāmātā Temple at Chittor, the elevational design from the Ambikāmātā Temple at Jagat (District Udaipur), the decorative and plastic ornamentation from Osian and the sensuousness from Abaneri and when they combined these elements with the architectural accentuation of the Gadarma Temple at Badoh and the Teli-ka-mandir at Gwalior, the two grandest Pratīhāra monuments of Central India, the latter built probably by Mihira Bhoja (c. 836-88 A. D.) the result was the Lakṣmaṇa Temple, which was the earliest among the evolved temples of Khajuraho. This discussion underlines the supreme importance of the contribution of the Pratīhāras to the development of art and architecture in north India which has not been appreciated to the extent it should be. Of the northern architectural style only the foundations were laid during the Gupta age, and it was during the Pratīhāra period that the style attained its adolescence and early maturity and the forms of the temple plan and design including the Rekḥā-śikhara marking



the chief coghizance of the Nāgara style were consolidated and received significant elaborations.

We shall now briefly notice some of the outstanding contributions made in the field of fine arts with particular reference to the study and interpretation of Indian art and architecture during the last four years.

A valuable original Śilpa text recently published is the Dīpārṇava, a work of the 13th century, which has been edited with Sanskrit text and Gujarati translation by Prabhashanker O. Somapura, the best living traditional architect of Gujarat. D. N. Shukla has been pursuing his researches and published recently a book entitled Vāstuśāstra, mainly based on the well-known text Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra. V. S. Agrawala and Moti Chandra have jointly edited the Chaturbhāṇī—a collection of four Sanskrit burlesques of the Gupta age—and translated it into Hindi with critical notes and a long introduction, bringing to light many social and cultural institutions of the Gupta age and interesting but little-known facets of the fashionable Gupta society. The Oriental Research Institute, Baroda has published Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III Khaṇḍa (Vol. I text) which has been critically edited with an introduction by Priyabala Shah. This is a valuable text of the late Gupta period dealing with the practice and theory of painting, dance, architecture and iconography. During the last four years this Institute has also published many valuable works on Indian music, viz., the Rāgatattvavibodha of Śrīnivāsa—edited by V. S. Desai, Vīṇālakṣaṇa and Vīṇāprapāṭhaka—edited by J. S. Pade, Saṅgītachūḍāmaṇi of Jagadekamalla—edited by D. K. Velankar Shastri, and Saṅgītopeniṣadsāroddhāra of Vācanācārya Sudhākalaśa—edited by U. P. Shah. The last text by a Jain monk is the earliest known datable work, giving the iconography of different Rāgas and faithfully preserves the tradition of music and dance prevalent in western India during the 13th-14th centuries. The Institute has also brought out second editions of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Vol. I) with illustrations of the dance-poses from the Chidambaram Temple and the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmachandra and Gunachandra a 12th century work on dramaturgy, making copious references to ancient Indian dramas including Devī-Candragupta. In the coming year the Oriental Research Institute



proposes to publish Mallapurāṇa, a work on wrestling, under the joint editorship of B. J. Sandesara and R. N. Mehta and Someśvara's Mānasollāsa (Vol. III) containing chapters on music, magic, etc. under the editorship of G. K. Srigondekar.

Nandikeśvara's Bharatārṇava is an important and long-awaited text which has been brought out by the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library by K. Vasudeva Sastri. The Varalakshmi Fine Arts Academy of Mysore has published the Abhinava-Bharata-sāra-saṅgraha of Mummadi Chikkabhupala, a 17th century work on music, which has been edited by R. Sathyanarayana. P. Sambamoorthy, the indefatigable worker in the field of music, has published besides Laya Vādyas, the second volume of his Dictionary of South Indian Music and Musicians. The Madras Music Academy has taken in hand the publication of Hastamuktāvalī of Śubhaṅkara and two Tamil texts on *abhinaya*, viz. *Abhinayasārasamputa* and *Abhinayanavanīta*.

The Lalit Kala Akademi has kept up its tradition and brought out sumptuous volumes written by well-known art-critics on paintings including *Miniature Paintings from Moti Chand Khazanchi collection* by Karl Khandalawala, *Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, Bundi Paintings* by Pramod Chandra, *Kishangarh Paintings* by Eric Dickinson and Karl Khandalawala, *Mewar Paintings in the Seventeenth Century* by Moti Chandra and *Moghul Paintings in the American Collections* by Ettinghausen. The Lalit Kala Akademi is shortly bringing out two equally important works, viz. *Indian Painting in relation to Indian Poetry* by N. C. Mehta and Moti Chandra and *South Indian Bronzes* by C. Sivaramamurti. Other recent notable books on paintings are *Pahari Miniature Paintings* by Karl Khandalawala, *Basohli Paintings and Kangra Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by M. S. Randhawa, *Central Indian Painting* by W. G. Archer and *Paintings of the Deccan (XVI--XVII century)* by Douglas Barrett. Karl Khandalawala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra have also contributed individually a number of very valuable papers on different aspects of Indian art in the *Lalit Kala* and the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*. Particularly noteworthy among these is a provoking paper on the Ancient Indian Ivories by Moti Chandra.



The Bharat Kala Bhavan is planning to bring out shortly two books on paintings, viz. *Malwa Paintings in Kala Bhawan* by W. G. Archer and the *Illustrated MS. of Anwar-i-Suhaili of 1596 A. D.* by Rai Krishna Das. Among other scholars who have recently made substantial contribution to the interpretation of Indian art may be mentioned Stella Kramrisch, H. Goetz, Douglas Barrett, V. S. Agrawala, U. P. Shah, T. N. Ramachandran, Nihar Ranjan Ray, S. K. Saraswati and Sivaramamurti. C. Sivaramamurti has published his *Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculpture* in the Madras Museum Bulletin Series and has recently brought out an illustrated book on the *Borobodur Stupa* in French, published by the Musée Guimet. His two books on *Indian Bronzes* and *South Indian Bronzes*, which are in the press, are eagerly awaited as authoritative works. U. P. Shah has published, besides many learned papers, two thought-provoking books on the early western Indian art, viz. *Akota Bronzes* and *Sculptures from Shamalaji and Roda*. He has also edited with a critical introduction two 17th century Sanskrit texts *Gīrvāṇapādamañjarī* and *Gīrvāṇavāṇmañjarī* throwing side-lights on the social and cultural history and geography of the holy city of Banaras. His book on the *Jaina Iconography* is eagerly awaited. B. J. Sandesara has contributed a very informative paper on the cultural data in the *Vāsudeva-Hindī*, a 6th century Prakrit work. Younger scholars like R. C. Agrawala, V. S. Pathak, K. V. Soundararajan, K. D. Bajpai, A. K. Bhattacharya, R. Sengupta, Anand Krishna and Klaus Bruhn have also contributed valuable papers on Indian art, architecture and iconography.

Among popular art-books recently issued may be mentioned D. R. Thapar's *Icons in Bronzes*, K. Bharata Iyer's *Indian Art - A Short Introduction*, Projesh Banerji's *Folk Dances of India*, Mukul De's *Birbhum Terracottas*, Rustam J. Mehta's *Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India*, Charles Fabris, *History of Indian Dress*, G. A. C. Pandey's *Art of Kathakali*, Manohar Kaul's *Trends in Indian Paintings-Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, Shanti Swarup's *Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan*, and Jamila Brij Bhushan's *Costumes and Textiles of India and Indian Jewellery, Ornaments and Decorative Designs*. Among the more serious works on art Sir John Marshall's *Buddhist Art of Gandhara* is a long-awaited work of reference, like Harald Inghold's *Gandharan Art in Pakis-*



*tan*, Louis Frederic's *Indian Temples and Sculpture*, published in Thames and Hudson series, gives fine illustrations of Indian art and architecture with a short introduction. *Khajuraho* by E. Zannas and J. Auboyer is a highly informative, well-written and lavishly illustrated volume. The Madras Museum has recently issued a book on the *Gopuras of Tiruvannamalai* from the authoritative pen of F. H. Gravely in their Bulletin series. Dr. H. Goetz has written a one-volume book on *Five Thousand Years of Indian Art* in German and English which will be read with interest by all students of Indian Art.

The Bhulabhai Memorial Institute has brought out informative and nicely illustrated handbooks on *Mukhalingam*, *Sirpur* and *Rajim Temples* by M. G. Dikshit and Douglas Barrett, the latter having contributed a hand-book also on *Ter*. This Institute has also sponsored a valuable work by D. H. Gordon entitled *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* which gives a good resume of the proto-historic and pre-historic industries and arts of India.

The Institute Per La Collaborazione Culturale, Roma (Italy) and the McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., are to be congratulated on bringing out three large volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of World Art* which will remain as an indispensable work of reference for students of art, history and culture all the world over for years to come.

Among the monuments recently unearthed by the Archaeological Survey of India, most remarkable from the art-historical viewpoint, are the Buddhist monastery complex of Ratnagiri, the numerous shrines and mass of sculptural wealth from Nagarjunakonda and the fine sculptures on the rock-cut caves at Pitalkhora, excavated respectively by Debala Mitra, R. Subrahmanyam and M. N. Deshpande. T. N. Ramachandran's monumental report on the Excavations at Nagarjunakonda is eagerly awaited together with his book on the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore, illustrating *inter alia* the dance-poses of the early Chola period. The large ornate brick Stupa with Gandharan affinities at Devni Mori near Shamalaji is also a notable monument recently excavated by the Baroda University under the direction of B. Subbarao. This brings us to the valuable research work in the field of Indian art being done by several Universities and Institutes in India, like the



Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute and the Universities of Baroda, Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow and Banaras. To cite only one example, V. S. Agrawala of the Banaras Hindu University has, in addition to contributing many books and learned papers on various aspects of Indian art and culture, including Vedic symbolism, is guiding a band of research scholars, some of whom have recently been awarded Doctorate on their theses, such as N. P. Joshi on "Material Civilization of Ancient India as revealed from Indian Art", Kapila Vatsyayan on "Indian dancing in Art and Literature" and Anand Krishna on "A survey of Rajasthani Paintings."

We have already noticed the recent publications of the Lalit Kala Akademi whose journal *Lalit Kala* ranks among the leading arts journals of the world on account of the high standard of its research-papers, publication and editorial comments. Similarly, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has made substantial progress in the preservation and growth of art-traditions in the fields of Indian dance, drama and music by financing and co-ordinating the activities of the State Akademies and other institutions and by organizing publication and research, seminars and festivals and training institutions and exchanges with foreign lands including Indonesia where some of the Indian traditions in these arts are still alive. Among the recent achievements of the Akademi may be mentioned the establishment of the Manipuri Dance College at Imphal and of the National School of Drama and Asian Theatre Institute at Delhi. The Akademi has launched a laudable scheme of compilation of Technical Terms in Music, Dance and Drama which has made a promising start under the direction of our General President, Dr. Raghavan, who as the guiding spirit of the Madras Music Academy and the Samskrita Ranga, Madras, is playing a leading role in the revival of the Sanskrit drama and the traditional forms of music and dance in south India. We may also note in this connection the notable contributions made in the fields of music and drama by the All India Radio which has played a vital role in bringing together the Hindustani and Karnatak systems of music, fostering thereby the cultural unity of India.



## SECTION XV: LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF THE JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

GAURI SHANKAR

Kashmir is a gem on the bosom of the Himalayas. This happy valley is as ancient as its language. It is happy in possessing the choicest blessings of nature. It is situated in such a manner that it tends to be secluded and cut off from the rest of the world, surrounded as it is by the impregnable and impenetrable, though not invulnerable, Himalayas. It remained an isolated sanctuary of Indian culture till at least the fourteenth century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest changed its social structure.

Kashmir is known for the beauty of its landscape and the charm of its shawls, which display the deftness of its makers and stand as best testimony to their skill and industry. These shawls are an indication that their producers have a sense of form and colour and some delicacy and refinement. The inhabitants of Kashmir are known for their acuteness and subtlety of mind, their intelligence and quickwittedness. The silver work, wood carving, paper mache and carpets are a few of the other handicrafts that they pursue.

A country of such stirring and striking natural beauty must have produced refined and noble people. Kashmir possesses remnants of the past which point to the greatness of the people. This valley is studded with archaeological remains of buildings remarkable for their solidity, simplicity, durability, graceful elegance of their outlines and their massive boldness. The finest type of such an architecture is seen in the temple of Martand dedicated to the Sun (Mārtaṇḍa in Sanskrit means the Sun). Another prominent temple of Kashmir style of architecture is the shrine of Sankaracarya on the Gopadri Hill almost in the centre of the valley. Ancient Kashmir architecture shows that its builders were of religious bent of mind unlike the present generation who build big hotels, Secretariats, Cinema Houses, Banquet Halls, Assembly Rooms, and High Courts. Their ancestors built temples and mosques, citadels and forts, palaces and serais.



### A Peep into Its Past

Epochs in the history of Kashmir that have influenced the life and thought of the valley have been fortunately recorded in its chronicles. Kashmir stands unique in possessing such a literature, the lack of which is felt in the case of the rest of India. Kalhaṇa brings the account upto 1006 A. D. in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which was carried further to 1420 by Jonaraj, who lived in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-abdāin. Next Srivara brought it upto 1489 and Prajya Bhatta completed it upto the annexation of the valley by Akbar to the Mughal Empire in 1586. After that Kashmir finds mention in the history of India as one of its units.

To unravel the past of Kashmir, modern scholarship owes a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Stein, who rendered a singular service to Kashmir by bringing out an annotated and translated critical edition of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Kashmir has its *Purāṇa* also by name *Nilamata*.

Equally important is the service rendered by that great embodiment of linguistic scholarship Sir George Grierson. It was he who brought out the first scientific grammar and dictionary of Kashmir language and brought to light several other books in Kashmiri.

Contribution to Sanskrit literature by Kashmir writers is immense. For centuries it has remained one of the celebrated homes of Sanskrit learning and most of the literature of Kashmir written in Sanskrit is deservedly famous. From this valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fables and mythology. Their neighbours, *Paśācas* to its north-west, remained as barbarous as ever without any literary history. It was the genius of Kashmir that bloomed into diverse forms of literary activity. It was a gift of Sanskrit civilisation. What one finds most astonishing is the highly synthetic perspective that these Kashmir Sanskritists have taken. Look at Kṣemendra, that prodigious writer who summarised the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata* and rendered into Sanskrit the Prakrit *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. He was a versatile writer in as much as he compiled the Buddhist *Avadānas*. In fact he has also said much on contemporary social, religious and administrative life. Somadeva has shown encyclopaedic knowledge of folk-lore in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Jayadratha consolidated the attributes of Śiva in his *Haracaritaṇṭāmani*, while



## SECTION XV : LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF THE J &amp; K STATE 355

Ratnākara makes the longest Kāvya on the victorious exploits of Śiva in his famous Haravijaya Kāvya. Bilhaṇa is an adventurous writer and has travelled far into the interior of India and has written his Vikramāṅkadevacarita to commemorate the deeds of his patron the King of Kalyan (1075-1126 A. D.). To poetry and poetics, Kashmir has made the most extensive and authentic contribution.

Kashmir Śaivism is another landmark in the achievement of Kashmir mind. Vasugupta in the 8th century expounded its teachings extensively and wrote his Spandakārikā. In the 9th century Kallāṭa wrote his well-known Spandavṛtti and later Somānanda elaborated the system in Śivadṛṣṭi. In the 10th century, Utpaladeva wrote on Śaivayoga. But the greatest authority on Kashmir Śaivism was Abhinavagupta who has left his imperishable work, the Tantrāloka. It is a magnificent treatise on Kashmir Śaivism. The Research department of Jammu and Kashmir has published most of this literature.

### Glimpses of the Political History of Kashmir

The first authentic fact that is established in the history of Kashmir is that Aśoka's sovereign power was extended to the valley. His influence is discernible in the remains of Buddhist Vihars and Stupas scattered over the valley. According to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka founded the original city of Srinagar.

The next great landmark is the reign of King Kaniṣka. He was renowned throughout the Buddhist world as a pious Buddhist king who held in Kashmir the famous Third Council of the order of Buddhists. According to Yuwan Chwang, the Chinese authority and contemporary of emperor Kaniṣka, all the treatises of the Buddhist canon were discussed in the Assembly and these were engraved on copper-plates which were enclosed in stone-boxes and deposited in a Stupa especially built for the purpose. It would indeed be a great discovery if these could still be found lying hidden like Gilgit manuscripts in a monastery or in the remains of a temple lying under a mosque.

After Kaniṣka we come to a great historical figure, Lalitāditya who reigned about 699-736 A. D. He extended his sway over the neighbouring districts in the Punjab. He reduced the king of



Kanauj to submission. He conquered the Tibetans and successfully invaded Central Asia and sent embassies to Peking. He is the most prominent figure in Kashmir history and raised his country to a pitch of glory it had never reached before or attained to since. It was he who constructed the temple of Martand and founded the city of Parihaspur.

Next we come to the palmy days of Avantivarma (855-883 A. D.) after whose name the town of Avantipura still exists. His engineer Suyya, after whom is named Sopore, tamed Jhelum to safeguard the valley against floods by dredging its bed at Baramula.

Hindu rule continued till 1346 when Shah Mir deposed the widow of the last Hindu ruler and founded the Sultanate. Among these Sultans, the most infamous was Sikandar Butshikan who demolished many Hindu temples in the valley. His son Zain-ul-Abdai (1420-70) was a virtuous and liberal ruler and we have still Sain-a-Kadal named after him. During his time Sufism exerted its influence in Kashmir. After Zain there was a usual succession of weak rulers and constant struggle between rival factions followed till 1586, when Kashmir was annexed to the empire of Moghuls by Akbar.

Akbar visited the country thrice and built the fort of Hari Parbat. Jehangir and Shahjehan were devoted to Kashmir. They built many gardens. Aurangzeb also came to the valley. Bernier who visited the valley in his reign pays a mead of praise to the Kashmiris as celebrated for wit, intelligence and industry. To him Kashmir was a terrestrial paradise. Kashmir continued to be governed by the Moghul Governors till 1750 when it fell under the misrule of Afghans.

The Afghan regime was so oppressive and tyrannical that Kashmir could bear their yoke no longer. A few of its inhabitants fled to Maharaja Ranjeet Singh of Punjab to save their country. In 1819 Maharaja Ranjeet Singh with his forces under the command of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu wrested Kashmir from the rule of Afghans and annexed it with Sikh dominion. It remained as a part of Sikh State till 1846.



### Kashmir Related To Jammu

The principality of Jammu after Ranjitdev became a tributary of Sikh power. Gulab Singh who was the descendent in the line of Ranjeet Dev sought service with Ranjeet Singh of Lahore. He was created the Raja of Jammu in 1820 which distinction he won through military services to his master. When Ranjeet Singh died, Gulab Singh was the only person left to have a deal with the British conquerors of the Punjab. Gulab Singh was a statesman and organiser. He consolidated the Jammu territories under a single administrative unit. By 1842 with his illustrious general Zorabar, Gulab Singh annexed the whole of Kashmir having conquered Ladakh, Bhadarwah, Kishtawar, Skardu, Gilgit, Chilas and Astore. Gulab Singh was a man of stern determination and gifted with political foresight and sagacity.

From 1819 onwards, Kashmir came to be connected with Jammu and the link was firmly established when at the conclusion of the Second Sikh War in 1846, Kashmir came under the direct rule of Maharaja Gulab Singh to whom it was ceded by the British in lieu of the payment of indemnity which was levied from the Khalsa Durbar and which the latter could not pay. Thus the British were responsible for creating the political unit of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gulab Singh was a strong ruler and he founded the Dogra dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir. He died in Srinagar in 1857 and he was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh who was equally an able administrator. He was a man of peace and encouraged learning. He was devoted to religion and the welfare of his subjects. He died in 1885 and was succeeded by his eldest son Pratap Singh who too like his father was a devout follower of religious tenets. He died in 1925 and was succeeded by Maharaja Hari Singh who bestowed on the State a democratic form of Government and ruled the State till 1947 when under the force of circumstances, he installed his son Karan Singh as his Yuvaraj and himself led a life of retirement in Bombay till 1961 April when he died.

During the 100 years of Dogra rule, Kashmir came into close contact with the rest of India. Its seclusion was broken after a long lapse of several centuries. Dogras were benign rulers. While Maharaja Gulab Singh gave strength to the State by organising



and integrating its different sectors into one single unit, his successors achieved the "Yogakṣema" of Jammu and Kashmir by maintaining what had been acquired by him and giving it a rule of peace for 100 years. What happened in 1947 was but an echo of the things that were taking shape in the rest of India.

It was under the Dogras that Kashmir achieved the greatness of Lalitāditya. Its boundries reached far in all directions. When Hieun Tsang came to Kashmir in 631 A. D. he was accorded a royal reception by the then ruler of Kashmir. He stayed for two years and was lodged in Jayendra Vihara. He found all adjacent territories on the West and South down to the plains under the sway of the King of Kashmir. He clearly records that Taxila to the East of Indus, Ursa or Hazara, Simhapura or Salt range with the smaller hill States of Rajpuri (Rajauri) and Parnotsa (Punch) were not independent but subject to Kashmir. Kashmir of Gulab Singh was bigger than what Hieun Tsang describes.

It seems very strange that Rajatarāṅgiṇī makes no mention of Jammu. It is probable that there was no contact with that principality till Gulab Singh occupied the entire Kashmir by 1842. Even the modern Banihal Pass was not the route from Kashmir to the plains and the Rajouri route was followed by the Moghuls.

### Kashmiri Language

The Kashmiri language contains a large number of Sanskrit words but the language itself is not of Sanskrit origin. If the vocabulary of Kashmiri was enriched by the additional Sanskrit words, it was only because the valley was subject to Indian influence for a long time.

The Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic group which though not Sanskritic is Aryan in its origin. The Dardic language of which Kashmiri was a sub-branch was called *Paśācī* in ancient Sanskrit literature. Though Sanskrit grammarians class it as one of the Prakrits, it was not really a Prakrit but a very ancient language which was a sister and not daughter of that form of speech which later on developed as literary Sanskrit. The sphere of the *Paśācī* language generally was confined to the region between Hindukush and the Indian frontier.



## SECTION XV : LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF THE J &amp; K STATE 359

The Paisāci or Dardic language, as Grierson has rightly pointed out, belonging undoubtedly to Aryan stock is nevertheless neither Iranian nor Indo-Aryan. The Dardic languages and hence for that matter the Kashmirian language possess certain peculiarities of their own, while in some respects they agree with the Indo-Aryan and again in some other aspects with the Iranian language. Neither do they contain all the characteristics of the Indo-Aryan language nor of the Iranian. It seems therefore, that when the Dardic language issued from the Aryan Language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it and the Aryan language had already developed along its own lines but had not yet progressed so far as to contain all the characteristics of the Iranian.

At what time the ancestors of the Dardic speakers separated themselves from the main branch of the Aryans we do not know. But the event seems to have taken place not long after the Aryans had entered India. Whereas the Aryans had entered into the valley of the River Kabul and then spread into the plains of India and the ancestors of the Aryan speakers migrated West-wards in Merv, Persia and Baluchistan, another branch of the Aryans went to the East and occupied the Pamirs, the home of the Ghalchah languages. The Ghalchah possess all the Iranian characteristics present in the Dardic speech, while at the same time these very Iranian Ghalchah languages have a few peculiarities in which they follow the Dardic languages in agreeing with the Indian as against Iranian. It thus follows that the ancestors of the Dardic tribes at first lived in the Pamirs but afterwards migrated to their present habitat Chitral and Gilgit which lie just below the Pamirs connected with latter by Dora and one or two other passes. From Chitral and Gilgit the Dardistan proper the speakers of the Dard languages seem to have infiltrated into the valley of Kashmir and developed the Kashmiri tongue which forms to-day one of the principal members of the Dardic group of languages. The other members are Shina and Konistani. Shina is the truest example of the Dardic languages proper. Its standard form may be assumed to be that spoken round Gilgit but it has several dialects including those of Astar, Gurez and Chilas.

Burushaski is the language of Hunza, Nagar and a portion of Yasin. Linguistic evidence proves that it is certainly non-Aryan.



It is probable that Burushaski forms the innermost layer of Dardic. Its case is similar to that of Brahui in Balochistan.

Kashmiri is the language of the valley of Kashmir and of the neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dardic basis, it has come to a large extent under the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken to its south. It is the only one of the Dardic languages which has a literature.

### Linguistic Boundaries of Kashmiri And Its Dialects

Kashmiri is bounded on the North by the Shina language of the Dard group of the Dardic sub-family. On the West it is bounded by the Chibali and Poonchi dialects of Lahanda, a language belonging to the North-Western group of the Indo-Aryan speech, but strongly effected by Dardic influences. To its South it has on the West the Dogri language and to the East of Dogri is Bhadarwahi, a dialect of Western-Pahari, a transitional form of speech between Western-Pahari, and Kashmiri—leaning more to the former than to the latter and therefore, classed under the former. To the South-East of Kashmiri we find Padari—another Western-Pahari dialect of a character similar to that of Bhadarwahi. On the rest of the Eastern side of Kashmiri and also a little to its North-East, going North-wards on the East of Shina, lie a series of Tibeto-Burman dialects: Purik, Ladakhi and Balti, all separated from the Kashmir valley by inhospitable ranges of mountains and in no way affecting its language.

Kashmiri has one true dialect spoken in the valley of Kishtwar lying to the South-East of the valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri has also overflowed the Pir-Panjal range into the Jammu territory and there are a number of dialects such as Poguli, Siraji of Doda and Rambani. The first two represent Kashmiri merging into western-Pahari and the third rather represents Kashmiri merging into Dogri. Further east in the Reasi district mixed dialects of Kashmiri and Chibali are found.

To the Philologist, Kashmiri is a language of great importance as it is the only example of the Aryan language in the condition of being converted from an analytic to a synthetic language. Vedic Sanskrit is synthetic and Hindi is analytic and Kashmiri is caught in the act of changing its nature from analytic to synthetic.



## SECTION XV : LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF THE J &amp; K STATE 361

Kashmiri possesses some literature of its own. The oldest existing specimens are the Lallavākyaṇi, the sayings of Lal Ded the mystic pourings of Lalla, Vāṇāsura-badha written in the reign of Zain-ul-Abdāin, Rāma-avatārcarita and Lava Kuśa carita of Divakar Bhatta, Krishnavatar Lila of Paramanand and Shivaparinaya of Krishna Razdan. Writings of Mohamad Gani are also popular. Sayings of Habba Khatun and Nand Rishi are highly mystical.

Of recent times, many promising writers have contributed to the different forms of literature in Kashmiri. Kashmir Shabdamrita by Ishwar Kaul and Kashmiri proverbs by Rev. J. Hinton Knoweles are useful books of reference.

Kashmir is also proud of producing useful books in Persian and on Islamic Theology. During the benign rule of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdāin many writers of Persian and Arabic flourished under his patronage.

### Jammu Territory

Jammu State is known after its capital city of Jammu, while the country where Jammu is situated is called Duggar from which its inhabitant is known as Dogra and his speech Dogri. The word Duggar is derived variously from the Sanskrit form Durgar, Dogar (Pkt.) or even Dvigarta. The last suggestion is on the analogy of Trigarta which is found mentioned in the Epics, it being the land bounded by three rivers; e.g. Sutlej, Beas and Ravi, while the one lying between Ravi and Chenab was called Dvigarta.

Three terrains make the Dogra land: Kandi, Andarwah, Bajwat and Pahari. Kandi has played an important role in building up the Dogra character. It is the land of craggy hills and rugged rocks where the Dogras have lived and fought for the freedom of their hearths and homes. It is the region where water is scarce and deep wells have to be dug or tanks and reservoirs of rain water constructed. The soil is not rich in agricultural produce which depends upon rain. The people of this part of the country have to work hard to earn their living and are, therefore, sturdy, hard working, adventurous, and warlike. The Andarwah and Bajwat lie in the plains which are fertile. These yield much



grain, the land being irrigated by rivers and canals. The hilly tract is dry and barren at places whereas at other places snowy mountains look green with verdure and soft meadows having lakes and rivers.

The virile character of the Kandi people owes much to the rugged soil of the region leading to arduous simplicity of life. Simple living and family pride are in the very blood of Kandi people. The Kandi tract starts from the Ravi and goes further up to the Chenab lying between Pathankot and Bhimber. Hira Nagar, Samba, Jammu, Akhnoor are other important towns of this region. The Andarwah and Bajwat have Kathua, Ranbir Singh Pura and Chamb as its chief towns, while hilly region claims Basohli, Ram Nagar, Udampur and Riasi and Ramban. In this region are located the famous lakes known as Saruinsar and Mansar. Sanasar near Pattani top just above Kud in this vicinity of Batate is a nice summer resort.

### The Dogras & Their Speech-Culture

It is not only the inborn peculiarities of a race but also the soil and climate, raiment and occupation which combine to form the character and culture of the people. Food and drink, dress and ornaments, games and pastimes, luxury and amusements in fact all the pursuits in our day to day life constitute culture. Culture is the way of life which a set of people lead. Not only religion, art and literature go to produce culture but it is expressed in every sphere of life and all its activities.

Land cultivation among the Dogras is pursued by the agriculturists. It was never the trade of Rajputs who professed military profession. In most of the towns, Industry is equal to nil. Transport in hilly tracts is difficult and men and mules are its means. The only rail link of 25 miles was lost to the State as a result of the fateful partition of India in 1947.

The Dogras have gained certain qualities from being a martial race. Their country has led an independent political existence though under a Raja. Military discipline is ingredient in their nature. The Dogra attitude of break not bend is borne out by the campaigns of conquest led by Maharaja Gulab Singh under



## SECTION XV : LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF THE J &amp; K STATE 363

General Zorabar. These ideals they had inherited from the Rajput hierarchy of Rajasthan to which community they owe allegiance. For a century they kept the enemy away from the borders of Kashmir.

But the fact of the matter remains that, however proud the Dogras may feel for their martial qualities of hardihood and discipline, they remain a poor race, poor in their economic conditions and poor are they in knowledge and arts. They lack skill in crafts which we find in abundance in Kashmir. They have not found much favour with learning and scholarship either. For contribution to old literature they offer an apology, whereas ancient Kashmir has won the highest mead of praise in the production of literature.

Dogras are a religious people. They worship Gods and Goddesses of Aryan descent. Local deities also find favour with them. Devi Sukrala Temple near Bhillawar, Shiv Temple at Bhillawar, holy Trikuta Vishnu cave near Jammu, Bawa Jitto at Jhiri and Dada Ranu of Birpur, the glorious temple of Sri Raghunathji at Jammu as also Pirkho are a few of the prominent places of worship in Duggar. The Suddhamahadeva Devika, Puramandal, Uttarahini, Narasimha Shrine of Ghagwal are some of the places of pilgrimage. Basohli is known for the production of its art of painting. This art flourished under the patronage of princes who had the leisure and aesthetic sense to appreciate what the artists produced. That art cannot be revived in this age of camera, cinema, radio and television.

The language of Duggar has played an important role in the service of the Dogras. It is the one uniform factor which finds its speakers to close affinity. It is the one cementing force to unite the Dogras. In the production of literature Kavi Datta of Bhaddu is known for his Vir Vilas, a translation of Droṇa Parva of Mahābhārata in Hindi verse. Maharaja Ranbir Singh brought out valuable compilations known as Ranbir Varat Ratanakar, Ranvir Jyotir Nibhandah and Ranvir Chikitsa. He also made a vast Collection of Skt. Mss. which are preserved in Raghunath Temple Library which were Catalogued by Dr Stein. These are compilations on Fasts and Feasts, on Astrology and on medicine respectively. Folk songs and tales are in abundance. Family bards and



minstrels sing the ballads and tribal tales of chivalry and romance.

The Dogri language takes its name from Duggar, the title of the region. To the north of this region are spoken Rambani and Poguli, intermediate between Dogri and Kashmiri. In the North-East Bhadarwahi is spoken, which is the form of Pahari. To the East is spoken Chameali and a mixed form known as Bhateali which is based on Dogri. To the south Punjabi is spoken with which Dogri has many affinities. Much literature in various forms has been produced in Dogri till recently and it has a bright future.

There are 3 sub-dialects of Dogri-Kandiali dialect of Angra and Bhateali. Dogri extends to a few miles beyond Chenab. Further we come to Chibali and Pothohari and Poonchi related to Lahanda.

### Culture of Jammu and Kashmir

The story of Jammu and Kashmir culture is as heterogeneous as the tale of its speech. To evolve a synthetic pattern is a difficult task. The present generation has a stupendous task before it. The pattern is bound to remain multi-coloured like a Kashmiri carpet. It should possess the Dardic warp of Kashmir and the Dogra roof of Jammu. Let Ladakh impart the colourful design to the carpet. Even the climate of the State ranges from the burning and scorching heat of craggy Samba to the snowy heights of Gulmarg and its soil varies from the waterless sultry area of Kandi to the moist luxuriance of the happy valley.

Let the sturdy and militant Dogra and the agile and clever Kashmiri and the plain and hardworking Ladakhi pool their natural resources of their native land, join together their qualities of head and heart and produce a well knit and integrated culture of the land for which Jammu and Kashmir stands. But this intermingling of ideas of Panchsheel and ideals of co-existence will have to flow from the common forge of the seat of learning, the University of Jammu and Kashmir. Let us wait and hope. Formerly we were subjects of the State but now are the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir - an integral part of Free India.



The greatest contribution that Dogras made to Jammu and Kashmir is the consolidation of Kashmir under one rule. Maharaja Gulab Singh forged and welded together the different units which go to make the present Jammu and Kashmir. The Kashmiri will apply his intelligence and skill to preserve and improve upon the design and pattern thus produced, and Ladakhi will use his industry to save it from all decay. This pattern of culture will be the most precious heritage which will be bequeathed to future generations.

This can be done through the homogenous cultivation of language and propagation of proper culture. Language and culture survive the emperors and their empires, kings and their kingdoms, princes and their principalities. The lasting values of human worth intrinsic and exquisite in character are the cultural and linguistic as embodied in language and literature of a race, nation or country. Language tells its own tale and relates the story of its speakers. Here in Jammu and Kashmir the trinity of Dardic, Indo-Aryan and Tibetan speech as represented by Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi meet in the Triveni Sangam. Here the great ideas of the three nations meet to make the socialistic pattern of society the ideals of which are to be practised in the most secular manner.

Language remains a very potent bond of union even in the face of disintegrating, disruptive and diverse forces. Indian philosophy acclaims to see the divine unity in the diversity of life. Let us therefore, lay more emphasis on fundamentals of unity than on the non-essentials of diversity to make Jammu and Kashmir a Heaven on Earth to realise the dream of generations who have lived and shall live in Jammu and Kashmir under the canopy of peace and hope.



## INDOLOGY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

K. M. PANIKKAR

Even a casual student of Indian history cannot fail to notice the integral connection between Sanskrit and Indian unity. In fact, Sanskrit may well be considered as the greatest gift of the Aryan people to India, a rich and flexible instrument of expression which easily dominated the other languages and became the basis of Indian unification. In the early days, Sanskrit was, of course, a spoken language and consequently changed from age to age. So great was the change that even in very early times Vedic Sanskrit required a special *Nirukta* for ordinary people to understand it. The greatest revolution in Sanskrit was when Panini evolved out of the spoken language of the time a perfected speech, *Sanskrita*, the two characteristics of which were an inflexible grammar and easy rules for the creation of words to suit every shade of meaning. It is this rigid frame-work which Panini provided that gave to India a vehicle of expression which has endured until today without any great change. This point is particularly important. Every spoken language changes with time and place. The English of Chaucer cannot be understood today without elaborate notes and commentaries and the forms of words themselves have undergone material changes. This is so in respect of all spoken languages; but so far as Sanskrit is concerned, the word formations, of say the third century B. C., remain the same today and the structure, form and expression have an identity which is remarkable.

The significance of this in the unification of India would become clear when it is remembered that the great emperor Asoka attempted to make Pali, the spoken dialect of Magadha, the common language of culture and of administration in India. The Asokan inscriptions which extend up to Mysore, it is significant to note, are in Pali which is a Magadhi dialect, and if this attempt of the emperor had succeeded, and Pali had become the language of India, the immediate consequence would have been that the language would have developed differently in different areas and the



unity of India would have never been achieved. But the work of Katyayana and Patanjali saved India from this early disaster. Away from the court and the secretariat of the Magadha empire, the perfected language of Panini was interpreted and popularised by these two great men who share with Panini the glory of having founded classical Sanskrit. The success they achieved was so remarkable that in the first century B. C. Buddhism itself began to accept Sanskrit as its own sacred language. All the great classics of Mahayana Buddhism except *Milinda Panha* are in Sanskrit, not Pali, and though the first Sanskrit writers of Buddhism used a great deal of Aprabhramsa, its later acharyas and poets were masters of pure classical Sanskrit in the orthodox Panini style. Soon Jainism also accepted Sanskrit as its sacred language, so that by the beginning of the first century A. D., it may well be claimed that Sanskrit became the national vehicle of communication and thought and the more important poetical, philosophical and scientific works all over India outside the Tamil country were written exclusively in that language.

The unification of India, though in a measure achieved by the Nanda-Maurya empire, was basically the result of the extension all over India among dominant cultural groups, of the doctrines of the Dharma Shastras and the domestic rituals of the Grihya Sutas. It is the spread of these two that consolidated Hindu life and gave it a unity which has endured in spite of political divisions. The texts of both the Dharma Sastras and the Grihya Sutas are in Sanskrit and more than even the cultural unification in India, it is the social unification through these rules, disciplines and rituals that became important for the future. This again was an achievement of Sanskrit. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin the dominant society everywhere followed the laws laid down in Dharma Shastras and obeyed the domestic rituals laid down in the Sanskrit sacred books.

It may, of course, be argued that the rigid and inflexible rules laid down by Panini gave to Sanskrit an artificial character and while encouraging the growth of classical literature and poetry, prevented the development of popular literature. It is not necessary for us to examine how far this criticism is valid but the survival of such works as Hala's *Saptasati* should go to prove that a vigorous Prakrit literature existed side by side with Sanskrit though



in view of its naturally localised character much of it has been lost to us today.

The next period which proves the integral connection of Sanskrit with India's national unity is the century immediately following the Muslim invasion in India. The Hindu revival which followed the first onslaught of Islam on India and the conquest of North India by the Muslims, is characterised by an extraordinary creative activity in Sanskrit. That creative activity extended to every field - Vedic Studies, Dharma Shastras, literature, etc. Though the Gangetic valley, being under the active control of Islam, was not able to contribute much to this revival, Rajasthan, Mithila and, of course, the South organised under the Vijayanagar empire, displayed all through this period an astonishing vitality in the cultivation of arts and letters connected with Sanskrit. The case of Mithila was specially interesting. It was a small state in the north-east corner of India but it was able to keep its independence during the period of Muslim greatness, and became the centre of really remarkable cultural activities under a distinguished family of Prime Ministers. In Rajasthan the political revival went hand in hand with literary activity and the great Maharana Kumbha who personified in himself the revival of Indian nationalism in this period, was also the author of *Sangeeta Raja*, an encyclopaedic work in Sanskrit on music. He is perhaps best known today apart, of course, from his political achievements and the construction of numerous temples and forts, for his commentary on Gita Govinda entitled *Rasika Priya*.

It was in the South that the integral connection between the political greatness of the Hindus and the study of Sanskrit stood out clearly. The revival of Sanskrit may be said to be connected even with the establishment of Vijayanagar. Sayana and Madhava, the two great names connected with the founders of Vijayanagar, may well claim to be the great renovators of Hindu life. Sayana's commentary on the Vedas is accepted by the orthodox even today as authoritative. In fact, without Sayana's commentary it is doubtful whether the Vedas would have come to be understood in our own day. Madhava's *Parasara Madhaviya* is one of the great works on Dharma Sastra and the civil law of the Hindus which has influenced thinking on these matters to a large extent in South India. So far as the cultivation of Sanskrit



literature was concerned, the Hindu revival in Vijayaflagar empire witnessed such an efflorescence that it may well be claimed that it was the most creative period of Sanskrit after the Gupta age. Works like Ganga Devi's *Madhura Vijaya* and *Varadambika Parinaya* of Queen Tirumalamba show that even women took prominent part in this renaissance.

These instances not only would go to demonstrate how close was the relation between the revival of the Hindu people and the literature and thought of Sanskrit. It is, however, in the 19th century that the full scope of this connection becomes clear. The position at the beginning of the 19th century was such that almost everyone looked upon the Hindus as a people who had no history, whose fate it was to be conquered by the stronger and more virile people from outside and who can, therefore, have nothing to contribute to the world. James Mill, the great historian of the East-India Company, deals with the history of India before Muslim invasion in a few pages and would have us believe that the Hindus as a people were both uncivilised and incapable of political organisation. James Mill was a great and liberal-minded man without prejudices and yet this was the opinion that he, as an official of the East-India Company's head office, had formed of India. The Hindus themselves had very little knowledge of their past. True, Sanskrit literature was still studied in different parts of India but that was only among a limited group of people more and more isolated from the rest of the community. The great artistic tradition of India had begun to mean little to the Hindus and so far as nationalism was concerned, the sense of unity was totally absent at the beginning of the 19th century. The change that came over India by the end of the 19th century was truly remarkable and towards this change the contribution of Indology or the study of subjects relating to Sanskrit in ancient India was indeed overwhelming. It is the decipherment of the characters of the Asoka inscriptions by Princep that really laid the foundation of a study of ancient history. The language of the inscription had been so wholly forgotten that when Feroze Tughlak brought one of Asokan pillars to Delhi and searched the whole of his empire for a scholar who could read and interpret it to him, there was none available. So much had we become alien to our own culture. The collection of inscriptions, epigraphs, and coins which date from this time for the first time opened to the Hindus the great and exhilarating vista of their own



history. The ninety years between the Princep's decipherment of the script of the Asoka inscriptions and the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro enabled the Hindus to get an image of their own history which, for the first time, made them realise that they were not a people whose destiny it was always to be conquered but had themselves been the torch-bearers of civilisation, adventurous navigators and founders of colonies in distant territories; that they had founded kingdoms and empires and created civilisations which have changed the face in many countries. All these the Hindus came to know through the growth of Indology in the 19th century and thus it may be said to constitute the basis of our nationhood and feeling of historical continuity.

Also, the importance of the study of Sanskrit at this period cannot be over-estimated. The discovery of Sanskrit by the Europeans, not only as a language possessing very great and extensive literature but as one of the great branches of Indo-Aryan languages, was a revolutionary fact. The study of Sanskrit was taken up seriously in all the great European universities giving to it a prestige in India itself which it had lost for many centuries. But more than the renewed interest in the study of Sanskrit itself was the popularisation of the great literatures of ancient India through translations in European languages. Soon the Vedas themselves, which had so long been considered too sacred to be allowed to fall into the hands of the common people, became available through translations. A branch of study relating to the Vedas and connected literature which had almost fallen into desuetude grew up. The meaning and the significance of the Vedic hymns came to be enquired into again. Vedic research was taken up independently of the prejudices of the orthodoxy. The Upanishads and the great schools of philosophy became once again the property of the intelligentsia as a whole and not a closely guarded secret learning of a few. The rediscovery of Buddhism and the re-incorporation of Buddhist philosophy into the main stream of Indian speculation was also an achievement of Indology. It was no doubt mainly the work of European scholars who translated from the Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign languages and from Pali, the works of Indian philosophers of Buddhism. If today Asvaghosha, Vasubandhu, Vasumitra Nagarjuna, Buddhaghosha and others are familiar names to Indian scholars and their thought is considered an important part of



Indian philosophy giving it richness, variety and depth, it is undoubtedly the result of the devoted works of Indologists.

The revival of Hinduism in the 19th century was essentially based on these facts and we owe a great and unforgettable debt to successive generations of Indologists who made it possible. They belonged to every nationality—British, French, German, American, Russian, Italian, Czech, Polish and also, of course, Indians. Without the creation of a national image which the work of these scholars made possible, achievement of Indian nationhood would have been difficult. Without the discovery of Indian history and the emphasis on the all-India character of the literature and thought embodied in Sanskrit, it would have been impossible to achieve the unity of India. Thus, looked at from every point of view, the study of Sanskrit and the different branches of learning connected with it constitutes the basis of India's unity.

Today our Constitution provides that Hindi based on Sanskrit should be the federal language of India. It has a much greater significance than most people realise. In the committee of the Constituent Assembly on this subject, there were very influential people exercising almost national authority who preferred that simple Hindi or Hindustani should be the common language of India but the national sense of the committee and of the constituent Assembly overruled this and insisted on the adoption of Hindi with Sanskrit as its base as the national language. The wisdom of this decision would be obvious when we remember that unless we consider Hindi as the spoken outgrowth of Sanskrit and emphasise its relation with other Indian languages through the Sanskritic structure of the North Indian, and the Sanskritic vocabulary of the South Indian languages, Hindi would have no greater claim to be the common language of India than English or Urdu. Again it is the nation-forming character of Sanskrit that is the significant fact. It is one of the essential aspects of the national integration and consequently, the encouragement of Indology, meaning by that phrase the study of everything connected with the history and culture of India, should be one of the spiritual and cultural interests of the Government of India.











112097.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri







NOT TO BE ISSUED  
HIS HONOURABLE

REFERENCE BOOK  
HIS HONOURABLE

Completed  
1999-2000







